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Chinatowns: From Slums to Tourist Destinations

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Chinatowns: From Slums to Tourist Destinations

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Abstract

Before the Second World War, “Chinatown” in Canada was conceived by Westerners as a Chinese slum or an evil enclave although it was considered by Chinese themselves as a home, a sanctuary and a training basic. Like a living organism, an Old Chinatown is constantly evolving and follows a common pattern in the course of their development. I devised a stage-development model to explain this evolution. After the late 1960s, new immigrants to Canada came from many lands and cultures: Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, Southeast Asia, Britain, and other places. They have transformed Chinatowns in Canada and many Old Chinatowns have been rehabilitated. They are now conceived as historical districts, Chinese cultural hearths and tourist destinations. I classify today’s Chinatowns into six groups: Reconstructed Historic Chinatowns, Old Chinatowns, Rehabilitated Chinatowns, Replaced Chinatowns, New Chinatowns, and Asian-themed Malls.

“Chinatown” means different things to different people at different times and in different cities in North America. It may be conceived of a Chinese cultural hearth, a Chinese sanctuary, a place of Chinese evils, a depressed inner city neighbourhood, a historic district, or a tourist attraction. An old Chinatown is physically discernible by its building facades, and environs. Our perception of it is influenced by the act of seeing and shaped by our knowledge of it as a social entity. This paper will use Chinatowns in Canada as a case study of the transformation of Chinatowns from the mid-19th century to the 21st century in North America.

Western Images

Before the Second World War, Western people had a very bad image of Chinatowns in Canada. In 1885, the Canadian Government set up a Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration. Its report stated that “*the Chinese custom of living in quarters of their own in Chinatowns is attended with evils, such as the depreciation of property, and, owing to their habits of lodging crowded quarters and accumulating filth, is offensive if not likely to breed disease.*” In November 1913, a clergyman wrote

in the Missionary Bulletin that *“within the unshapely structures of Chinatown were the parasites of the Chinese race – professional gamblers, opium eaters, and men of impurity... Chinatown became the carcass to attract the foul birds of Western vices, the dumping ground of those evils which the white man wishes removed from his own door”* On 26 April 1921, Members of Parliament debated on Chinese immigration, and one M.P. stated that *“if any member wishes to acquaint himself with how degraded human nature may under certain circumstances become, all he has to do is to visit certain Oriental quarters in British Columbia cities, where he will find a condition of filth and vice.”* On 1 May 1943, a reporter of Vancouver Sun, a local newspaper in Vancouver, wrote that *“Chinatown! ... It was a sinister place. ‘twas said where white girls should not walk alone through its crowded narrow streets, “Chuck-a-luk” and other gambling games, rumour had it, were played behind mysterious doors without handles... trap-doors into sub-cellars provided emergency exits for white and Chinese players alike to escape by devious underground passages... Chinatown! Pungent, mysterious, wicked Chinatown where one bought jasmine tea.... always with a feeling of danger lurking in the dim shadows of the dark shops.”* These four report or statement excerpts reflect that for nearly a century, Chinatowns have captured the imagination of many Western people. To them, it was an enclave of vices and a mysterious “Forbidden Town” that opened only to Chinese.

Chinese Home

Chinese by nature are gregarious people and used to living in close quarters with family and relatives. In early days, most Chinese immigrants were rural people and ignorant of English and Western customs. They congregated in houses on one street where they spoke their dialects, ate their food, followed their customs, and lived together as they did at home in China. They called the street “Tong Yan Gai” (Tang People’s Street) and Westerners called it Chinatown. As Chinese stores and residents increased and spilled over from one street to adjacent streets, Chinatown eventually covered several city blocks. Gradually temples, theatres, schools and community associations were established. In the early days, almost every Chinese belonged to two or more associations. When in distress, he would receive lodging, food, money and other forms of assistance from his associations. Hence, Chinatown was home to overseas Chinese in a foreign country.

The embryo of Chinatown in Victoria, for example, was conceived when Chinese merchants from San Francisco arrived in the summer of 1858. In preparation for the arrival of their recruited labourers for the Fraser River Gold Rush, they set up tents on the northern bank of the Johnson Street

ravine (Figure 1). As an increasing number of Chinese came directly from Hong Kong and China, the merchants bought properties on Cormorant Street, built wooden shacks for Chinese stores and residents, and established the first Chinatown in Canada. By 1909, Victoria's Chinatown had expanded northward to cover about five city blocks bounded by Cormorant, Chatham, Store, and Douglas streets (Figure 2). In its prime, Victoria's Chinatown boasted more than 150 firms, two theatres, a hospital, three Chinese schools, two churches, more than five temples or shrines, over ten opium factories, several gambling dens and brothels, and many clan, county and other community associations.

The facades of Chinatown buildings constituted the most striking visual component of place character in Victoria. Although Western architects or contractors designed and built the buildings with facades in Italianate and Queen Anne fashions of the day, Chinatown structures exhibited Chinese decorative details rarely found on other downtown buildings. The most common elements were recessed or projecting balconies, upturned eaves and roof corners, extended eaves covering main balconies, sloping tiled roofs, smooth or carved columns topped with cantilevered clusters of beams, flagpoles and parapet walls bearing Chinese inscriptions (Figure 3). These architectural components of old buildings still remain today. Hence, in December 1955, Canadian Government designated Victoria's Chinatown as a National Historic District of Canada.

Chinese Sanctuary

It might be impossible to think that Chinatown was in fact created by Western people. Until the end of the Second World War, Chinese were largely ostracized from Canadian society. They were not welcome when they arrived during the Gold Rush. They were hissed at streets and called "yellow bellies" and "yellow pagans." Their queues were pulled by mischievous boys and cut off by booze-inspired rowdies. Chinese were so frightened that they always moved in groups. The more they suffered from threats and discrimination, the more they had to live close together for security and protection. Foreign abuses and discrimination forced them to confine themselves in a niche named "Chinatown" by Westerners. It became a Chinese sanctuary where they felt safe and secure, and found pleasure, comfort and companionship.

In Victoria, for example, Western developers or investors also built wooden shacks on Cormorant Street and leased them to Chinese arrivals. This budding Chinatown, created by Chinese and Westerners, was separated from the city centre by the Johnson Street ravine. It was accessible

from the south only via three narrow footbridges which spanned the ravine at Store, Government and Douglas streets (see Figure 1).

Chinese Training Base

Although Chinatown was separated physically, socially and economically from Western community, it also served as a springboard for Chinese assimilation to the host society. When Chinese new arrivals landed in Canada, they were exposed for the first time to Western culture. In Chinatown, they learnt to master some basic English words and sentences from their fellow countrymen and trained to survive in a new environment. They learned ‘the rope’ and acquired a trade, such as cooking, doing housework or laundry, from relatives or friends in Chinatown. After they had the training, they struck out to other parts of the city or to other cities to begin a new life. When unemployed and poor, they would fall back on Chinatown for help.

Stage-Development Model

Before the Second World War, an Old Chinatown was a Chinese home, sanctuary and training base. Like a living organism, it is constantly evolving and being transformed. Although Old Chinatowns change in different ways and at varying rates, they tend to follow a common pattern in the course of their development. I have devised a stage-development model to explain this evolution (Figure 4). Each stage of development has its own characteristics. In the budding stage, an Old Chinatown usually has few Chinese residents, nearly male, who represent almost the entire population of a city. Thus, a city’s “Chinatown” is identical with its “Chinese community.” Chinese of the same village, usually bearing the same surname, tend to live together in a rented room known as *fangkou* (Rooming Mouth). A few merchants run the stores for the entire Chinese population. Morphologically, a budding Chinatown is characterized by a linear or a cross-shaped pattern formed by two intersecting streets (Figure 5). The streetscape is dominated by rows of closely packed wooden shacks and cabins. To Western society, a Chinatown is a filthy slum.

During the blooming stage, Chinese population increases rapidly by in-migration. Chinatown is still dominated by bachelors although married couples increase in number; only merchants can afford to get married. Chinese domestic servants, market gardeners, laundrymen and other labourers working in other parts of the city return to Chinatown whenever they were free or unemployed. Chinese community of a city has extended beyond its Chinatown boundary and “Chinatown” is no

longer a synonym for “Chinese community.” *Fangkou* were expanded with members bearing the same surname from the patrimony, and changed to clan associations. Hence, the Lee Association, the Wong Association etc. are formed. On the basis of an obscure clan relationship, several small clans form their own clan associations. For example, Gee Tuck Tong is formed by a group of people bearing the surnames of Chow, Choy, Ng, Yung or Cho, and Soo Yuen Tong by people surnamed Louie, Kong or Fong.

The tradition of shipping bones of the deceased back to China is maintained by Chinese in Canada. People of the same county pool their resources to form a *Shantang* (Charity Association) which is responsible for collecting crates of bones across Canada and shipping them back to Hong Kong on a chartered vessel. The bones are stored in Tung Wah Hospital’s mortuary where the county associations in Hong Kong will collect the bones and send them back to their own villages. In Canada, many *Shantang* develop into county associations. Hence, Taishan Association, Zhongshan Association etc. are formed in Chinatown. During the blooming period, Chinese schools, churches, temples, theatres, recreation clubs and other facilities are also built in Chinatown. A blooming Chinatown functions like a self-contained town. It has its “government” led by an umbrella organization known as the Chinese Benevolent Association. This organization helps resolve the internal conflicts within Chinese community and deals with discriminatory measures and treatments by Western people. Covering several city blocks, an expanding Chinatown has a reticulated pattern formed by parallel streets crossing one another. Many wooden shacks or log cabins have been replaced by two- or three-storey wood or brick tenement buildings. The townscape is dominated by some association buildings which have a distinctive Western-style structure with decorative Chinese motifs and symbolism. Nevertheless, Western society still conceives Chinatown as a dangerous, mysterious and exotic inner city neighbourhood

Canadian government passed the Chinese Immigrant Act in 1923. Chinese called it the Chinese Exclusion Act because it prohibited Chinese from entering Canada. Chinese population in Canada began to decline from 46,519 in 1931 to 32,528 in 1951. In 1941, there were about 30 Chinatowns across Canada of which Vancouver with a Chinese population of 7,174 had the highest Chinese population. It was followed by Victoria (3,037), Toronto (2,326), Montreal (1,703), Winnipeg (719), Ottawa (272), Windsor (259), Hamilton (236), Halifax (127), Quebec City (130) and the remaining 20 Chinatowns with a Chinese population less than 100 persons (Figure 6)

After the 1940s, all Old Chinatowns enter the withering stage. Chinese population decreases, economy declines, and property ownership diminishes. Chinese businesses are closed one after another as non-Chinese businesses such as low-class bars, second-hand shops, and pornographic bookstores move in. Chinatown residents of moderate means gradually move out of Chinatown as discrimination against Chinese was vanishing. Only the poor, elderly bachelors or new immigrants from rural China who do not know the English language remain. Many traditional community associations fail to recruit young members and become defunct after their aging members die or return to China. A withering Chinatown is diminishing in size because of the encroachment of new redevelopment projects by the municipal government or Western developers. These projects do not conform to the traditional Chinatown land use. Chinatown townscape is increasingly dominated by dilapidated Chinese structures, vacant sites, parking lots, and a mixture of Chinese and non-Chinese businesses. To both Chinese and Western community, an Old Chinatown is a skid row district, and its days are numbered.

The final stage of an Old Chinatown is either extinction or rehabilitation. It will not enter the Stage of Extinction if there are infusions of urban renewal funds from municipal, provincial, and/or federal governments. Instead, it will enter the Reviving Stage. Examples are found in Chinatowns in Victoria, Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg and Montreal. Their old buildings have been renovated and new construction projects such as care facilities, cultural centres, and subsidized homes. A revitalized Chinatown attracts new businesses and investments, and its property values rise rapidly. Its restaurants and stores cater not only to Chinese community but also to people of other ethnic groups. A Rehabilitated Chinatown is a historic district, an emblem of Chinese heritage, a tourist attraction, and a vibrant inner-city neighbourhood.

Each stage of development of an Old Chinatown cannot be defined by quantitative measures such as population size, volume of business, and amount of space for residential or commercial land uses. Instead, it is the comparative differences in physical and socioeconomic features that distinguish one stage from another; each stage of development passes gradually into a subsequent stage via a transitional phase. At any stage of development, an Old Chinatown may be destroyed by fire, relocation, gentrification (or inner-city revitalization) or other factors. If it is rebuilt immediately on the same site or at another location, a second Chinatown will be born as a blooming Chinatown.

Chinatowns in the 1950s and 1960s

The 1923 Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed on 14 May 1947. Chinese Canadian citizens living in Canada were permitted to bring their wives or unmarried children under 18 years of age to Canada. However, very few Chinese were naturalized Canadians. In 1941, for example, of 34,627 Chinese in Canada, only 2,055 Chinese were naturalized, or 6 % of the country's Chinese population. So, in the first few years after the Exclusion Act was repealed, an average of about 500 Chinese immigrants was admitted each year to Canada. Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, regulations on Chinese immigration were relaxed. In 1962, Canada accepted 100 refugee families who had fled from China to Hong Kong. Most immigrants still came from the traditional source areas: the Siyi (Taishan, Kaiping, Xinhui and Enping counties), Sanyi (Nanhai, Panyu, and Shunde counties), or Zhongshan County. Most immigrants could not speak English and still relied on Chinatown as a training base for adapting to Western society.

After the 1950s, Chinatowns across Canada struggled to survive depopulation and economic decline. Young Canadian-born Chinese who were better educated and economically better-off than their parents, moved out of Chinatown and established their families in more upscale neighbourhoods, partly because discrimination against them had greatly reduced and partly because they could afford a higher standard of living. For example, depopulation led to the disappearance of Chinatowns in Quebec City, New Westminster, and many small towns and cities. The changing social structure accompanied a commercial decline. New Chinese businesses were set up outside Chinatowns, drawing away many former customers. Many small stores and cafes in Chinatowns had to close after their original proprietors retired or died. Their educated children did not want to run family businesses because they did not want to work long hours. Ottawa's Chinatown on Albert Street is a case in point: it disappeared as the last few stores ceased to operate. Some small Chinatowns were destroyed by fire even if they could survive population and economic decline. For example, Nanaimo's Chinatown which consisted of wooden shacks, was burnt to the ground on 30 September 1960

Slum clearance or urban renewal projects also played an important role in the decline and destruction of Chinatowns in the 1960s and early 1970s. Physical deterioration of buildings made them vulnerable to land speculation or to demolition in the course of downtown revitalization programs. In Kamloops, for example, many Chinatown old buildings were levelled during construction of the new Overlander Bridge in 1961, and Chinatown was demolished in 1979 after the expansion of Victoria Street. In the early 1960s, Toronto's old Chinatown was largely wiped out by the development of Nathan Phillips Square and City Hall complex.

Chinatown After 1970s

The 1967 Immigration Act resulted in drastic changes in Chinese communities and Chinatowns across Canada. The Act, following a non-discriminatory and universal policy, accepted immigrants on the base of education and training, occupational skill, knowledge of English and French and other merits. Chinese immigrants came from many lands and cultures: Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, Southeast Asia, Britain, the United States, to name a few, but unlike their predecessors, many post-1967 Chinese immigrants entered Canada under the “independent category,” and listed their intended occupations as professionals such as medical doctors, nurses, engineers, architects, teachers and other skilled occupations such clerical workers and machine technicians. Many chose to stay in Toronto, Vancouver and other large metropolitan cities for job opportunities. They lived in the suburbs and went to Chinatown only on weekends or holidays for Chinese food and groceries.

Asians flooded into Canada after the fall of Saigon to the communists in 1975. Thousands of Vietnamese people, including many Vietnamese of Chinese ethnic origin, fled from South Vietnam. Canada was one of the countries which offered permanent resettlement to them. Furthermore, in July 1979, Canada offered to accepted up to 50,000 (later raised to 60,000) Indochinese refugees or so-called “boat people” over a period of two years. Many were ethnic Chinese and some set up businesses and lived inside or on the fringe of Old Chinatown.

The Canadian government introduced the 1976 Immigration Act, effective in 1978, which contained a new immigration category called “business immigrants.” Visas were given to prospective immigrants whose business proposals met the economic needs of the province in which they would take. Later, the Investment Canada Act in 1986 introduced an Immigrant Investor Program which encouraged many Chinese entrepreneurs and investors with large amounts of capital to migrate to Canada. These new immigration policies for selecting immigrants have changed the physical and socio-economic landscape of many Canadian cities. During the 1980s and 1990s, Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan played a significant role in the rehabilitation of Old Chinatowns, creation of New Chinatowns, and development of suburban enclosed malls or open plazas. These suburban malls or plazas catered nearly exclusively to Chinese merchants and customers and became known as “Chinese Malls.” Some were called New Chinatowns. Hence, the concept of Chinatowns has changed. I classify today’s Chinatowns into six groups: Reconstructed Historic Chinatowns, Old

Chinatowns, Rehabilitated Chinatowns, Replaced Chinatowns, New Chinatowns, and Asian-themed Malls.

Reconstructed Historic Chinatown

Nearly all the Chinatowns in former gold-mining towns or districts are extinct and only a few towns still have a vestige of Chinatown structures. For example, Barkerville in the province of British Columbia was a booming mining town in the 1860s. After it was designated as a heritage site, the dilapidated structures were repaired and original landscape of the town, including Chinatown, was restored. Hence, Barkerville Chinatown is a Reconstructed Historic Chinatown which is a revival of a defunct Chinatown. It is now a historic district, and a tourist destination.

Old Chinatown

It is a Chinese residential, commercial and institutional inner-city neighbourhood with buildings established before the Second World War and has not been rehabilitated after the war ended. Virtually, no Old Chinatowns still exist today. In 1988, I identified such an Old Chinatown in Lethbridge in the province of Alberta which had two Chinese stores, and few residents in Kuomintang and Chee Kung Tong buildings. In June 2009, Lethbridge Old Chinatown still has the two association buildings, one Chinese store and one Japanese store, and some Western residents. Basically, it is defunct.

Rehabilitated Chinatown

It is an Old Chinatown which has been rehabilitated and beautified. With new Chinese decorative structures as such as a Chinese arch or garden, it is still physically discernible by its early commercial facades, demographic structures and socioeconomic activities. It retains about half of the 19th or early 20th century buildings most of which are pre-World War II “tong” buildings (“Tong” means association or society). Today, there are only four Rehabilitated Chinatowns in Canada: Victoria, Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Montreal. The mixture of commercial, residential, educational and recreational uses and the Chinese decorative facades of buildings give them a unique townscape, obviously distinguished from other parts of the city.

Replaced Chinatown

The original townscape of an Old Chinatown is destroyed after over half of its old buildings are demolished and replaced by new buildings in the course of rehabilitation and renovation. Such a Rehabilitated Old Chinatown is virtually substituted by a Replaced Chinatown which is still a Chinese residential, commercial and institutional area, but unlike a Rehabilitated Chinatown, it does not have the landscape of the 19th or early 20th centuries. It has been changed to a new inner-city neighbourhood. Calgary's Chinatown is an example. I call it an unplanned Replaced Chinatown because it is unintentionally built to replace an Old Chinatown.

A planned Replaced Chinatown is a planned replacement by municipal government which demolishes an Old Chinatown and re-establishes it on the same site or in another location. Former Chinatown property owners and merchants have the priority to buy properties and re-establish their residence and businesses in the new site. Chinatown South in Edmonton in the Province of Alberta is an example of a planned Replaced Chinatown.

New Chinatown

A New Chinatown, established after World War II, is basically a commercial entity which is characterized by a concentration of Chinese businesses along a section of a street. It is identifiable by brightly coloured commercial facades of Chinese business concerns, odours of Chinese merchandise and food, sounds of various Chinese dialects and various activities of Chinese pedestrians. Unlike a Rehabilitated or Replaced Chinatown, a New Chinatown does not have a Chinese residential population although it is usually located close to neighbourhoods with a Chinese or Chinese Vietnamese population. Toronto Chinatown (Eastern District) and Chinatown North in Edmonton are examples of New Chinatowns.

Asian-themed Malls

After the 1970s, suburban shopping centres have accounted for almost all the growth in Chinese shopping activities in Canada. They are called "Chinese malls or plazas" because retail stores and restaurants are run by Chinese merchants and cater mainly to Chinese customers. In the early 1980s, for example, three small neighbourhood plazas at the intersection of Glen Watford Drive and Sheppard Avenue in Scarborough (suburban Toronto) were called Scarborough Chinatown by Chinese

because Chinese businesses had replaced most non-Chinese businesses and Chinese were major customers. In the City of Richmond (suburban Vancouver), several Chinese businesses were established in Park Village and Park Plaza on Park Road. By the early 1980s, about 40 percent of the business concerns in the two plazas were operated by Chinese merchants and they promoted their business by advertising the area in a Chinese newspaper as Richmond's New Chinatown. At the same time, Shun Cheong Holdings BC Ltd., a Hong Kong company branch, invested \$5 million in the development of Johnson Centre at 8171-91 Westminster Highway. It was officially opened on 17 September 1987 as Richmond's New Chinatown by Premier Bill Vander Zalm and Mayor Gil Balair of Richmond. Unlike the self-named Richmond's New Chinatown on Park Road, Johnson Centre had all business concerns owned and operated by Chinese from Hong Kong. However, it was known to Westerners as a "Chinese plaza."

How is a "Chinese mall or plaza" defined? Mohammad Qadeer, a market analyst in Toronto, suggested that a Chinese commercial centre must have at least one Asian supermarket, two sit-down restaurants, one bookstore/smoke shop, and one Asian-oriented financial institution as well as an Asian food court and personal services stores. However, these criteria are inapplicable to Chinese commercial centres in Vancouver and other cities. My research of "Chinese malls or plazas" reveals that they must have at least three of the following ten characteristics:

1. Store signs are written in Chinese characters with or without English letters
2. A great concentration of Chinese restaurants, grocery stores, bakeries, book stores and other specialized businesses such as Chinese herbalists, acupuncturists, travel agents and educational institutions oriented exclusively to Chinese clientele
3. The enclosed mall or open plaza is named after a Hong Kong location or a popular plaza in Hong Kong such as Aberdeen Centre, Admiralty Centre, Pacific Mall (its Chinese name is Tai Koo) and Peachtree Centre (its Chinese name is Mong Kok).
4. Many restaurants and stores are named after popular restaurants and stores in Hong Kong, Taiwan, or China in order to attract Chinese customers who emigrated from these places.
5. Overwhelming number of Chinese customers, particularly in food courts and restaurants on weekends and holidays.
6. Chinese mall rarely has anchor stores such as a large department store
7. Chinese mall is an unplanned shopping centre where there is little or no centralized control of the mall's business composition, layout and design. For example, it is not uncommon that two or three

hair salons are set up close to one another. Hence, competition for the same market inside the mall or plaza is intensive.

8. Most malls or plazas are developed by Hong Kong or Taiwan developers but some by non-Chinese investors. They divide a mall or plaza into small strata-titled retailing units or offices, and sell them like condominiums to merchants or investors.
9. The strata-titled units are often sold and resold as a merchandize. The sale is usually advertised in Chinese newspapers and other Chinese news media, and the agents are usually Chinese
10. A mall may be initially owned by one developer or a group of developers but eventually, it will be owned by a majority of Chinese mall merchants who engage a company to manage it.

Based on these ten characteristics, I identified 49 “Chinese Malls or Plazas” in Richmond in Metropolitan Vancouver (Figure 7), and 58 “Chinese Malls or Plazas” in the Northern suburbs of Metropolitan Toronto in 1999 (Figure 8). I call them Asian-themed Malls instead of “Chinese Malls or Plaza” because the characteristics which I use to identify them change over time. For example, Richmond Public Market was developed and is still owned by a non-Chinese company although it has a predominance of Chinese retailers and customers. . Richview Plaza, developed by Chinese investors, was sold to a non-Chinese company. In 1992, the Yaohan International, a Japanese company, developed the Yaohan Centre who was opened in 1995 with Yaohan Supermarket, 15 units of food court and 66 strata-titled retail units. After the company went bankrupt in 1997, the Yaohan Supermarket was sold to a Taiwan company and renamed “Osaka Supermarket.” The Yaohan Centre is now owned by many Chinese merchants from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Hence, the ethnic origin of mall investors, developers and owners cannot be used as a criterion to define a “Chinese mall” because ownership changes hands over time. Similarly, it is not always appropriate to use a predominance of Chinese businesses and customers as criteria to define a “Chinese mall” because it may also have many Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and even Caucasian stores and customers. Furthermore, non-Chinese malls such as Richmond Centre, a conventional shopping centre, have a large number of Chinese customers as well as non-Chinese customers. The line blurs between what constitutes a “Chinese mall” or a conventional mall when it is based on the percentage of Chinese patrons or business. Furthermore, the term “Chinese mall” has an ethnic connotation and tends to mislead the public into thinking that it is Chinese owned, sells Chinese products only and serves Chinese people only. I think that it is more appropriate to use the term “Asian-themed malls” because many of the so-

called “Chinese malls” also sell other Asian products and are patronized by many other Asian and non-Asian people.

Epilogue

New Chinese immigrants and investors from Hong Kong and Taiwan have played an important role in the development of Rehabilitated Chinatowns, Replaced Chinatowns, New Chinatowns, and Asian-themed Malls. They create a new form of economic activity and a new type of urban development in Canadian cities which feature a distinctive ethno-cultural ambience and give tourists the opportunity to experience different cultures in an authentic and natural setting. This study, while not theoretical, has theoretical implications for further research on the concept of ethnic clustering such as Chinatowns.

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Figures

Figure 1. Location of Victoria's Chinatown, 1861

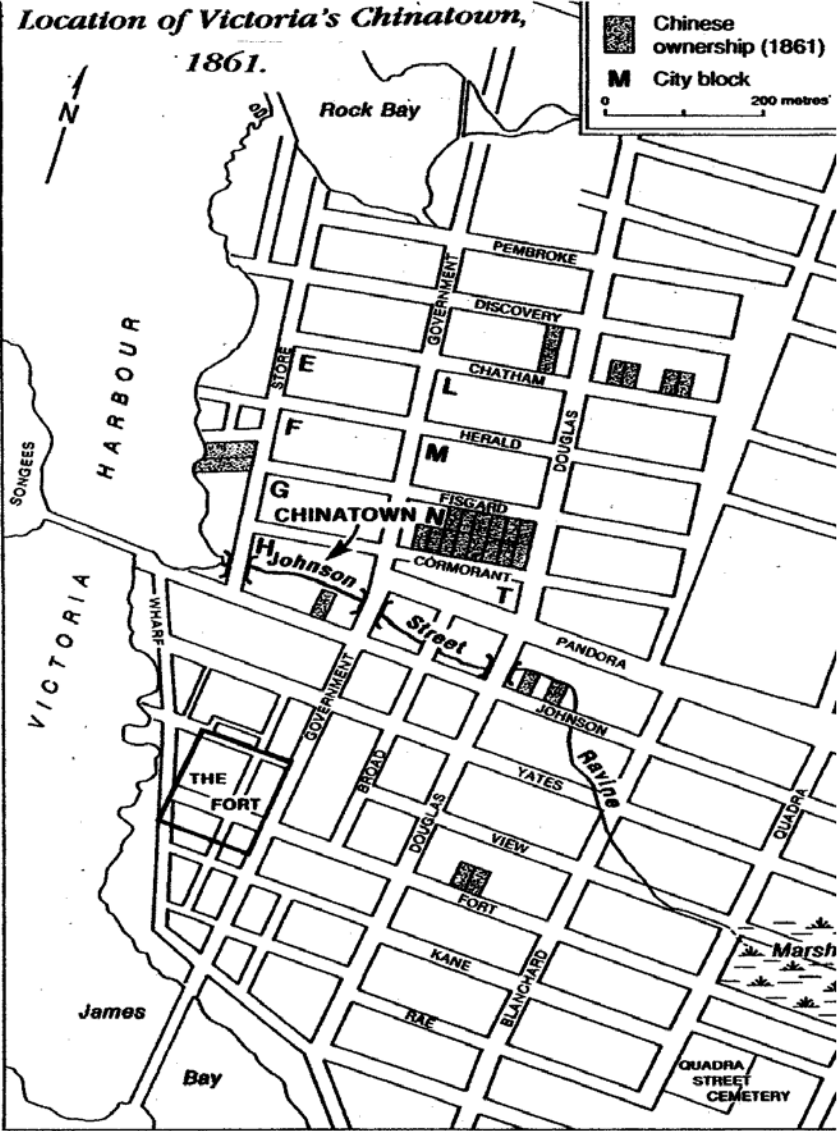


Figure 2. Land Use of Victoria's Chinatown, 1909



Figure 3. Buildings of Victoria Chinatown , 2009



Figure 4. A Chinatown State-Development Model

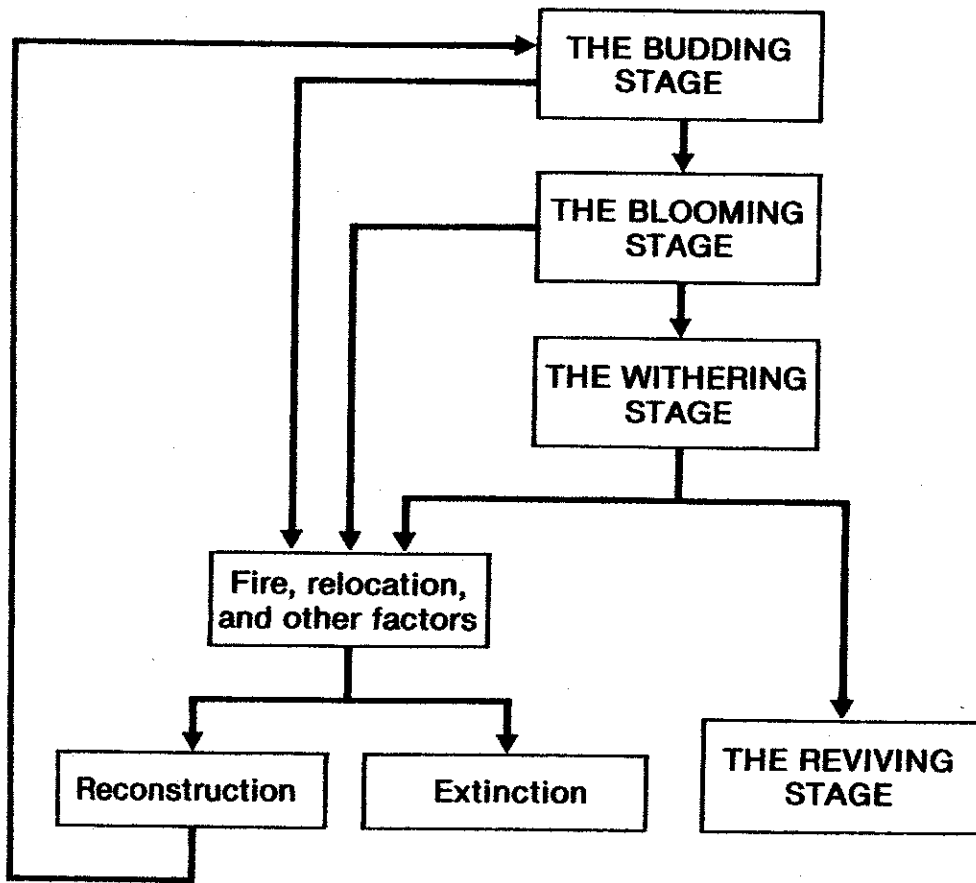


Figure 5. Morphological Patterns of Chinatown Development

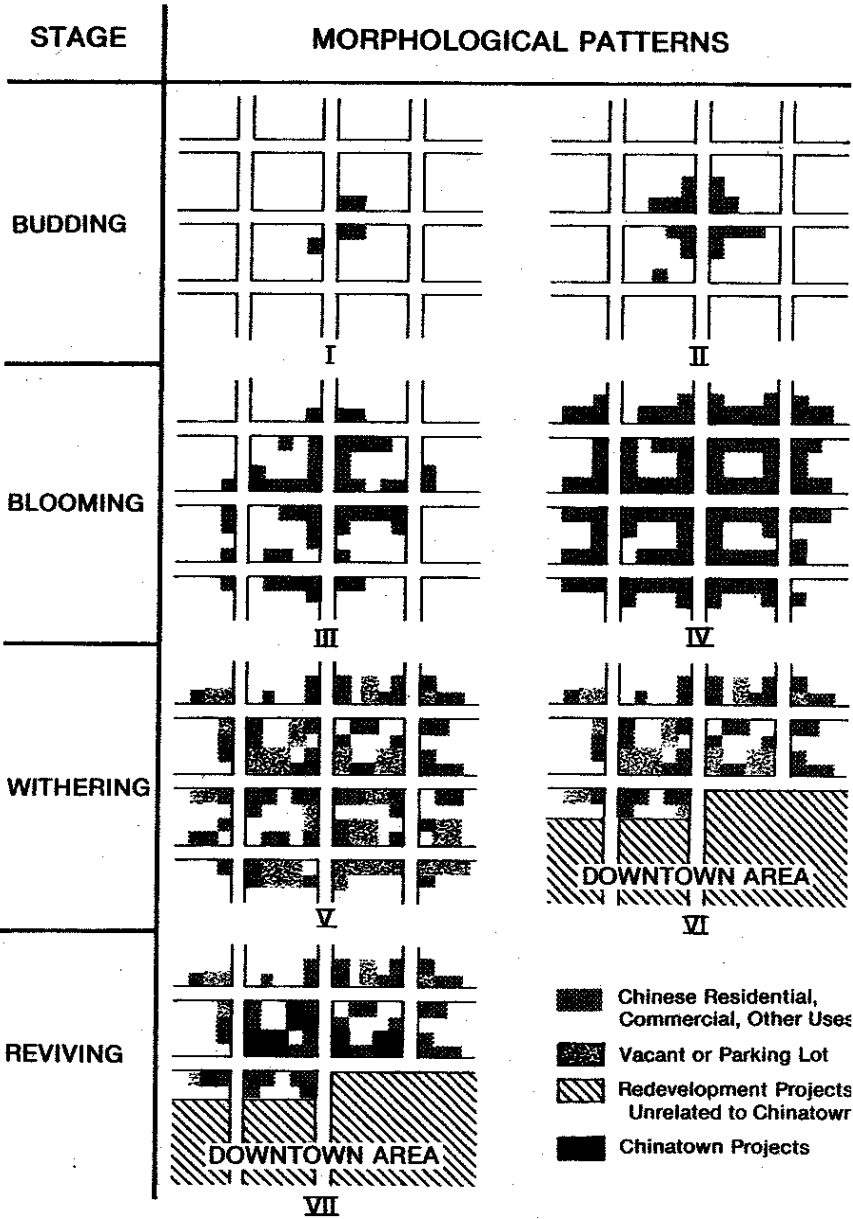


Figure 6. Distribution of Chinese in Canada, 1941

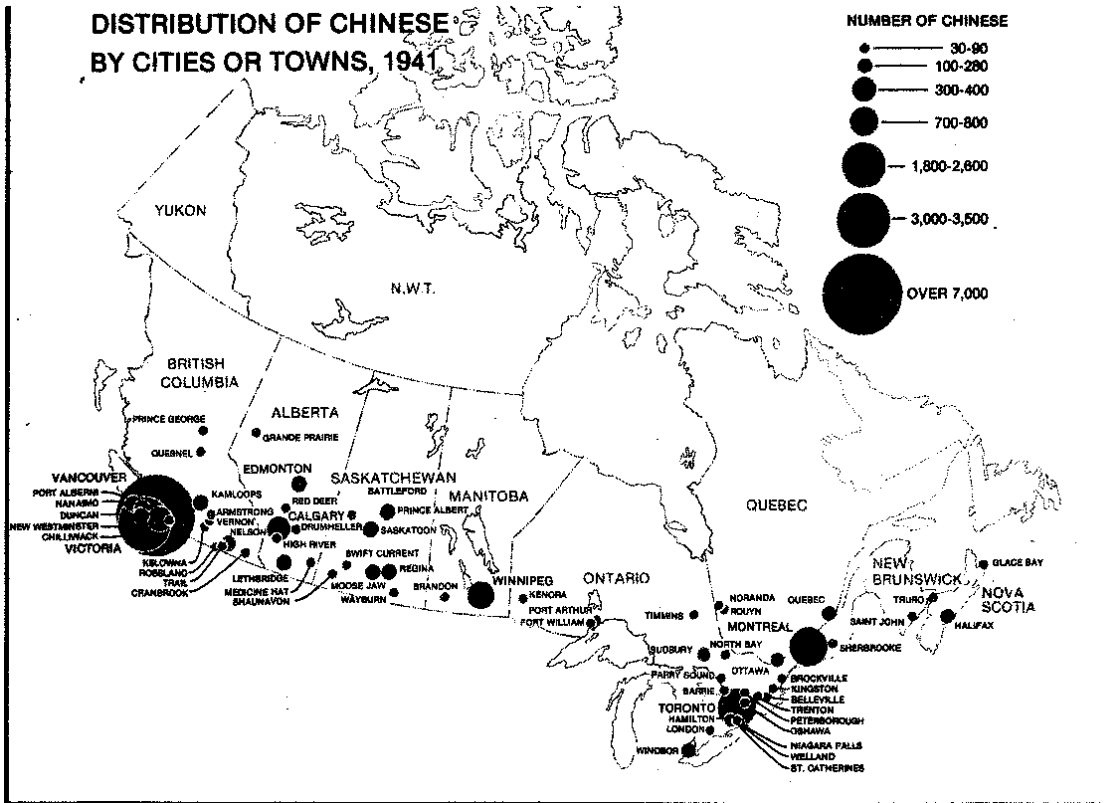


Figure 7. Asian-themed Malls in Richmond, Metropolitan Vancouver, 1999

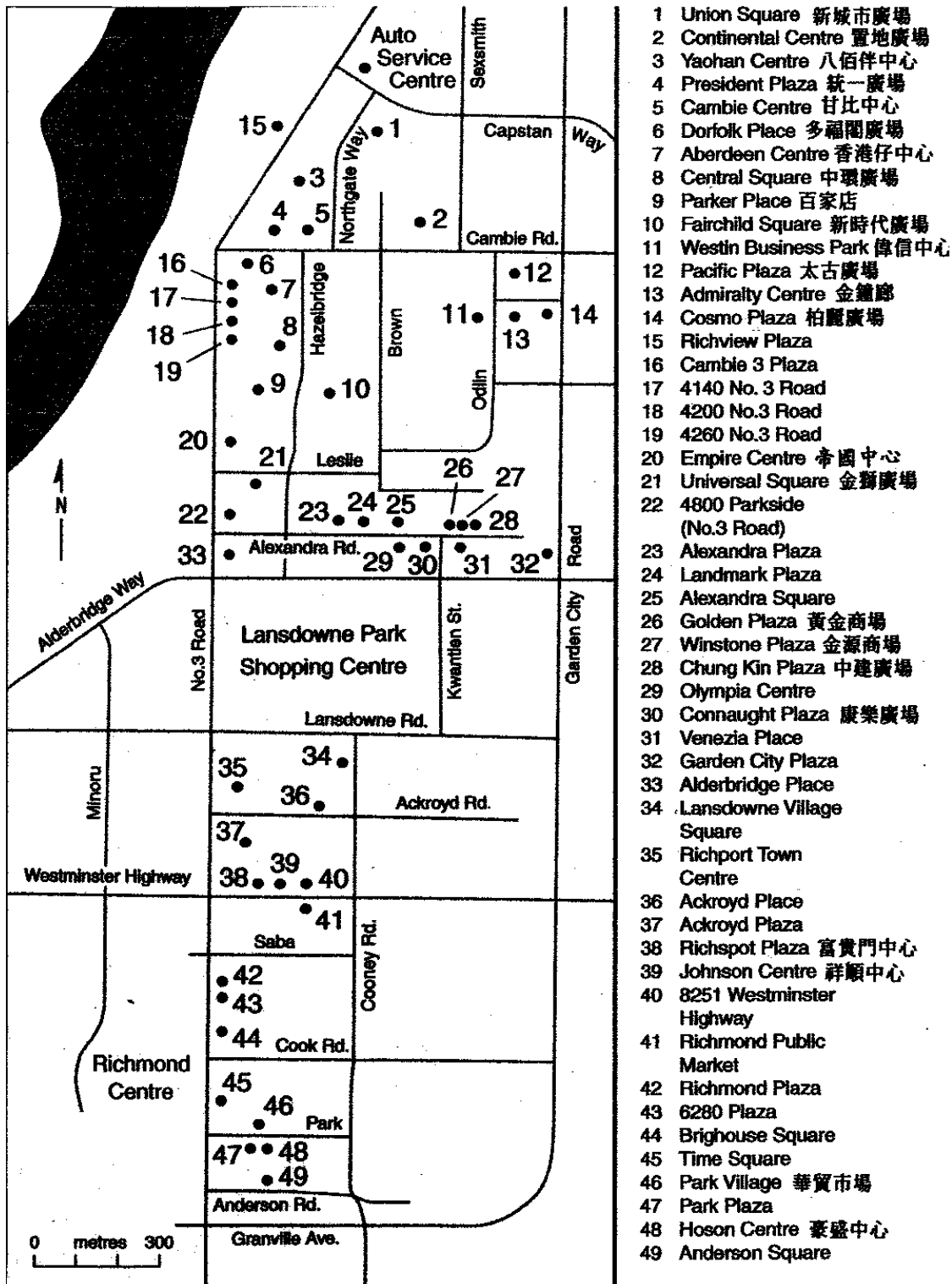
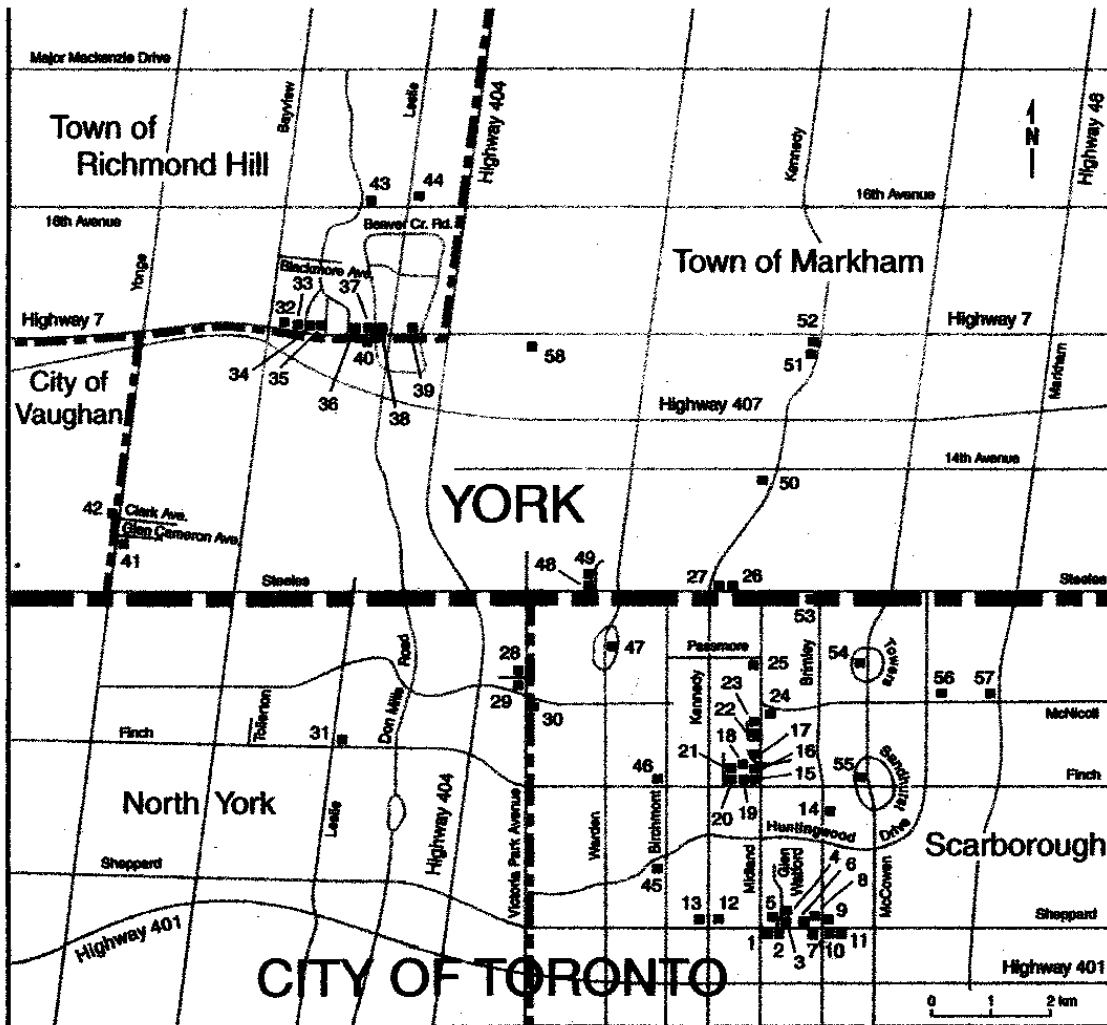


Figure 8. Asian-themed Malls in Northern Suburbs of Metropolitan Toronto, 1999



- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1 Midtown Plaza 中城商場 | 21 Milliken Business Park 美利村工業廣場 | 41 Glen Cameron Place 金馬倫中心 |
| 2 Cathay Plaza 興泰商場 | 22 Midland Court 美蘭閣 | 42 Central Park on Yonge 遠東廣場 |
| 3 Dragon Centre 龍龍中心 | 23 Midland North Business Centre 北中街商業中心 | 43 Lexus - Bayview Square 富泰中心 |
| 4 Glen Watford Drive 怡東商場 | 24 Evergold Centre 萬源中心 | 44 Richlane 富食街 |
| 5 Dynasty Centre 皇朝中心 | 25 Midland Village 美蘭村 | 45 Huntingwood Square 肯定活商場 |
| 6 Mandarin Shopping Centre 曼華商場 | 26 Market Village 城市廣場 | 46 Birchwood Plaza 百興商場 |
| 7 Pearl Plaza 明珠商場 | 27 Pacific Mall 太古廣場 | 47 Bamburgh Gardens 百寶商場 |
| 8 Brimley Commons 八利廣場 | 28 New World Plaza 新世界廣場 | 48 Metro Square 大都會廣場 |
| 9 Prince Mall 龍子商場 | 29 Prosperity Centre 永富中心 | 49 New Century Plaza 世紀廣場 |
| 10 Centerview Square 金輝商場 | 30 Victoria Business Centre 麗景中心 | 50 Milliken Mews 高利商場 |
| 11 Victory Shopping Centre 勝利商場 | 31 Finch - Leslie Square 利達商場 | 51 Peachtree Centre 旺角中心 |
| 12 Agincourt Commercial Centre 東成商業中心 | 32 Ho - View Plaza 好景商場 | 52 New Kennedy Square 新旺角廣場 |
| 13 Agincourt Mall 愛靜閣商場 | 33 Golden Plaza 黃金商場 | 53 Regency Place 麗景商場 |
| 14 Chartwell Shopping Centre 樂友商場 | 34 Chalmers Gate 東亞銀行中心 | 54 Milliken Wells Shopping Centre 曼登閣 |
| 15 Finch - Midland Centre 芬蘭商場 | 35 Golden View Centre 富景商場 | 55 Woodside Square 活道商場 |
| 16 Scarborough Village Mall 士嘉堡村 | 36 Doncrest Plaza 百利廣場 | 56 Sherwood Centre 高華中心 |
| 17 Silverland Centre 銀星中心 | 37 Jubilee Square 銀禧中心 | 57 Swing'n Bowl 反斗城娛樂商場 |
| 18 Scarboro Industrial Centre 嘉堡工業中心 | 38 Time Square 時代廣場 | 58 Markham Place 萬興廣場 |
| 19 First Commercial Place 第一商場 | 39 Shoppes of the Parkway 喜來登商場 | |
| 20 Milliken Square 美利村商場 | 40 Commerce Gate 金貿中心 | |

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