

NOTE TO USERS

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI[®]

617850824
HI
S469.23
.C23
T67
2007

CHANGES IN CHINESE SUPERMARKET DEVELOPMENT IN THE TORONTO CMA: A
CASE STUDY OF T & T SUPERMARKET

By

Rebecca Hii, BA, University of Waterloo, 2004

A Major Research Paper
presented to Ryerson University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in the Program of
Immigration and Settlement Studies

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2007

© Rebecca Hii 2007

PROPERTY OF
RYERSON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

UMI Number: EC53568

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform EC53568
Copyright 2009 by ProQuest LLC
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this major research paper.

I authorize Ryerson University to lend this paper to other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

Signature

I further authorize Ryerson University to reproduce this paper by photocopying or by other means, in total or in part, at the request of other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

Signature

CHANGES IN CHINESE SUPERMARKET DEVELOPMENT IN THE TORONTO CMA: A CASE STUDY OF T & T SUPERMARKET

© Rebecca Hii, 2007

Master of Arts
Immigration and Settlement Studies
Ryerson University

ABSTRACT

The Chinese have developed expansive ethnic economies with high levels of institutional completeness throughout the Toronto CMA. While Chinese shopping centre development has been studied extensively in the literature, little research has been done on changes in the Chinese food industry, one of the oldest and largest sectors of the Chinese ethnic economy. Using T & T Supermarket as a case study, this paper investigates changes in Chinese supermarket development in the Toronto CMA. The first most notable change is the evolution of Chinese supermarkets from traditional-concept stores, which sell almost exclusively Chinese goods, to the one-stop supermarket, which offers a wider range of goods and services to a larger customer base. Chinese supermarkets have also experienced shifts in location from Chinese shopping plazas and enclosed malls to mixed-ethnic shopping plazas and enclosed mainstream malls. Finally, this study examines the prevalence of cross-shopping in mixed-ethnic shopping centres, thus illustrating potential benefits and future trends in ethnic shopping centre development

Key words: Chinese supermarkets, T & T Supermarket, ethnic economy, Chinese commercial activities, Toronto CMA

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to my MRP supervisor, Dr. Shuguang Wang, for providing me with his infinite knowledge and expertise, as well as with the support and encouragement that allowed me to carry on with this project during my times of doubt. I am privileged to have been given the opportunity to work with such a prominent researcher.

I would also like to extend a million thanks to my loved ones. Mom and Dad, I am constantly in awe of how much you have sacrificed and provided for me over the years. Thank you for your love and support in all my academic endeavors, no matter how crazy they may seem. Vanessa and Yvonne, I will always be grateful for your creative ideas and sisterly advice. The three of us will take the world by storm one day. Andrew, thank you for your immense patience, witty humour, and many words of encouragement during my grumpiest moments.

I am also grateful to Dr. Beth Carlson for providing me with helpful comments and suggestions in an earlier draft of this paper; Jason Zhong for his extensive GIS knowledge; Windsor Norstar Incorporated for contributing rich and detailed information to this research; and finally, all my ISS cronies for making the past year a memorable adventure in academia!

Table of Contents

Author's Declaration.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Tables.....	vii
List of Figures.....	viii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Study Area.....	2
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	4
2.1 The Ethnic Economy and Ethnic Entrepreneurship.....	4
2.2 Changes in Chinese Occupations and Business Patterns in the Toronto CMA.....	8
2.3 Study Focus.....	12
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND DATA.....	13
3.1 Methodology.....	13
3.1.1 Field Observations.....	13
3.1.2 Interviews.....	14
3.2 Data.....	14
3.2.1 2001 Canadian Census.....	14
3.2.2 Landed Immigrant Data System (LIDS).....	15
3.2.3 Chinese Shopping Centre Database.....	15
3.2.4 Chinese Retail Strip Database.....	16
CHAPTER 4: RECENT CHANGES IN CHINESE COMPOSITION AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN THE TORONTO CMA.....	17

4.1 Changes in Composition of Chinese Immigrants in the Toronto CMA.....	17
4.2 Chinese Settlement Patterns in the Toronto CMA.....	21
CHAPTER 5: CHINESE BUSINESS PATTERNS IN THE TORONTO CMA.....	24
5.1 Chinese Retail Strips in the Toronto CMA.....	24
5.2 Chinese Shopping Centres in the Toronto CMA.....	25
CHAPTER 6: CHANGES IN CHINESE SUPERMARKET DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TORONTO CMA.....	28
6.1 Traditional Concept Chinese Supermarkets in the Toronto CMA.....	31
6.1.1 Products Offered in Traditional Chinese Supermarkets.....	32
6.1.2 Services in Traditional Chinese Supermarkets.....	33
6.1.3 Cultural Environment.....	34
6.2 A Case Study of T & T Supermarket: Background Information.....	35
6.3 Changes in Chinese Supermarket Style and Product Offering.....	37
6.3.1 T & T: Social, Community and Educational Functions.....	40
6.3.2 The Growing Trend of the One-Stop Supermarket Concept.....	42
6.4 Change in Location of Chinese Supermarkets in the Toronto CMA.....	43
6.4.1 Mixed Ethnic Versus Chinese Enclosed and Outdoor Plazas.....	55
6.5 Cross-Shopping.....	58
6.5.1 Mixed Ethnic Plazas: Potential Benefits.....	62
CHAPTER 7: LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS	65
7.1 Limitations.....	65
7.2 Summary and Conclusions.....	67
References.....	69

List of Tables

Table 4.1 Chinese Immigrants in the Toronto CMA from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.....	17
Table 4.2 Immigrant Classes of Chinese Immigrant Arrivals in the Toronto CMA.....	19
Table 6.1: Comparisons Among T & T Located Shopping Centres.....	53
Table 6.2: Comparisons Between Chinese and Mixed Ethnic Shopping Centres.....	57
Table 6.3: Demographic Profile of Cross Shoppers.....	60

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: The Toronto CMA – Study Area.....	3
Figure 4.1: Distribution of Chinese in the Toronto CMA.....	22
Figure 4.2: Relative Concentration of Chinese in the Toronto CMA.....	23
Figure 5.1: Chinese Retail Strips in the Toronto CMA.....	26
Figure 5.2: Chinese Shopping Centres in the Toronto CMA.....	27
Figure 6.1: Chinese Supermarkets in Downtown Toronto.....	29
Figure 6.2: Chinese Supermarkets in Suburban Chinese Shopping Malls in the Toronto CMA..	30
Figure 6.3: T & T Supermarket Locations in the Toronto CMA.....	44
Figure 6.4: T & T Supermarket Complex in Promenade Shopping Centre.....	46
Figure 6.5: New Horizon Centre.....	48
Figure 6.6: Milliken Crossing Plaza.....	50
Figure 6.7: Grand Park Centre, Mississauga.....	51

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The Chinese have a long history of immigration in Canada and have comprised the largest immigrant group in the country since 1986 (CIC, 2005). Originating from over a hundred different countries and possessing a wide range of human and financial capital and business skills, the Chinese have produced expansive ethnic economies throughout the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) that have evolved from unplanned inner-city Chinatown retail strips, offering a narrow range of goods and services, to the development of sprawling suburban Chinese shopping centres, comprised of a highly diversified offering of retail and consumer service businesses, with a high level of institutional completeness.

Chinese commercial activities have provided settings of cultural familiarity and comfort for Chinese immigrants, allowing them to maintain links to their homelands and to one another (Preston, Kobayashi, & Siemiatycki, 2006). A number of studies in the scholarly literature have examined the general expansion of Chinese commercial developments in major metropolitan centres such as Toronto, Vancouver, and Los Angeles. However, few studies have focused specifically on changes in the Chinese food industry, one of the oldest and largest sectors of the ethnic economy, and which has been rooted in Toronto's Chinese community since the development of inner-city Chinatowns in the early 20th century (Li, 1993; Thompson, 1989). While the food industry, which includes restaurants, grocery stores, supermarkets, and bakeries, is rooted the traditional ethnic economy, it has experienced significant evolution and growth over recent decades that have resulted in major changes in their physical form, function, and location, and have influenced new trends in shopping behaviour.

This study examines changes in Chinese commercial activities through the development and growth of Chinese food institutions in the Toronto CMA, using T & T Supermarket as a case study to illustrate these changes. The first objective of this study is to examine the evolution of Chinese grocery stores and supermarkets, from the traditional concept store that sells standard, almost exclusively Chinese food staples, to the relatively new concept of the one-stop supermarket, which resembles mainstream Canadian supermarkets in appearance, organization and size, and carries a wider range of products and services that cater to populations beyond the Chinese community. The second objective is to examine the change in location of Chinese supermarkets, from inner-city Chinatown retail strips to enclosed suburban Chinese shopping malls and plazas, to mixed ethnic suburban shopping plazas and enclosed mainstream shopping malls. In addition to noting the change in location of new Chinese supermarket developments, this study will be the first of its kind to investigate the potential for cross-shopping behaviour in these mixed-ethnic business developments.

1.2 Study Area

The study area for this project is the Toronto CMA, where the Chinese population comprises approximately 8.7 percent of the total population, and which hosts one of the largest Chinese ethnic economies outside of Asia (Wang & Lo, 2007). The Toronto CMA is comprised of the amalgamated City of Toronto, which includes the former municipalities of Toronto, Etobicoke, York, East York, North York and Scarborough, as well as twenty municipalities and towns in the outer suburbs, of which Markham, Richmond Hill, and Mississauga contain substantial Chinese populations (Figure 1.1). More specifically, the study will examine T & T Supermarket developments in Thornhill, Markham, Scarborough, Mississauga, and will briefly examine the site of the forthcoming T & T store in downtown Toronto.

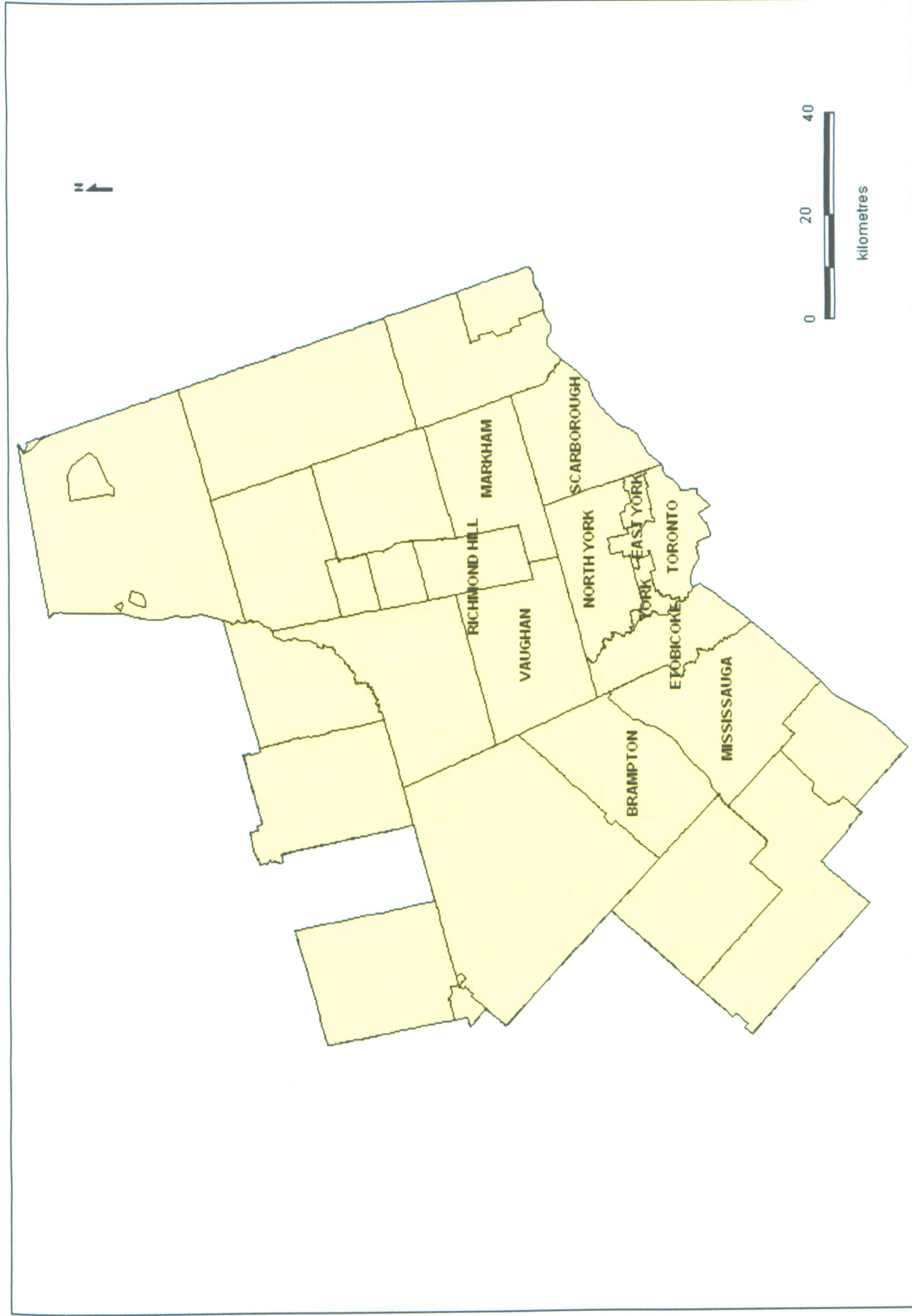


Figure 1.1: The Toronto CMA – Study Area

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The ethnic economy and ethnic entrepreneurship have become popular areas of study for academics interested in examining the settlement practices and economic integration of newcomers in immigrant-receiving countries such as Canada, the United States, and Australia. Those such as Aldrich & Waldinger (1990), Bonacich & Modell (1980), and Light (1972, 1984) observed that immigrants generally tend to be overrepresented in North American small business and that some ethnic groups have higher rates of business formation and ownership than do others. For instance, the Chinese communities in Toronto, Vancouver, and Los Angeles have been studied extensively for their high rates of entrepreneurship, leading to the development of ethnic economies with high levels of institutional completeness (Edgington, Goldberg, & Hutton, 2006; Lai, 2005; Li, 2006; Lin & Robinson, 2006; Lo, 2006a, 2006b; Wang, 1999). The review of the literature will first outline theories and concepts related to ethnic business development in advanced industrial countries, and will then examine the evolution of Chinese commercial activities and changes to the retail landscape in the Toronto CMA.

2.1 The Ethnic Economy and Ethnic Entrepreneurship

The ethnic economy is defined as consisting of coethnic self-employed and employers and their coethnic employees (Bonacich & Modell, 1980) that exist when “any immigrant or ethnic group maintains a private economic sector in which it has a controlling ownership stake” (Light & Gold, 2000, p. 9). The scholarly literature offers a plethora of theories to derive possible explanations for the preponderance of business formation by certain ethnic groups. According to the framework of ethnic entrepreneurship proposed by Aldrich & Waldinger

(1990), these theories can be grouped into (i) structural approaches and (ii) ethnic group characteristics.

Structural approaches of ethnic economic development focus on contextual or external forces of society, such as opportunities and constraints (opportunity structures) for ethnic business formation and the demand for ethnic goods and services (Chan, 2005). These provide the niches and roots of access for ethnic entrepreneurship (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990). One theory that illustrates the importance of opportunity structures in ethnic business development is the blocked mobility thesis, in which racial barriers and discrimination from the mainstream labour market can lead to the formation of a split labour market, channelling immigrants into menial, low-paid jobs. These adverse economic conditions provide incentives for immigrants to engage in self-employment in ethnic-specific businesses, thus avoiding competition in the mainstream job market and bypassing low-level employment (Chan & Cheung, 1985; Light, 1972, 1984; Light & Rosenstein, 1995). However, as noted by Chan & Cheung (1985), Li (1993), and Wang (1999), this explanation alone cannot account for recent changes in Chinese business development in the Toronto CMA.

In addition to blocked economic mobility, opportunity structures are contingent on government policies governing immigration and ethnic entrepreneurship. The abolishment of racially exclusionary immigration laws and the introduction of non-discriminatory immigration policies and programs facilitate immigrant entrepreneurial activity in the host country. For instance, the abolishment of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1947 provided the opportunity for Chinese migrants already living in Canada to bring their families to the country and eventually become naturalized citizens, after enduring decades of disenfranchisement and social exclusion. Secondly, the introduction of the Points System in 1967 and the expansion of the Immigrant

Business Program in 1984 resulted in the influx of ethnically diverse immigrants that possessed a variety of human and financial capital and entrepreneurial skills, allowing them to engage in a wide range of professional occupations and to conduct business practices in their new country (Kelley & Trebilcock, 1998; Li, 1998).

Demand for particular ethnic goods and services also fuel the proliferation of ethnic businesses (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990; Chan, 2005). In the protected market hypothesis, demands from co-ethnic consumers for culturally familiar products and services (i.e. Chinese vegetables, kosher and halal foods) that may not be provided by mainstream outlets provide a protected market for ethnic entrepreneurs, who are familiar and knowledgeable of immigrant tastes and preferences, have connections to the ethnic homeland, and are better able to meet the needs and wants of co-ethnic consumers (Light, 1972). However, in addition to co-ethnic demand, it is also important to reach out to non-ethnic markets for the success and survival of ethnic enterprises. This can be achieved by entering a market that is relatively underserved by mainstream establishments or by meeting a demand by the mainstream population for “exotic” goods (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990). For instance, Canadians’ exposure to people of different cultures through daily interactions, TV, travel, internet, and the forces of globalization, have introduced them to a multitude of diverse ethnic foods and lifestyles, thus creating a demand for ethnic food outlets to provide authentic and “exotic” cultural experiences (Serecon, 2005).

Unlike opportunity structures, which explain how ethnic groups are able to engage in business development, ethnic group characteristics explain why particular ethnic groups are disproportionately represented in the ethnic economy (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990; Portes, 1987). According to Light (1984) and Light & Rosenstein (1995), higher rates of ethnic entrepreneurship among immigrants can be explained by their use of a combination of ethnic and

class resources. Ethnic resources include all features of a group in which co-ethnic business owners can draw upon or from which their businesses may benefit (Light, 1984). These resources include transplanted cultural endowments, such as an ethnic group's imported values of flexibility, hard work, familism, education and motivations that contribute to the operation and success of an ethnic business (Li, 1993; Light, 1972; Goldberg, 1985). Another ethnic resource is enhanced social solidarity, in which well-developed co-ethnic social networks, as a result of chain migration, provide a rich supply of social resources and support for the start-up, maintenance, and survival of an ethnic business (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990; Light, 1983). Finally, ethnic resources also include the sojourning orientation of an ethnic group, which postulates that because some migrants are very attached to their ancestral homelands, they engage in self-employment for the purposes of making as much money as possible for a potential return the country of origin (Li, 1982; Siu, 1952). However, while ethnic resources are imperative for ethnic business formation, they cannot act alone. Modern-day ethnic entrepreneurs also draw upon class resources, which include bourgeoisie material elements of private property, human capital, investment money, as well as bourgeoisie cultural values, attitudes, knowledge, and skills. What sets ethnic entrepreneurs apart from mainstream entrepreneurs is access to ethnic resources. A combination of both sets of resources strengthens the development and maintenance of ethnic business (Light, 1983; Light and Rosenstein, 1995).

In addition to ethnic and class resources, group characteristics that are important for ethnic economic development are predisposing factors of an ethnic group. Immigrants who possess adaptive migration characteristics such as human and financial capital, social networks, transnational connections, and specific business skills tend to be better able to succeed in establishing businesses in the host country. Furthermore, settlement characteristics and size of

an ethnic group are important for successful ethnic business development. Ethnic business patterns exist in three forms: local ethnic markets, which arise from residential clustering and are dominated by retail and service businesses; pseudo-middleman minority situation, where geographically dispersed businesses cater to a largely non-co-ethnic market; and the ethnic enclave, which resembles the local ethnic market in spatial concentration and patronage of co-ethnic shoppers, but differs in the sense that its industrial structure is diversified beyond the industries in a local ethnic market and requires economic interdependency and co-ethnic employees (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990; Light & Gold, 2000). In a study by Fong, Luk, & Ooka (2005) on the spatial concentration of Chinese businesses in Scarborough, it was found that the presence of other Chinese businesses in a particular area is important for ethnic economic growth, as it influences other co-ethnic businesses to cluster nearby, providing ethnic business owners with access to ethnic networks and to obtain resources and information.

According to Aldrich & Waldinger (1990), the constant interaction of both group characteristics and structural components facilitate ethnic business formation, such that ethnic entrepreneurs adapt to the constraints of their opportunity structures by utilizing their ethnic and class resources and group characteristics to carve out their niche industries. In other words, ethnic groups constantly adapt to the resources offered by their environment, which evolve and change over time. It is this framework from which this study will be based upon.

2.2 Changes in Chinese Occupations and Business Patterns in the Toronto CMA

The Chinese have a long history of immigration and ethnic business development in Canada, due to a number of political and economic events that took place in both the sending and receiving countries, as well as major amendments Canadian immigration laws. The first

significant wave of Chinese settlers arrived in the late 1800s as unskilled labourers for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). While Chinese workers were in high demand for their industriousness and willingness to work cheaply in unfavourable conditions, they were viewed as sources of competition in the job market by White workers, and were shunned by mainstream society and the Canadian government, who, over the course of the late 1800s to mid-1900s, imposed a series of costly head taxes and the 1923 Chinese Exclusion Act to curtail Chinese presence in the country (Anderson, 1991; Li, 1998; Thompson, 1989).

As a result of these racially discriminatory measures, the Chinese were barred from most areas of meaningful employment, jeopardizing their ability to earn a living (Li, 1998). These adverse conditions resulted in changes in the occupational patterns of the Chinese, as a number of them began to draw upon financial and social resources from rotating credit associations, kinship networks, and clan associations to jointly own and operate small, relatively low-cost, labour-intensive businesses in the personal and food service sectors, of which hand laundries, restaurants, and grocery stores predominated. As these sectors were deemed to be low-class, underserved within the mainstream population, and often catered to co-ethnic patrons, Chinese economic activities were not viewed as a threat to mainstream businesses and were thus tolerated by White Canadians (Chan, 2005; Hoe, 2003; Li, 1998; Roberts, 2002; Yee, 2005).

In major Canadian cities such as Toronto, where many workers settled after the completion of the CPR, these businesses were often confined to inner-city Chinatowns, where Chinese migrants not only worked but also lived their daily lives. These inner-city Chinese commercial establishments are characterized by crowded unplanned retail strips in separate residence-like buildings with storefronts that face the sidewalks (Lo, 2006b; Wang, 1999). Toronto's first Chinese settlers in the early 1900s operated a scattering of hand laundries along

Queen Street, from Yonge Street in the east end to St. Patrick Street in the west end of the downtown core (Thompson, 1989). Toronto's first official Chinatown, or "Old Chinatown," was established between the First and Second World Wars in the popular immigrant-receiving area known as St. John's Ward, located at Dundas Street West, between Bay Street and University Avenue. In 1955, the construction of a new city hall forced the Chinese community to relocate westward to the former Jewish settlement near Dundas Street West and Spadina Avenue, establishing the present-day Central Chinatown, an important enclave business district and source of employment for community inhabitants (Murdie & Teixeira, 2003; Wang, 1999). A third inner-city Chinatown, known as East Chinatown, was developed in Toronto's East end at the intersection of Gerrard Street and Broadview Avenue.

A majority of Chinese businesses were operated and employed by co-ethnic "bachelors," who as a result of Chinese exclusion laws were forced to leave their families behind in China. However, after the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1947, Chinese businesses increasingly became family-operated, as wives and children of Chinese settlers were permitted to migrate to Canada (Chan & Cheung, 1985; Li, 1982, 1993; Roberts, 2002). In spite of the overturning of the Act, no significant influx of Chinese immigrants into Canada occurred until 1967 when the Canadian government introduced the Canadian Immigration Act, which, rather than utilizing racial criteria to select prospective immigrants, employed a universal points system to evaluate their educational and work skills and potential to contribute to Canada's economic development (Kelley & Trebilcock, 1998). With the introduction of more highly skilled and educated Chinese immigrants into Canada, they began to enter occupations in professional, clerical, entrepreneurial, managerial, and sales (Li, 1998).

However, it was the period from 1984 to 1997 when the proliferation and diversification of Chinese commercial activities in the Toronto CMA peaked. The signing of a declaration in 1984 to confirm the handover of the former British colony of Hong Kong back to China in 1997 sparked a high degree of apprehension among the colony's inhabitants, creating a massive exodus of predominantly middle class and affluent Hong Kong professionals and their families to Canada. Between 1985 and 1994, an estimated 352,967 Hong Kong Chinese immigrated to Canada, making it the largest source of Chinese immigrants, as well as the largest immigrant group in the country (Li, 1998). In the midst of this influx, the Canadian government modified the Canadian Business Immigrant program to allow investors, entrepreneurs, and self-employed immigrants to come to Canada based on their ability to invest financially and create jobs (Chan, 2005; Li, 1998). In 1980, 7.8 percent of business immigrants originated from East and Southeast Asian countries such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, Mainland China, and Singapore. However, by 1990, the number of business immigrants from these countries increased to 54 percent (Chan, 2005). A high degree of business investment, human capital, management experience, business acumen, and transnational connections, resulted in the proliferation and diversification of Chinese businesses, which, in addition to the traditional restaurant and grocery sectors, now include clothing and shoes retailing, auto dealers/service, hotel, medical service, business service, personal service, household furniture/service, real estate, and other retailing, which include specialty stores selling books, DVDs, and sporting goods (Wang, 1999).

Unlike their immigrant predecessors, recent immigrants within the last two to three decades have increasingly been avoiding the traditional immigrant-receiving areas of inner-city Chinatowns and have been settling directly in the suburbs, particularly in North York, Scarborough, Markham, Richmond Hill, and Mississauga. The suburbs are enticing for Chinese

immigrants due to their spacious homes and green space, a major contrast from the cramped apartment units and crowded city blocks they inhabited in Asia. Along with suburban residential settlements, new developments of Chinese commercial activities have proliferated to cater to the needs and tastes of the burgeoning suburban Chinese population. Along with family-owned establishments, many recent suburban businesses have expanded to include branch operations or are linked to overseas corporations (Wang, 1999). In addition, they are housed in converted mainstream-to-Chinese plazas, newly-constructed Chinese shopping plazas, and enclosed Chinese shopping malls, of which at least 67 currently exist in the Toronto CMA, and more are being built at the time of writing.

2.3 Study Focus

Restaurants and grocery stores have historically been among the most popular forms of businesses in Toronto's Chinese ethnic economy (Thompson, 1989) and, along with food courts bakeries, and cafés, comprise a significant proportion of retail space in Chinese shopping centres. However, their growth and development has largely been ignored or overlooked by academics. Although the food sector is part of the traditional Chinese ethnic economy and has declined in proportion to today's more highly diversified Chinese business sector (Wang, 1999), it has experienced significant changes throughout the decades and continues to evolve and expand. Since the Chinese ethnic economy contains an overwhelming number of food institutions, it is impossible in the scope of this paper to examine all of them. Thus, this study will focus on the development and growth T & T Supermarket, the largest Asian supermarket chain in Canada. T & T's rapid expansion in the Toronto CMA, its prominence in the Chinese community, growing popularity in mainstream Canadian society, and its ability to create unique cultural experiences and multifunctional food services all under one roof make it an intriguing case study.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND DATA

3.1 Methodology

3.1.1 Field Observations

Several on-site visits to the T & T Supermarket locations in Thornhill, Markham, Scarborough, and Mississauga were made during the course of this project in order to examine each store's physical attributes, including the types of products that are sold, the services that are offered, as well as the social and cultural environment that each store provides. In addition, field observations were made to determine the approximate ethnic composition and age of T & T shoppers, compare the geographical locations of each supermarket site, examine the types of retail establishments (i.e. co-ethnic, mainstream, or mixed ethnic) that co-exist within the same shopping plaza, and to observe trends in these mixed-ethnic commercial developments, such as the potential for cross-shopping behaviour between ethnic and mainstream businesses. In order to measure the approximate number and ethnic composition of T & T shoppers, the author of this paper observed the main entrances of each T & T Supermarket location and counted the number of individuals (Chinese and non-Chinese) who entered the store over 1 hour intervals for 3 days (3 hours of observations in total). Field observations for cross shopping behaviour will be explained in further detail in chapter 6 (section 6.5) of this paper. As the newest T & T development in downtown Toronto was still under construction at the time of writing, and celebrated its grand opening when the data collection process for this project was already completed, only general observations regarding the supermarket site could be made.

In addition, on-site visits were made to three traditional-concept Chinese supermarkets in North York and Markham, two of which are located in an enclosed Chinese shopping mall and

one in a converted mainstream-to-Chinese shopping plaza, as well as to a major mainstream Canadian supermarket, comparable in size and layout to T & T Supermarket, in order to differentiate between mainstream and Chinese supermarkets and to examine the evolving trends of Chinese supermarket development.

3.1.2 Interviews

The Toronto headquarters of T & T Supermarket, as well as some of the development companies associated with the development of T & T stores in the Toronto CMA were contacted through telephone, in-person visit, and e-mail to request an in-person or telephone interview with representatives from each company in order to learn about the nature of T & T Supermarket itself, as well as to acquire some information about the geographic and demographic profile of the residential and commercial developments surrounding each supermarket location. However, only one telephone interview with a developer from Windsor Norstar Incorporated, the developer of the T & T store in Scarborough, could be elicited and was incorporated into this project.

3.2 Data

3.2.1 2001 Canadian Census

This study utilizes microdata from the 2001 Canadian Census 20 percent sample files, compiled by Statistics Canada and made available at the census tract level in the Department of Geography at Ryerson University. Through this database, one can obtain population information such as country of birth, mother tongue, ethnic origin, religion, and visible minority status. To get a comprehensive overview of characteristics of the Chinese population in the Toronto CMA, Chinese individuals were identified by those who indicated their visible ethnic minority status as

“Chinese.” Maps of the relative concentration and distribution of Chinese immigrants in the Toronto CMA were created from this data using the computer software MapInfo Professional.

3.2.2 Landed Immigrant Data System (LIDS)

The Landed Immigrant Data System (LIDS) files are part of an administrative dataset in the Immigration Database (IMDB) that is maintained by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), and contains administrative records on immigration, employment, and taxation activities of all immigrants who landed in Canada between 1980 and 2001. LIDS contains information from the Immigrant Visa and Record of Landing at the time of landing, such as country of birth, country of last permanent residence (CLPR), year of landing, immigration class, gender, age, level of educational attainment, Canadian official language ability, intended destination and occupation in Canada (CIC, 1997; Wang & Lo, 2005). The data for this paper include Chinese immigrants from the top three sources (Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong) who landed in the Toronto CMA between 1980 and 2001. The variables selected for examination were immigrant's year of landing, immigration class, and CLPR.

3.2.3 Chinese Shopping Centre Database

The Chinese Shopping Centre Database was created by Dr. Shuguang Wang of the Geography Department at Ryerson University and contains information on existing Chinese shopping centres in the Toronto CMA. Information in the database includes the name of the shopping centre, city, address, name of each store or unit within the shopping centre, type of business (i.e. restaurant, grocery store, video store), and the ethnicity of the business/business owners (i.e. Chinese, non-ethnic, or other). This database provides useful information on the physical nature and the locations of Chinese shopping centres, as well as the composition of

stores, and businesses throughout the Toronto CMA. In order to better illustrate where these shopping centres are located, the postal codes for each shopping centre was located using the Canada Post online postal code locator and was geocoded and mapped using the programs Arc GIS and MapInfo Professional.

3.2.4 Chinese Retail Strip Database

The Chinese Retail Strip database contains information on existing Chinese retail strips in the East and Central Chinatown districts in inner-city Toronto, notably along Spadina Avenue and Dundas Street West in the west end and Broadview Avenue and Gerrard Street in the east end. Like the Chinese Shopping Centre database, the Chinese Retail Strip database contains information regarding the address, name and type of retail establishment, year of operation, and ethnicity of the businesses/business owners of these retail units. As the database contained Chinese as well as non-ethnic or “other ethnic” businesses, these data were manipulated by the author of this paper so that only businesses identified as “Chinese” were used in this study. Using the addresses of the Chinese retail units, these data were geocoded and mapped using the program MapInfo Professional.

CHAPTER 4: RECENT CHANGES IN CHINESE COMPOSITION AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN THE TORONTO CMA

Since 1987, the Chinese have comprised the largest immigrant group in Canada, with the Toronto CMA housing the largest Chinese population in the country (CIC, 2005). Despite sharing a common ethnicity, the Chinese are by no means a homogenous group. Compared to Toronto's first Chinese inhabitants in the early 1900s, those who have arrived since the 1980s originate from over 100 different countries, speak a multitude of Chinese dialects and languages, and possess different skills, economic situations, and educational qualifications, resulting in dramatic changes in the number and composition of Chinese immigrants (Lo, 2006a, 2006b; Lo & Wang, 1997). The following section will discuss these changes using LIDS data for immigrants originating from three major Chinese immigrant origins, Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, and will then outline the concentration and distribution of Chinese in the Toronto CMA.

4.1 Changes in Composition of Chinese Immigrants in the Toronto CMA

Table 4.1 illustrates the changes in number and composition of Chinese immigrants that arrived in the Toronto CMA in the years 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, and 2001.

Table 4.1 Chinese Immigrants in the Toronto CMA from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong

Year	China	% Change	Taiwan	% Change	Hong Kong	% Change	Total	% Change
1981	1354		322		2069		3745	
1986	644	-52.4	229	-28.9	2324	12.3	3197	-14.6
1991	3838	496.0	971	324.0	10236	340.4	15045	370.6
1996	7931	106.6	2492	156.6	13384	30.8	23807	58.2
2001	21487	170.9	565	-77.3	302	-97.7	22354	-6.1

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001

The largest percent change in growth of the total number of Chinese arrivals occurred between the years 1986 and 1991 at 371 percent. Immigrants from China experienced the largest increase during this period at 496 percent, which might be explained by a combination of the downfall of communism, the opening up of China to the West, and the aftermath of the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre. In response to the fatal political incident, which instilled a sense of fear for personal safety among many citizens in China, Canada introduced the OM-IS-399 policy, which allowed Mainland Chinese who were temporarily living or studying in Canada at the time of the incident to apply for permanent resident status. Some of the dependants and family members of these individuals were also permitted to immigrate, resulting in dramatic changes in the numbers of Mainland Chinese immigrants throughout the 1990s (Li, 2005; Liu & Norcliffe, 1996). Taiwan and Hong Kong also experienced significant growth at 324 and 340 percent, respectively, as the upcoming 1997 takeover of Hong Kong by China created a sense of panic among the Chinese in Hong Kong and made citizens of Taiwan apprehensive of their own country's future. The expansion of the Immigrant Business program in 1984 further accounted for and perhaps facilitated the growth in immigrants from both countries, particularly for those who possessed substantial financial capital and entrepreneurial skills. As a result, Hong Kong became the largest Asian source country of immigrants to Canada between 1985 and 1995 (Lai, 2002; Li, 1998; Lo, 2006b; CIC, 2005).

The change in growth of Chinese immigrants from 1996 to 2001 is particularly interesting in that the numbers of Chinese from Taiwan and Hong Kong decreased dramatically while the number of immigrants from China increased steadily. Lingering fears from Hong Kong residents of the former British colony's takeover by China seemed to dissipate, resulting in a number of immigrants returning to Hong Kong and severely decreasing the number of new

arrivals into the Toronto CMA and Canada in general. In contrast, the number of immigrants from China arriving in the Toronto CMA increased by 171 percent since 1996. This could be due to the country's rapid technological and industrial development, leading to greater economic prosperity and the production of more highly skilled and educated citizens, qualities that are highly sought after in the selection of immigrants to Canada. Thus, by 1996 China overtook Hong Kong as the top Chinese source country and continues to be the top immigrant sending country in Canada (CIC, 2005).

Table 4.2 illustrates the immigration classes of the total number and percentage of immigrants who arrived in the Toronto CMA in the years 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, and 2001, under the family, economic, refugee, and other immigrant classes.

Table 4.2 Immigrant Classes of Chinese Immigrant Arrivals in the Toronto CMA

Year of Landing	Total Chinese									
	1981	%	1986	%	1991	%	1996	%	2001	%
Family	2390	63.8	1505	47.1	7856	52.2	10552	44.3	4607	20.6
Economic	579	15.5	1691	52.9	6762	44.9	11292	47.4	17126	76.6
Skilled	398	68.7	499	29.5	3083	45.6	7649	67.7	16296	95.2
Business Class	157	27.1	1001	59.2	2117	31.3	3603	31.9	830	4.8
Ind. & Entrepreneur	0	0	0	0	631	9.3	14	.1	0	0
Retired	24	4.14	191	11.3	931	13.8	26	.2	0	0
Refugee	776	20.7	1	.0003	427	2.8	1916	8.0	615	2.8
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	47	.2	6	.0003
Total	3745	100	3197	100	15045	100	23807	100	22354	100

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001

According to the table, the greatest proportion of immigrants arrive under the family (family members and assisted relatives) or economic class (skilled, entrepreneurs, investors, self-employed, independents and entrepreneurs, and retired) immigrants, comprising between 79 to

almost 100 percent of the total number of Chinese immigrants that arrived in each year. The table also illustrates changes in the proportions of family and economic class immigrants. The proportion of family class immigrants (64 percent) dominated economic class immigrants (15 percent) in 1981, but during the passing of each successive time period, the proportion of family class immigrants dropped dramatically, from 64 percent in 1981 to just 21 percent in the year 2001. Meanwhile, the proportion of economic immigrants increased dramatically, from 15 percent in 1981 to 77 percent in 2001.

Table 4.2 also provides a breakdown of the number and percentage of Chinese immigrants who arrived in the economic class. The entrepreneurs, investors, and self-employed classes were grouped together to comprise the business immigrant category. With the exception of the year 1986, a majority of economic class immigrants were categorized as skilled immigrants, and the number and proportion of skilled immigrants increased over the years while the number and proportion of business class immigrants decreased. In 1981, the number of skilled immigrants was 398 (69 percent of all immigrants) and increased to 499 in 1986 (30 percent), 3,083 (46 percent) in 1991, 7,649 (68 percent) in 1996, and 16,296 (95 percent) in 2001. Consequently, the number of business class immigrants started at 157 (27 percent of all economic immigrants) and increased to 1,001 (59 percent) in 1986, 2,117 (31 percent) in 1991, 3,603 (32 percent) in 1996, and dropped to a mere 830 (5 percent) in 2001. The growth of business class immigrants, particularly from the early 1980s to 1996, can be explained by the influx of affluent business immigrants from Hong Kong, who took advantage of the expanded business immigrant program in anticipation of the Hong Kong takeover by China. Furthermore, the decrease in the number and proportion of business class immigrants between 1996 and 2001

can be explained by a drop in immigration from Hong Kong to Canada, as well as the influx of Mainland Chinese immigrants, who tend to possess more human than financial capital.

4.2 Chinese Settlement Patterns in the Toronto CMA

As was mentioned in the literature review, Chinese immigrants are no longer confined to the boundaries of inner-city Chinatowns and have in recent decades been increasingly bypassing traditional immigrant-receiving areas in favour of more spacious suburban settlements. The dot density map of the distribution of Chinese in the Toronto CMA (Figure 4.1) shows several clusters of Chinese settlement. Significant clusters are located in the southeast and southwest ends of inner-city Toronto, but the most prominent clusters are found in the northeast end of North York, the northwest to mid-section of Scarborough, as well as in the southern portions of Markham and Richmond Hill. There is also a modest cluster of Chinese in Mississauga.

The map of the distribution of Chinese immigrants in the Toronto CMA (Figure 4.2) shows that census tracts in which Chinese comprise more than 40 percent of the total population are found primarily throughout Markham, the southern region of Richmond Hill, the northwest end of Scarborough, and the east and west ends of central Toronto, where the East and Central inner-city Chinatowns are located. Substantial concentrations of Chinese (between 25 to 40 percent) are located in the northeast region of North York, southern Richmond Hill, Northwest Scarborough, and east and west Toronto. Census tracts in which the Chinese comprise between 10 to 25 percent of the total population are common in North York, Scarborough, Markham, and Mississauga. Thus, while these maps indicate that there are still some significant concentrations of Chinese in the inner city, many Chinese settle in the suburbs, particularly in Scarborough, Markham, and Richmond Hill.

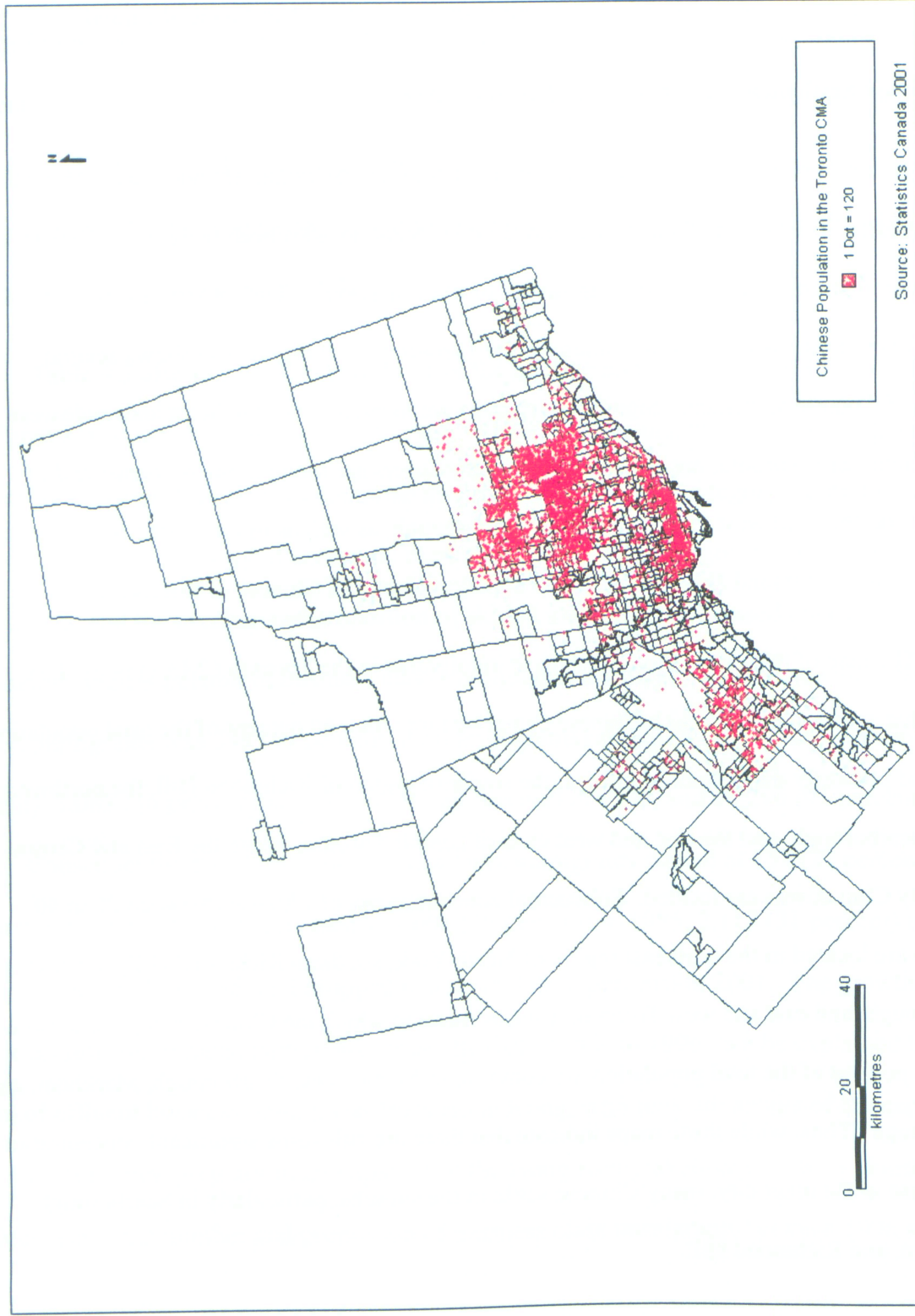


Figure 4.1: Distribution of Chinese in the Toronto CMA

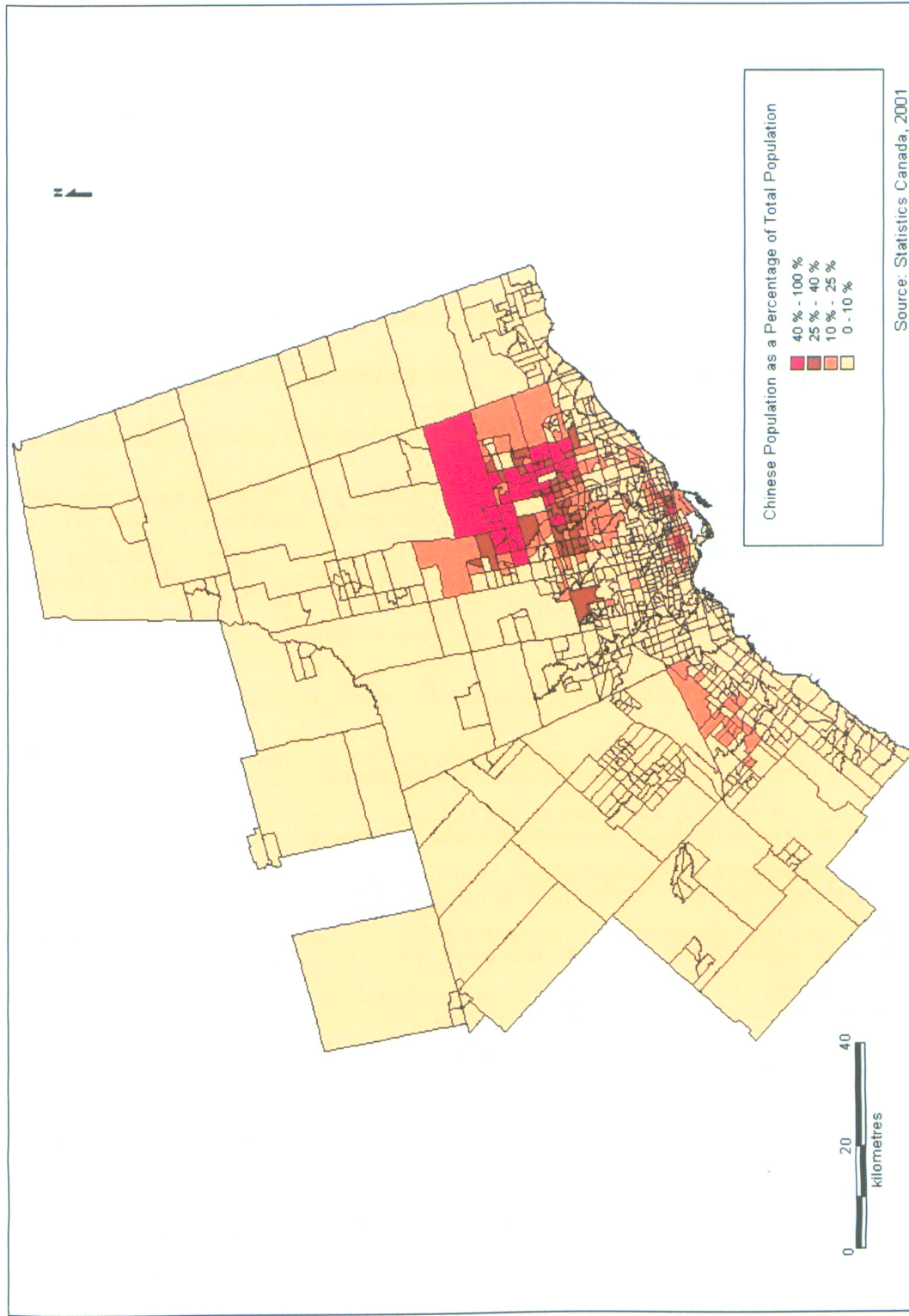


Figure 4.2: Relative Concentration of Chinese in the Toronto CMA

CHAPTER 5: CHINESE BUSINESS PATTERNS IN THE TORONTO CMA

Chinese businesses in the Toronto CMA are typically organized into retail strips, which have been characteristic of inner-city Chinatown communities since the early 1900s, and into shopping centres, which are predominantly found in the suburbs and have been the popular form of Chinese commercial development since the mid 1980s. The two forms of commercial development are also distinguished by different retail occupancy systems that are adopted. Store units along retail strips are often rented out or leased to tenants, while many, but not all, Chinese shopping centres, particularly those built after 1989, adopt the concept of condominium retailing. Condominium retailing allows tenants to purchase store units within a shopping complex, sharing ownership of the building and common space/parking with other tenants (Wang, 1999). This chapter will illustrate the general concentration and location of Chinese commercial activities in the Toronto CMA.

5.1 Retail Strips in the Toronto CMA

Figure 5.1 clearly shows the concentration and location of Chinese retail strips in East and Central Chinatowns in inner-city Toronto. Central Chinatown contains a large concentration of businesses lined up along the main business districts of Spadina Avenue and Dundas Street West. The second largest cluster or concentration of Chinese retail businesses can be found in East Chinatown along Broadview Avenue and Gerrard Street East. Finally, a smaller cluster of Chinese businesses exists on Dundas Street West, just east of Yonge Street. This smaller clustering of businesses represents remnants of the Old Chinatown community that was forced to uproot due to the construction of the new City Hall in the mid-1950s.

5.2 Shopping Centres in the Toronto CMA

Figure 5.2 shows the concentration of 67 Chinese shopping centres in the Toronto CMA, 65 of which are located in the suburbs. According to this map, Chinese shopping centres are highly clustered in the suburbs, particularly in the regions bordering North Scarborough and South Markham, followed by a smaller cluster of shopping centres in the southern part of Richmond Hill. Six Chinese shopping centres exist in Mississauga and are more widely dispersed when compared to those in Scarborough, Markham, and Richmond Hill. In contrast, downtown Toronto only contains two shopping centres, Dragon City and Chinatown Centre, which were both built in the 1980s.

The large number and concentration of Chinese shopping centres in the suburbs might be explained by the fact that the suburbs have increasingly been housing larger numbers of Chinese immigrants in recent decades. Furthermore, the suburbs also tend to have larger plots of undeveloped land that can accommodate large building complexes with adjoining parking lots. The development of shopping centres may also be more feasible in the suburbs because, unlike inner-city Chinatowns, where residents tend to live as well as shop and/or work within the densely-packed community, suburban residential neighbourhoods and business districts are more widely distributed and sprawling. Chinese residents in the suburbs may not necessarily live in the same area that they work or shop and thus would benefit more from shopping centres or plazas that contain all the necessary amenities such as grocery stores and supermarkets, restaurants, and retail stores. Many suburban residents also own cars, which can more easily allow them to navigate the sprawling suburban landscape and frequent other suburban shopping centres outside of their immediate neighbourhood.



Figure 5.1: Chinese Retail Strips in the Toronto CMA

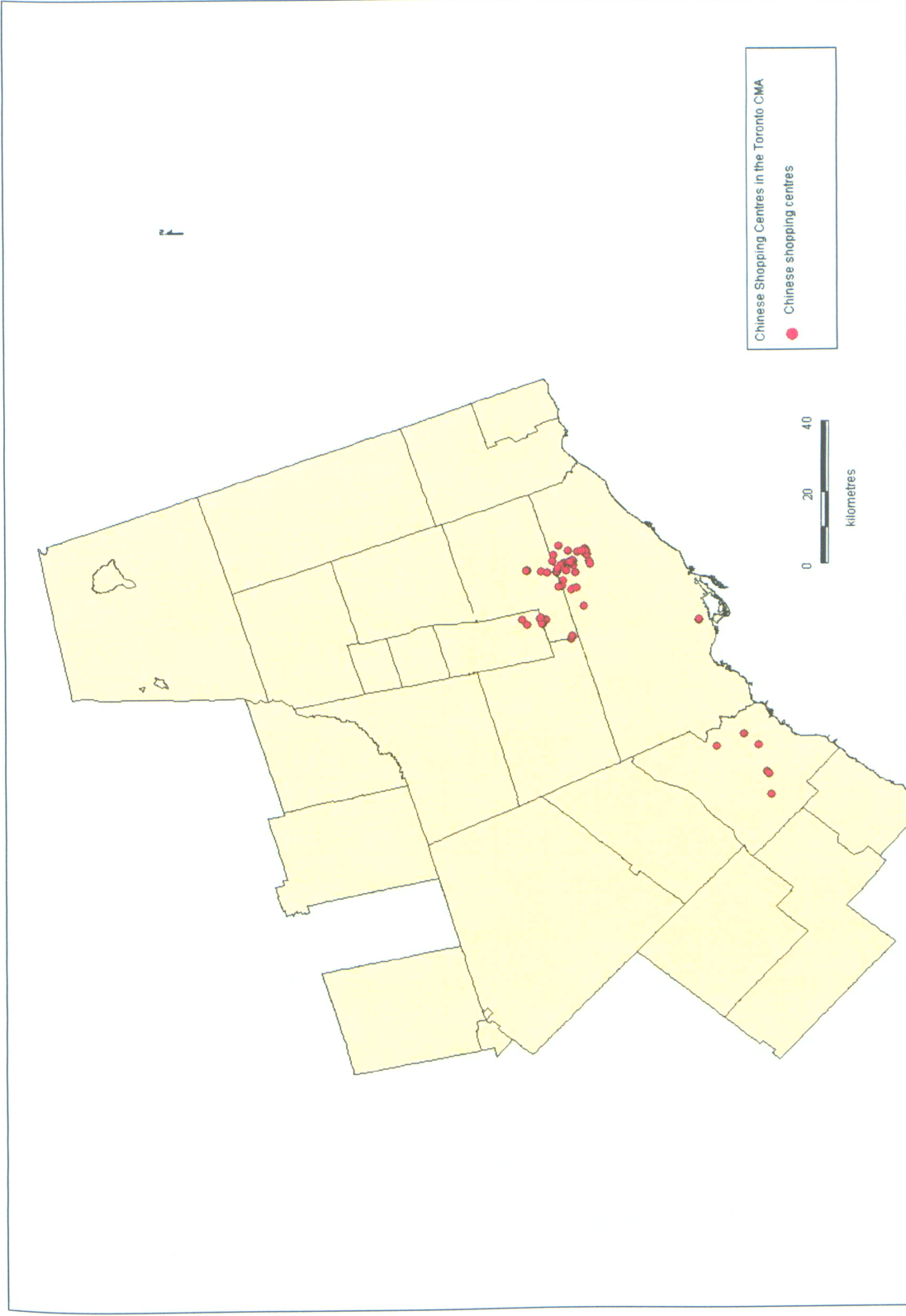


Figure 5.2: Chinese Shopping Centres in the Toronto CMA

CHAPTER 6: CHANGES IN CHINESE SUPERMARKET DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TORONTO CMA

Grocery stores and supermarkets house an array of foodstuffs, such as fresh meats, produce, dairy products, non-perishables, and snack foods, in order to satisfy everyday cooking and consumption needs. While these food institutions serve the ultimate purpose of providing tangible goods for sustenance and nourishment, they also help to maintain cultural lifestyles. Improved technology and transportation networks since the late 19th century have greatly facilitated international travel and food importation, making once hard-to-acquire ethnic ingredients more widely available in North America. This has allowed modern-day immigrants to gain greater access to foods from their home countries that were not available to earlier immigrant groups, more effectively alleviating feelings of homesickness and providing a sense of well-being and security in the host country (Gabaccia, 1998; Matt, 2007). Ethnic-specific brands, produce, services and the provision of familiar cultural environments are items and characteristics that set ethnic supermarkets apart from mainstream supermarkets.

The Chinese Retail Strips database lists 23 Chinese supermarkets located in Central and East Chinatown. Ten supermarkets are located in the Spadina and Dundas St. W. area and are located in very close proximity to one another (Figure 6.1). The remaining 13 supermarkets are located in the Broadview and Gerrard area in East Chinatown. The Chinese Shopping Centre Database lists 36 grocery stores and supermarkets, not including T & T Supermarkets, located in 25 out of the 67 (37 percent) Chinese shopping centres in the Toronto CMA. Of these 36 food stores, 25 are Chinese-owned and operated. Figure 6.2 illustrates the distribution of Chinese supermarkets in suburban Chinese shopping centres in the Toronto CMA, most of which are clustered in northern Scarborough, Markham,

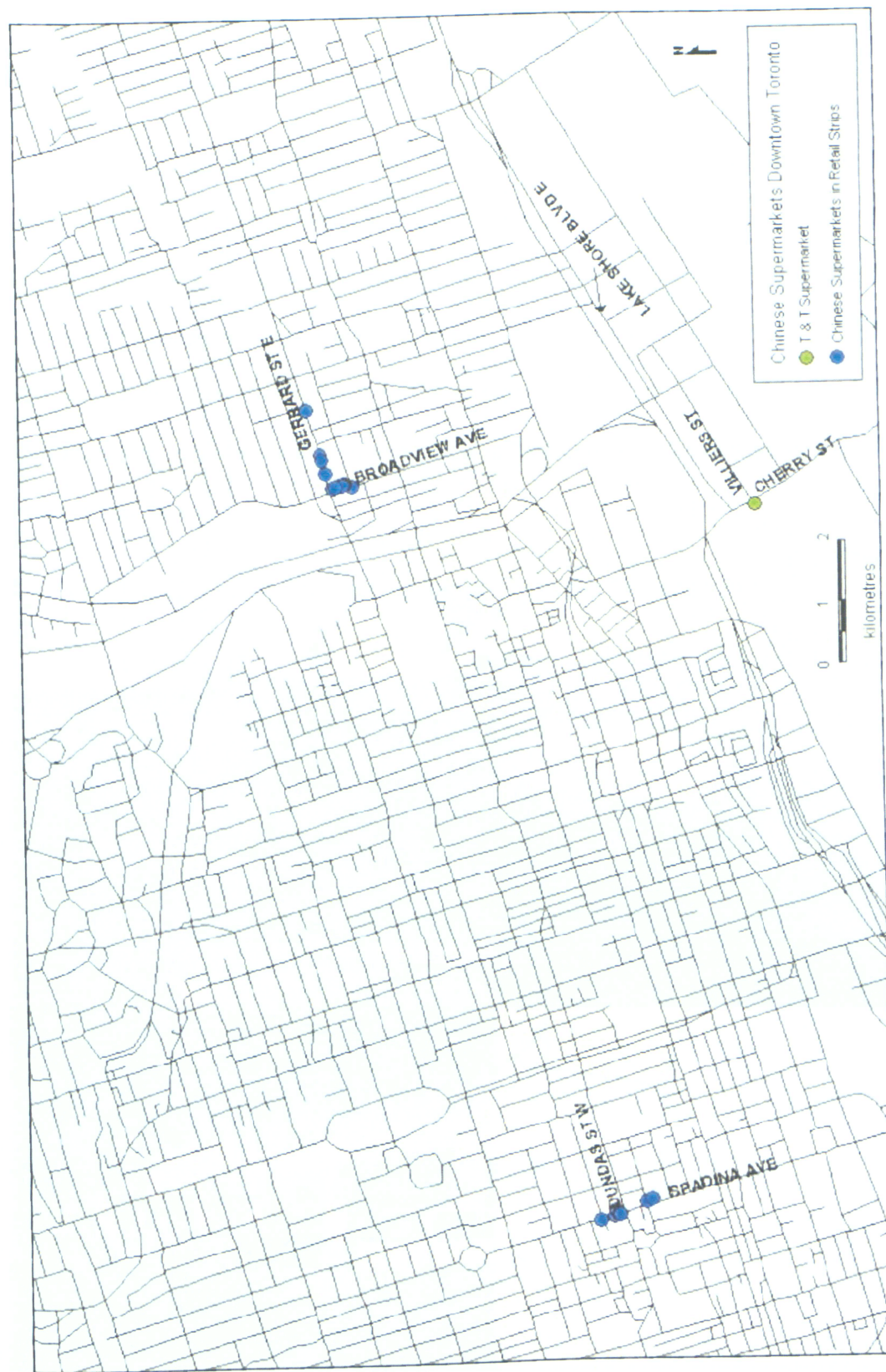


Figure 6.1: Chinese Supermarkets in Downtown Toronto

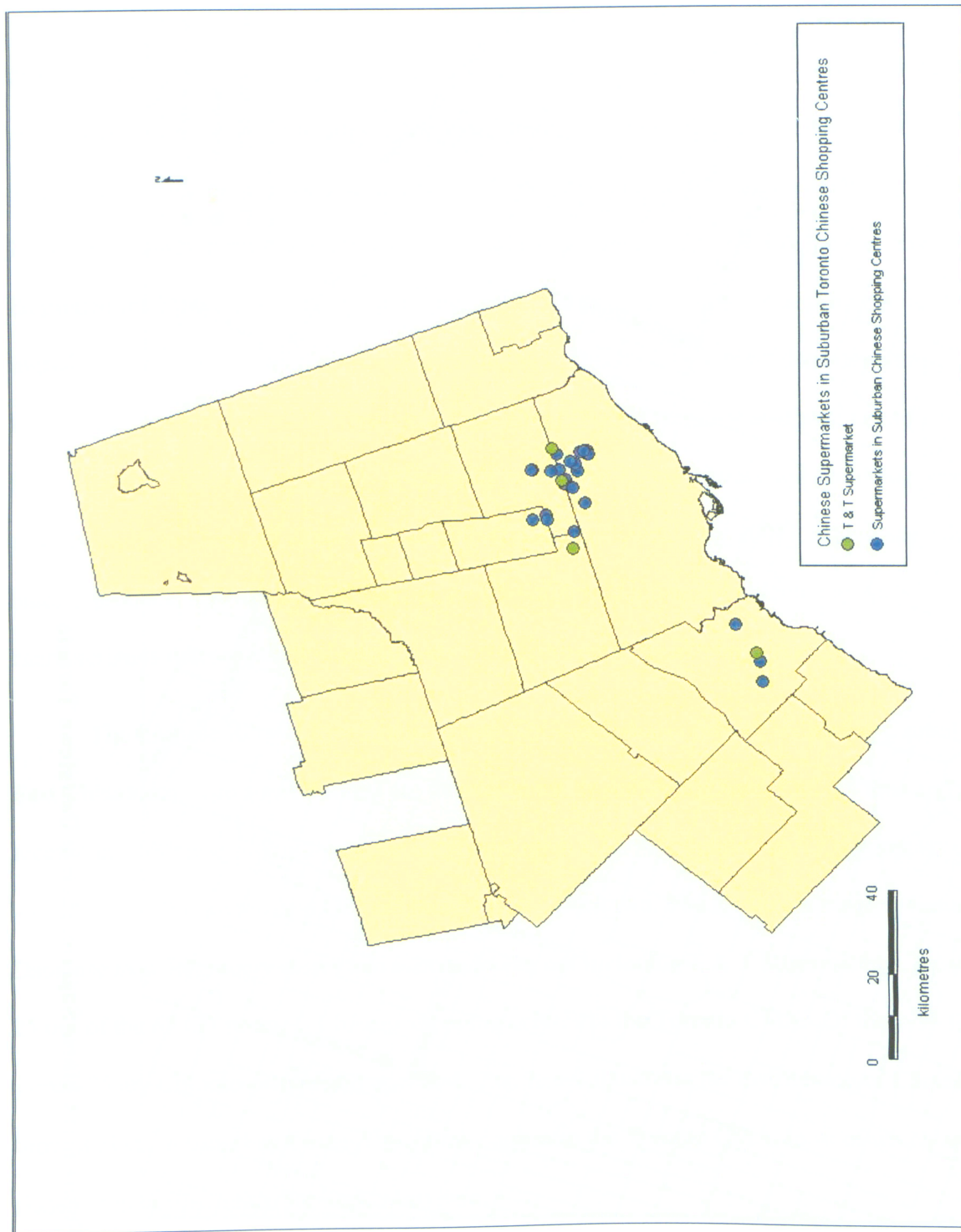


Figure 6.2: Chinese Supermarkets in Suburban Chinese Shopping Malls in the Toronto CMA

Richmond Hill, and Mississauga. This does not include stand-alone supermarkets (i.e. supermarkets that are not located in shopping plazas or malls).

Using T & T Supermarket as a case study, this chapter will examine changes in Chinese supermarket developments from the more traditional concept supermarket located in Chinese plazas and enclosed malls to the relatively new concept of the one-stop supermarket in new mixed ethnic shopping centres and in enclosed mainstream shopping malls. The following section will first differentiate between Chinese and mainstream supermarkets by describing the characteristics of three Chinese supermarkets in the Toronto CMA that adopt a traditional concept and form.

6.1 Traditional Concept Chinese Supermarkets in the Toronto CMA



The traditional concept Chinese supermarket typically contains a fruits and vegetable section, shelf-filled aisles stocked with jarred, canned and dried/preserved foods; a refrigerator and freezer section, housewares aisle, and butcher and seafood counters. While this description doesn't seem any different from any other mainstream supermarket such as Loblaws or Dominion, a more detailed explanation of the products sold and services offered in these stores will better differentiate the Chinese supermarket from the mainstream. The three traditional-concept supermarkets used for examination in this section are Sunny Supermarket in North York and Food Fair Supermarket in Markham, which are mid-sized Chinese supermarkets, and Goldfield Supermarkets in Markham, a large-sized Chinese supermarket.

6.1.1 Products Offered in Traditional Chinese Supermarkets

When walking through a traditional concept Chinese supermarket in suburban Chinese shopping centres and enclosed malls, customers are greeted with crowded, sometimes disorganized aisles lined with shelves and overstuffed cardboard boxes filled with Chinese food brands, cookware, cutlery, and cleaning and personal hygiene products that may not be typical of a mainstream supermarket. While mainstream fruits and vegetables such as apples, broccoli, and green peppers are seen piled high on plastic or metal produce bins, Chinese supermarkets also contain a large selection of Asian vegetables, such as bok choy, sweet pea shoots, and winter melon, which are often incorporated into dishes and soups in everyday Chinese cuisine. While some mainstream supermarkets such as Loblaws may carry between 2 to 5 types of Asian produce to cater to Asian customers or cooking enthusiasts, even mid-sized Chinese supermarkets may offer between 17 to 20 specimens of Asian vegetables. From an observation of contents on Chinese supermarket shelves and in refrigerator and freezer sections, it is apparent that, with the exception of some canned fruits and vegetables, milk, cleaning products and soda

pop, traditional Chinese supermarkets carry very few mainstream brands and products. Sunny, Food Fair, and Goldfield Supermarket for instance, dedicate only 8, 2, and 5 percent of shelf space (not including merchandise in cardboard boxes, stacked crates, refrigerators and freezers) to mainstream goods, respectively. Instead of displaying mainstream brand name sauces such as French's mustard, HP barbeque sauce, or Heinz ketchup, Lee Kum Kee, Kimlan, and Kikkoman soy, black bean, and garlic sauces predominate. Dill pickles and jarred hot peppers are less common than jars of preserved Chinese cabbage, fermented tofu, and shrimp paste. In the freezer section, french fries, fish sticks, and Swanson TV dinners are replaced by up to 18 different brands of frozen dim sum and dumplings, of which larger mainstream supermarkets may only carry between 2 to 4 different brands in the Asian freezer section. Instant ramen, egg and E-fu noodles, chow mein, and lo mein outnumber macaroni and pasta. And although Chinese supermarkets may also sell a small selection of pots, pans, spoons, and knives like in mainstream supermarkets, Chinese housewares sections are more apt to display automatic rice cookers, woks, bamboo steamers, and chopsticks as featured items on its shelves. Furthermore, some traditional concept supermarkets such as Food Fair and Goldfield also contain counters selling items such as Vietnamese sandwiches and Chinese barbequed pork, soy sauce chicken and duck, and crispy roasted pork. For mainstream shoppers, these items may feel alien and strange, but for co-ethnic shoppers, these brands and goods provide a sense of familiarity and nostalgia for their homeland.

6.1.2 Services in Traditional Chinese Supermarkets

Like mainstream supermarkets, a majority of traditional concept Chinese supermarkets provide an on-site, full-service butcher or meat counter. But unlike mainstream stores, Chinese supermarkets contain few, if any, packaged and refrigerated meats, such as ground beef, steak,

pork chops, and chicken breast. Shoppers in Chinese supermarkets, instead, rely more heavily on full-service Chinese butchers and meat counters to provide these offerings, along with cuts of meat that are more familiar to Chinese customers and are unavailable at mainstream stores, such as thinly sliced beef, pork, and lamb for Chinese fondue, short cut spareribs for steaming or stir frying, meat bones for making soups and broths, and whole chickens with the head, neck, and feet still intact. A majority, if not all, Chinese supermarkets also offer a fresh seafood section, which, in addition to offering assorted fresh fish fillets packed on ice, which can be found in some larger mainstream stores, contain several aquarium tanks of lobster, crabs, clams, and whole, live fish, which are not offered in many mainstream stores. As fresh, whole fish holds culturally auspicious significance in Chinese culture, it constitutes an important staple in Chinese cuisine for everyday and special occasions. Thus, Chinese supermarkets provide full-service fish scaling and cleaning on the premise to cater to these cultural needs.

6.1.3 Cultural Environment

The cultural environments experienced in Chinese supermarkets also set them apart from the mainstream. One noticeable characteristic of Chinese supermarkets is the ethnic and linguistic characteristics of patrons and supermarket staff, including cashiers, butchers, and stock clerks. As these stores cater to a predominantly Chinese clientele, the Chinese dialects of Cantonese and Mandarin assume primary status and are spoken by most, if not all, front-line staff, with English taking on a secondary function to communicate with non-Chinese speaking customers. This contrasts with the primary status of the English language in mainstream stores. In addition, aisle signs and price labels in Chinese supermarkets are often printed in Chinese characters as well as in English, compared to just English in mainstream stores. Chinese supermarket speakers even play music by pop music artists from Hong Kong, China, and

Taiwan, which would be unheard of in a mainstream store. Furthermore, along with English newspaper publications such as the Toronto Star and Toronto Sun, Chinese supermarkets offer popular Chinese publications such as Sing Tao and Ming Pao.

Thus, while Chinese and mainstream supermarkets both sell a variety of foods for consumption and nourishment, there are clear differences in the types of brands and products they offer and the services and cultural environments they provide. This section only provided a description of traditional-concept Chinese supermarkets, which experienced few changes in function and form until 2002 when the first one-stop Asian supermarket arrived in the Toronto CMA, changing the appearance and function of Chinese supermarkets. The following section will provide a case study of T & T Supermarket in order to illustrate recent changes in Chinese supermarket development in the Toronto CMA.

6.2 A Case Study of T & T Supermarket: Background Information

T & T Supermarket is one of the latest additions of ethnic food institutions to the burgeoning Chinese food sector in the Toronto CMA. Contrary to the popular image of the small, crowded Chinese grocery store that carries a narrow-range of goods and caters almost exclusively to a co-ethnic clientele, T & T Supermarket has deviated from this stereotype by adopting characteristics of a mainstream Canadian supermarket, in terms of size, spaciousness, and organization, and takes on a distinctly Asian flair, in terms of the types of products and brands offered and the social and cultural environment that it creates for its customers. With the presence of an in-house bakery, freshly-prepared dim sum station, barbeque, sushi, tea and prepared meals counters, and food court-style eating space, T & T also serves as a restaurant,

café, and social hub all under one roof, and introduces this revolutionary concept of the one-stop Asian supermarket to the Chinese food sector in Canada.

Headquartered in Richmond, British Columbia, the supermarket chain's acronym is derived from two of its major shareholders: Tung Yee, the Chinese name of Uni-President Enterprises Corporation, the largest food conglomerate in Taiwan, and California-based Tawa Supermarket Incorporated, which was founded in 1984 by Taiwanese immigrant Roger Chen (<http://www.tnt-supermarket.com/main-e.php>). Tawa's prominence in the United States stems from the success of its own supermarket chain, 99 Ranch Market, the largest Asian supermarket retailer in North America. Tawa currently operates twenty-five 99 Ranch Market stores throughout California, Washington, Atlanta, Phoenix, and Las Vegas, and provided the concept, operating expertise and capital for the introduction of the one-stop Asian supermarket in Canada (Fetters, 2003; Severson, 2002). T & T is also jointly owned by Vancouver-based President Canada Group and an undisclosed food distributor and retailer in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia, making it the largest joint-venture investment by Taiwanese interests in Canadian food retailing. The executive director and mastermind behind T & T is Cindy Lee, a Taiwanese immigrant who arrived in Vancouver in the early 1970s. Using her own experience as a dissatisfied customer of the crowded traditional Chinese grocery stores in Vancouver's inner-city Chinatown, she transformed the Chinese grocery shopping experience for both co-ethnic and mainstream consumers alike (Lazarus, 1997; Williamson, 1993).

The first T & T store opened in 1993 in a mainstream shopping mall in Burnaby, British Columbia called Metrotown Centre, filling in a vacant space once occupied by the North American department store chain Woodward's (Lee, 1997; Williamson, 1993). The success of the independent supermarket led to rapid growth throughout the country. Since 1993, fifteen T

& T locations have sprouted throughout Canada: eight in the Greater Vancouver Area, three in Alberta, four in the Greater Toronto Area, and one store currently under construction in the heart of Toronto's downtown Waterfront. As a result of this enormous growth, the supermarket chain has earned the title as the largest Asian supermarket chain in Canada and "the new benchmark for Asian grocers" (Toronto Life, 2007). T & T has even been coined the Asian version of the popular upscale Canadian supermarket chain Loblaws, a sign of the rising status an independent ethnic supermarket into a potential competitor for major mainstream supermarket chains (Flavelle, 2007; Gulli, 2007).

The growth of T & T Supermarket in the Toronto CMA illustrates major shifts and changes to the function and location of Chinese food institutions in terms of size, product mix, and environment, as well as store location. The following section will examine these changes and will demonstrate the evolution from new to old Chinese supermarket development.

6.3 Changes in Chinese Supermarket Style and Product Offering

The layout of the one-stop supermarket that T & T has adopted can be described as a fusion of the traditional Chinese and upscale mainstream supermarket, with a pan-Asian twist. T & T stores are generally larger than the traditional Chinese supermarket and are comparable in size to mainstream supermarkets such as Dominion, ranging in size between 41,000 sq. feet to 65,000 sq. feet for the Toronto locations. T & T also hires an average of 135 staff in each supermarket, compared to the industry average of 70 or 80 in a traditional mainstream supermarket (Lee, 1997).

Unlike many traditional concept Chinese grocery stores and supermarkets, T & T offers a relatively large range of mainstream products alongside its pan-Asian fare. A survey of products

of T & T's grocery aisle shelves conducted by this author indicates that approximately 42 percent of its shelf space is devoted to selling mainstream brands and products, a major contrast to traditional concept Chinese supermarkets such as Food Fair and Goldfield, which each dedicates less than 5 percent of its shelf space to mainstream goods. The enclosed freezer aisle, comprised of 24 individual enclosed glass freezers, devotes approximately 54 percent of space to mainstream products, such as frozen waffles, pizza, Green Giant frozen vegetables, Swanson frozen dinners, and Haagan Dazs ice cream, which are not present in most traditional Chinese supermarkets. These mainstream frozen goods co-exist alongside more than 20 brands of frozen dumplings and dim sum, Parker Lee and Ellen-brand frozen Chinese dinners, and red bean ice cream bars. In the cereal section, one can find popular brands such as Cheerios, Corn Flakes, and Quaker Oatmeal alongside items such as Hakka Pestle Cereal and containers of hot cereal/porridge mix from China. In the bakery section, mainstream bagels, Dempsters and Wonder brand packaged bread, donuts, and chocolate chip cookies co-exist alongside the more exotic, and freshly baked T & T red bean, taro, and green tea breads, Japanese mochi, Korean walnut cakes, as well as an assortment of Chinese meat and sweet-filled buns and cakes. Even the large sauce section, which occupies approximately 2 out of 18 aisles (i.e. 4 shelves), dedicates approximately 25 percent of this space to mainstream barbeque sauce, ketchup, salad dressing, and pasta sauce, alongside a multitude of Chinese marinades and soy sauces. Unlike in many mainstream stores, which segregates all "Chinese food" items into one particular section of an aisle, or some traditional Chinese supermarkets, where mainstream products are sometimes difficult to locate on disorganized shelves, T & T places mainstream items alongside Chinese and other Asian brands in neat, orderly rows, as if to offer its customers a rainbow of selection. Perhaps instead of buying the usual Corn Flakes, shoppers can opt to try the Hakka Pestle cereal,

or vice versa. Thus, T & T, more so than other traditional Chinese grocery stores, seems to encourage the maintenance of cultural brand familiarity for co-ethnic and mainstream customers, but at the same time promotes diversity and choice for those who want to try new products.

Also unlike most Chinese supermarkets, T & T offers a variety of ready-to-eat meals that can be taken home or eaten on the premises. Although many mainstream supermarkets such as Loblaw's and Real Canadian Superstore also offer take-home or eat-in-store offerings such as roasted chicken, pastas, ribs, and salads, T & T provides more familiar Asian fare for its Chinese and other Asian customers. The prepared hot meals table contains 24 different Asian dish selections, such as bitter melon with beef, braised Chinese eggplant, Thai curry, Shanghai noodles, and "Lion's head" meatballs. The salad and cold foods display case features a variety of mainstream salads as well as cold, spiced jellyfish, sesame seaweed salad, and pickled turnip. Chinese-style barbecued meats are found hanging majestically behind glass meat counter displays, ready to be cut to the customer's liking. Multicoloured sushi are offered in individual pieces and in party trays, and an assortment of Japanese cooked foods are freshly-made in full view of sushi chefs and cooks. Dim sum is prepared fresh from morning to night and offers the same steamed and fried dainty dishes that can be found in most Chinese restaurants. Ten Ren Tea shop sells both boxes of traditional Chinese tea leaves as well as cold cups of colourful bubble tea, the modern Taiwanese invention of the ancient Chinese drink. And fragrant sweet and savoury odours can be detected from the large-in house bakery, offering a wide selection of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean buns, breads, cookies, and cakes of various flavours and textures.

6.3.1 T & T: Social, Community and Educational Functions

T & T Supermarket differs from many other Chinese or mainstream supermarkets in that it encourages its customers to browse and linger, much like in a shopping mall, and enjoy their purchases while still in the store. T & T takes advantage of its large size and open space concept to include several food stations and ample seating and table space on the premise. As a result, it is not unusual to see customers young and old meeting up with friends for early dim sum or tea, families enjoying lunch, dinner or a snack after a few hours of shopping, teenagers chatting over bubble tea, or even late-night revelers enjoying or bringing home dim sum snacks. Thus, with the option of socializing and eating food directly on the premise, T & T can serve as a social gathering space for friends and families, and essentially changes the face and function of the typical Chinese supermarket or grocery store. It is not difficult for a person to spend more than 2 hours in the store, as if they were in a shopping mall. While T & T may not obliterate the practice of eating in a traditional Chinese restaurant or food court, it provides shoppers with the option of eating and grocery shopping at once rather than having to make separate trips to do so.

Also unlike other Asian supermarket chains in the GTA, T & T Supermarket adopted the practice of larger mainstream Canadian supermarkets of producing an informative and accessible website for its customers. In order to accommodate both Chinese and non-Chinese shoppers, the T & T website is available in both English and Chinese and offers information about the supermarket's corporate history, store locations, and upcoming sales. The website allows T & T shoppers to order catered party food trays, sushi, fruit baskets, and birthday cakes online for pick-up in store, unlike major mainstream supermarkets such as Loblaws and Real Canadian Superstore, which only allow online shoppers to order photo prints and gift baskets. In addition, the T & T website also serves to make its predominantly Asian products better known to

customers. The “What’s Cooking” section of the website provides information about featured products and upcoming events and festivals in the supermarket. At the time of writing, T & T was marketing the upcoming Dragon Boat Festival and included descriptions of different types of traditional foods enjoyed during this event, such as “jong,” traditional dish of Chinese glutinous rice stuffed with miscellaneous meats, eggs, beans, and nuts, and wrapped and steamed in lotus leaves. The site also provides detailed recipes of select Chinese dishes, such as pork cutlet with salted fish and chicken with Chinese mushrooms. The website serves as a purveyor of information, which may be new for some and familiar for others. It not only markets and advertises the special seasonal foods that will be available, but it also introduces these unfamiliar treats to mainstream consumers and allows co-ethnic consumers to catch a glimpse of the foods that they might remember from their home countries. This website in a sense makes food more accessible to everyone.

In addition to the T & T website, the supermarket itself allows for cultural exchange of information between customers and employees. On weekends, food sample stations are set up throughout the store, offering customers of all ethnicities small tastes of products ranging from flavoured soy milk to soup dumplings to vegetarian “mock” meat soy products. While the adoption of sample stations is not a new phenomenon in ethnic or mainstream supermarkets, it is interesting to note its ability to allow customers to ask questions about the products, to learn about what they are and what particular health benefits they carry, and most of all, to learn about what they taste like. This information is useful not only for non-Chinese customers, for whom many of these products are new and unfamiliar to their diets, but also for co-ethnic customers who are curious to try new and different brands of familiar products.

During the course of this research project, T & T also hosted two Asian food festivals celebrating the Japanese and Thai cultures at their Promenade and Milliken Crossing stores, advertising each upcoming festival at all four GTA locations with banners, posters, flyers, decorations, supermarket displays of Japanese snacks and sauces and Thai curries and fruits, with Japanese and Thai pop music blaring from the supermarket sound system. Each festival advertised activities such as live dance and music performances, cooking demonstrations, and specials on Japanese and Thai store merchandise. Thus, T & T serves as a site of multiculturalism and education and promotes community engagement, celebrating not only Chinese culture but other Asian cultures as well, and spreading this knowledge to both Asian and non-Asian customers alike.

6.3.2 The Growing Trend of the One-Stop Supermarket Concept

There is evidence that since T & T's inception into Toronto's Chinese food industry, some Chinese supermarkets in the Toronto CMA have also adopted the concept of the one-stop supermarket. Bamburgh Food Mart, developed in the 1990s and located on Warden Avenue between Finch Avenue and Steeles Avenue East in Scarborough, most closely mirrors T & T Supermarket in terms of its large size and one-stop concept. Located in a converted mainstream-to-Chinese plaza called Bamburgh Gardens, and occupying a vacant unit that once housed the now-defunct mainstream supermarket chain Miracle Mart, the supermarket is located approximately 1.1 km (less than a 5 minute drive) from the T & T store on Warden Avenue. Prior to the arrival of T & T, Bamburgh adopted a more traditional Chinese supermarket concept, including the standard Chinese butcher and seafood counters, and, owing to its large size, also contained an in-house Chinese bakery and barbequed meat counter. Directly next door to the supermarket was a Chinese food court with several food stalls and seating area, but was not

owned or affiliated with the supermarket itself. However, after the arrival of T & T Supermarket at Warden in 2003, Bamburgh relinquished the adjacent food court area and incorporated it into the supermarket, expanding the store to include a hot prepared food counter with an eating area for customers, a travel agency, cell phone service counter, and a post office. Also like T & T, mainstream food items such as cereal, sauces, snacks, and even high end items such as Starbucks Frappuccino drinks, were visible throughout the supermarket alongside Asian food staples. Thus, with the expansion and proliferation of T & T stores throughout the Toronto CMA, it is possible that other Chinese supermarkets may also adopt the concept of the one-stop supermarket.

6.4 Change in Location of Chinese Supermarkets in the Toronto CMA

The growth of suburban Chinese businesses beginning in the mid-1980s represented a shift in the location of Chinese supermarkets from inner-city storefront retail strips in Toronto's Central and East Chinatowns to occupying units in converted mainstream-to-Chinese or newly developed enclosed suburban Chinese shopping malls and plazas, where Chinese restaurants and supermarkets often serve as anchor stores, and which provides ample, off-street parking for shoppers (Lo & Wang, 2006). However, the growth of T & T Supermarket represents a further shift in Chinese supermarket location to enclosed mainstream shopping malls and in newly-constructed shopping plazas that incorporate both mainstream and ethnic retailing, where both mainstream and Chinese businesses serve as anchor stores, and which became the new trend in Chinese shopping centre development after the year 2000 (Meng, 2005). The following section will describe, compare, and contrast the physical form of each plaza and mall in which T & T Supermarket serves as an anchor store (Figure 6.3), and will also make comparisons with Chinese shopping plazas and malls that were developed before the year 2000 and that house more traditional concept Chinese supermarkets.

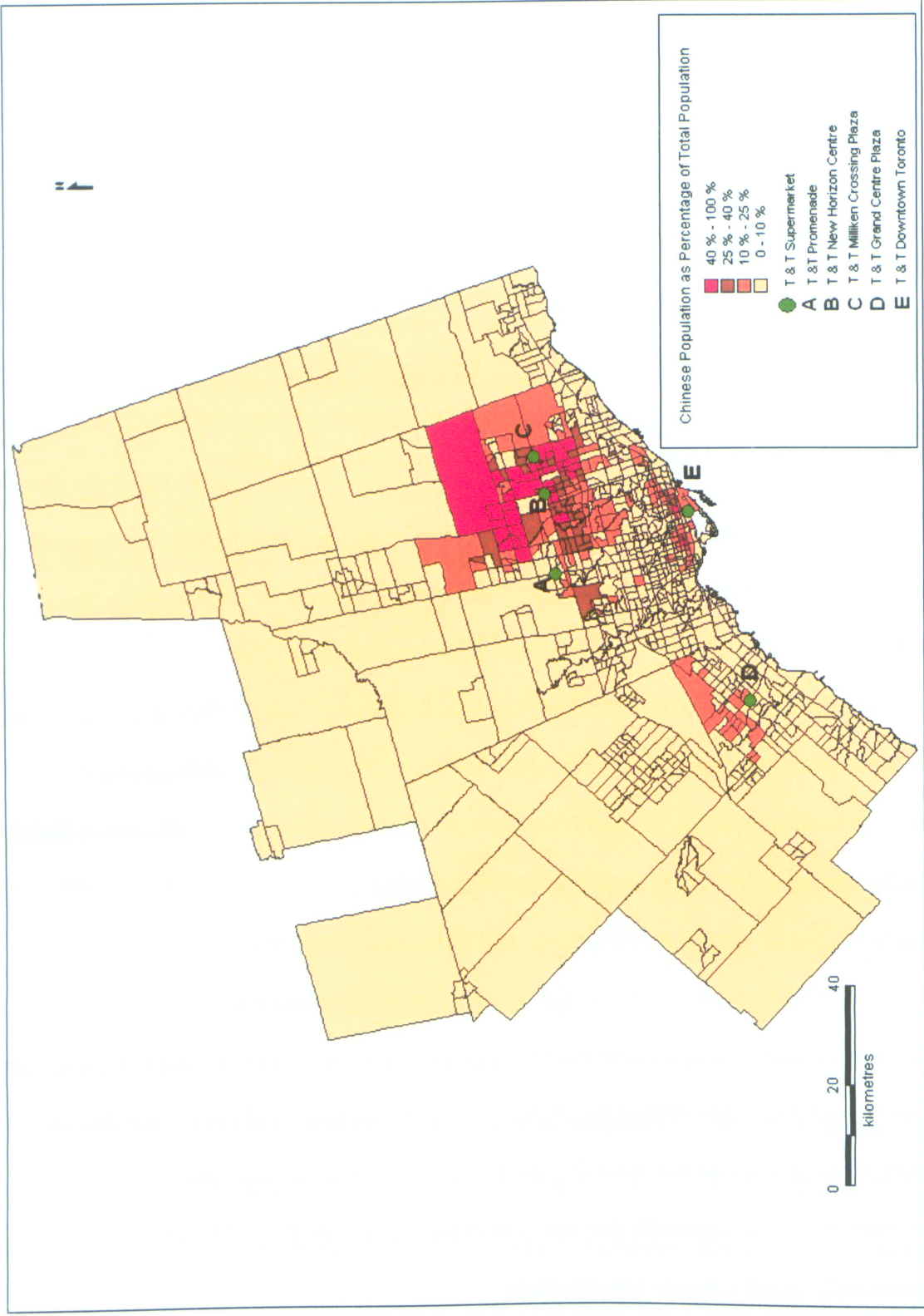


Figure 6.3: T & T Supermarket Locations in the Toronto CMA

The first T & T store in the Toronto CMA opened in 2002 in Promenade Shopping Centre, a suburban mainstream shopping mall co-owned by Cadillac-Fairview Corporation, located at Bathurst and Centre Streets in Thornhill (Refer to letter “A” in Figure 6.3).



The supermarket co-exists alongside several newly-developed Asian-owned businesses in a 65,000 sq. ft. space once occupied by the now-defunct Canadian department store giant Eatons, forming what resembles a partially enclosed pan-Asian tourist attraction or shopping district within a mainstream shopping mall (Figure 6.4). Directly adjacent to the supermarket is the popular Chinese restaurant chain Congee Wong, a Chinese travel agency, a Filipino monetary remittance service, a Korean-owned cosmetics counter, a Japanese housewares store, and a series of Chinese-owned retail stores that are typically found in most traditional suburban Chinese shopping malls and plazas, such as those specializing in dried goods, music and DVDs, and stationary and gifts. Stepping outside of this “Asian” wing at the southeast quadrant of the shopping mall, shoppers are immediately bombarded with two stories worth of predominantly mainstream clothing and department stores, such as the Gap, Club Monaco and Sears, a

mainstream movie theatre, and food courts and restaurants sporting familiar mainstream chains such as Tim Hortons and McDonalds.

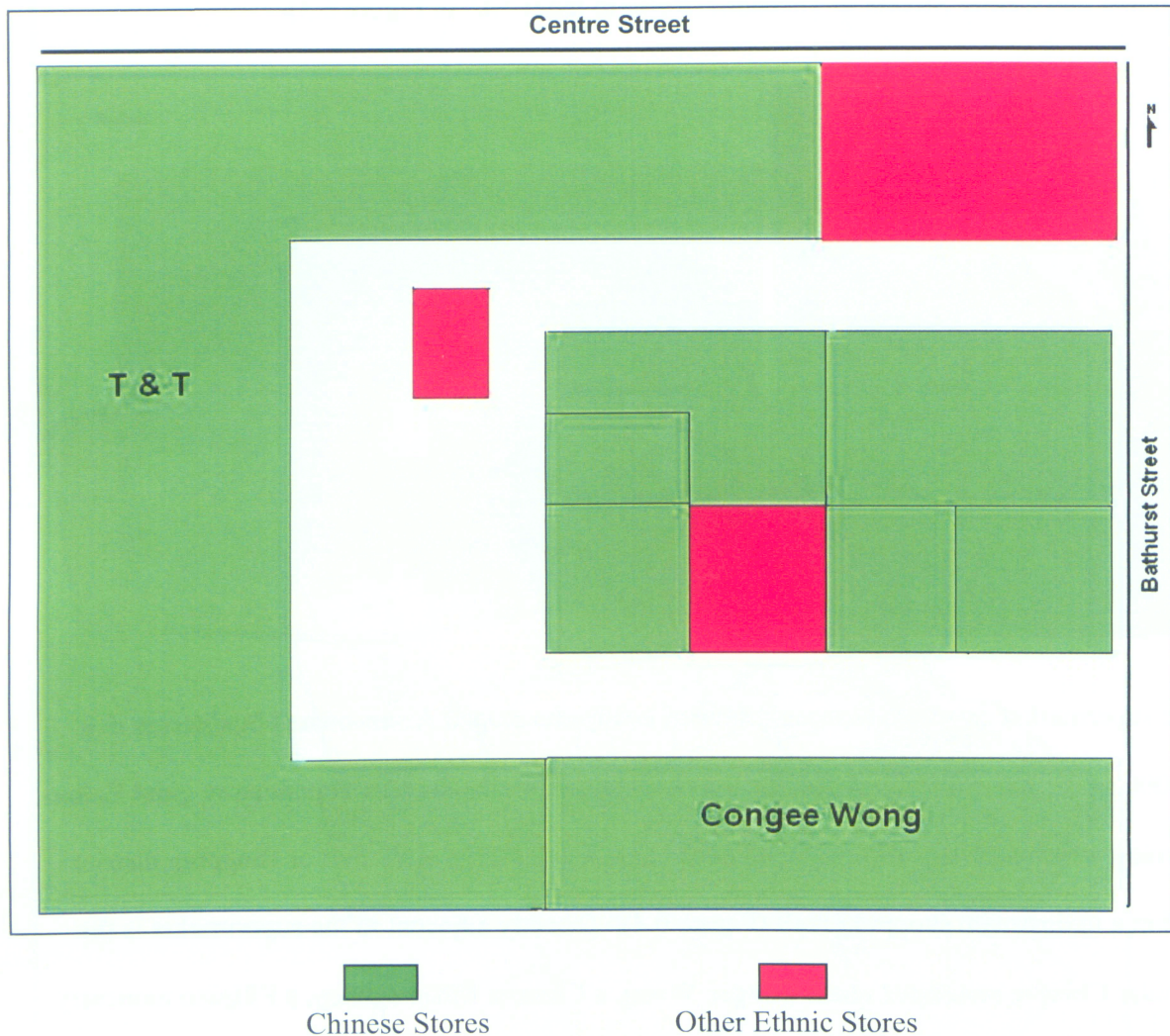


Figure 6.4: T & T Supermarket Complex in Promenade Shopping Centre

The second T & T store in the GTA, which measures at 45,000 sq. ft., is located in a newly-constructed mixed-ethnic retail plaza known as New Horizon Centre at the intersection of

Steeles Avenue East and Warden Avenue in Markham (Letter “B” in Figure 6.3).



The shopping plaza, which was built in 2003, is comprised of individual store units, of which Chinese-owned and operated retail, food, and service businesses predominate (Figure 6.5). The plaza is also comprised of familiar mainstream establishments, such as TD Canada Trust, Shopper's Drug Mart, Kelsey's, Boston Pizza, Starbucks, and Subway, and is surrounded by residential neighbourhoods as well as a number of Chinese and mixed ethnic plazas and malls, most notably Metro Square, Pacific Mall, Market Village, Splendid China Tower, and Silver Star Centre, ranging in distance from less than 1 km to 2.5 km.

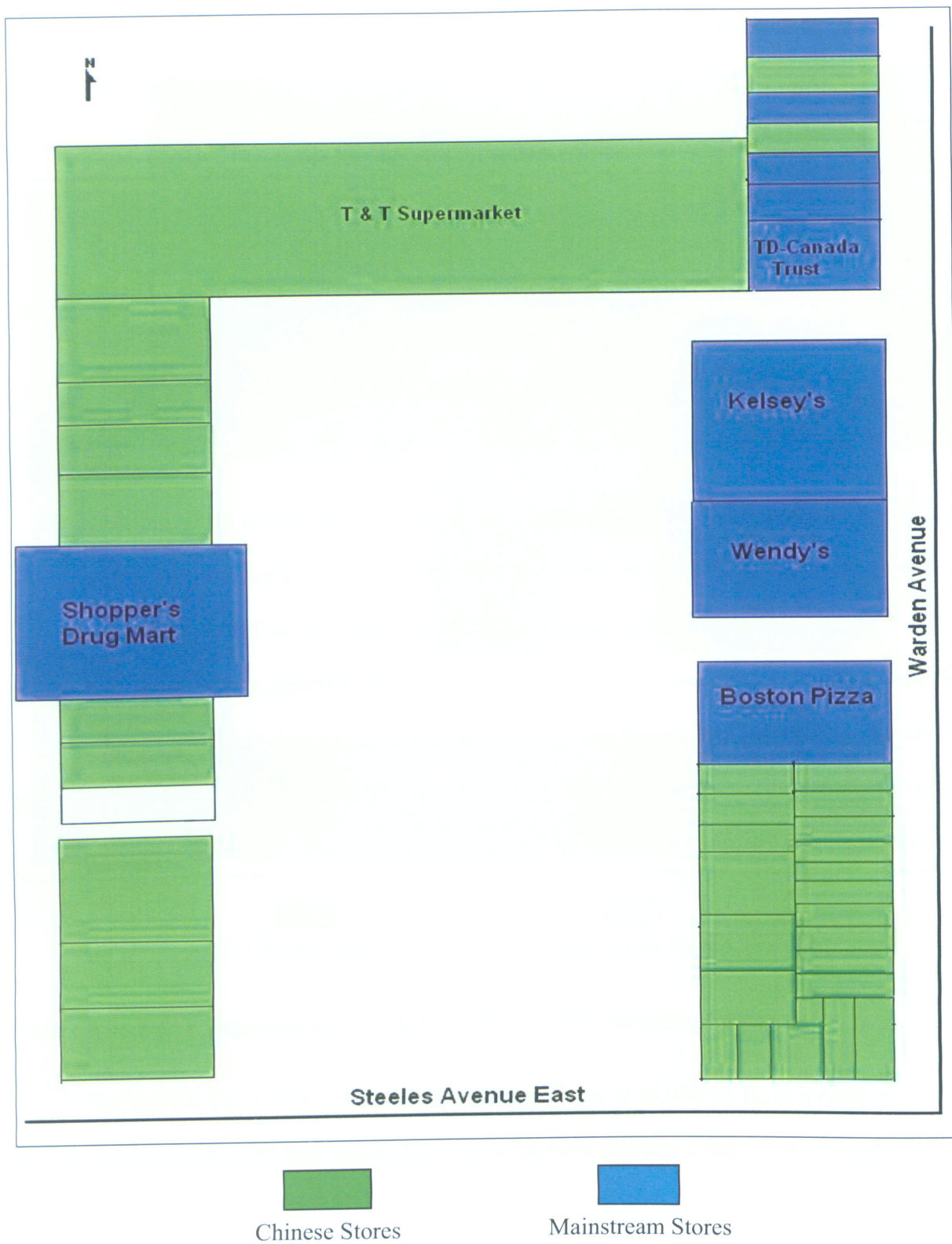


Figure 6.5: New Horizon Centre

The third T & T store is also located in a newly-constructed mixed-ethnic retail plaza called Milliken Crossing at the intersection of Steeles Avenue East and Middlefield Road in Scarborough (Letter “C” in Figure 6.3), approximately 5 km east from the Markham location.



Owned and developed by Windsor Norstar Incorporated, the shopping centre contains a mixture of independently-owned Chinese and South Asian restaurants and retail stores, the ICICI Bank of India, a medical clinic staffed by six doctors and optometrists of South Asian descent, as well as popular mainstream franchises such as Tim Hortons, Popeye's, and Shopper's Drug Mart. (Figure 6.6). The land that lies adjacent to Milliken Crossing to the east will be home to a new condominium-style Chinese shopping centre known as the Landmark, which is expected to become one of the largest Asian indoor shopping malls in North America. Inside the T & T complex are a series of small, predominantly Chinese businesses, including a Chinese dried goods store and several counters selling bubble tea, dried goods, cosmetics, flowers, jewellery, cell phones, and a monetary remittance service to the Philippines. The complex also houses a food court with six food stalls selling fare such as congee and noodles, Korean food, Japanese food, vegetarian Chinese food, as well as Hong Kong-style café fare, and Chiu Chow-style

cuisine, and provides a large seating area for patrons of the food court and for those who purchase the prepared foods and baked goods from the supermarket.

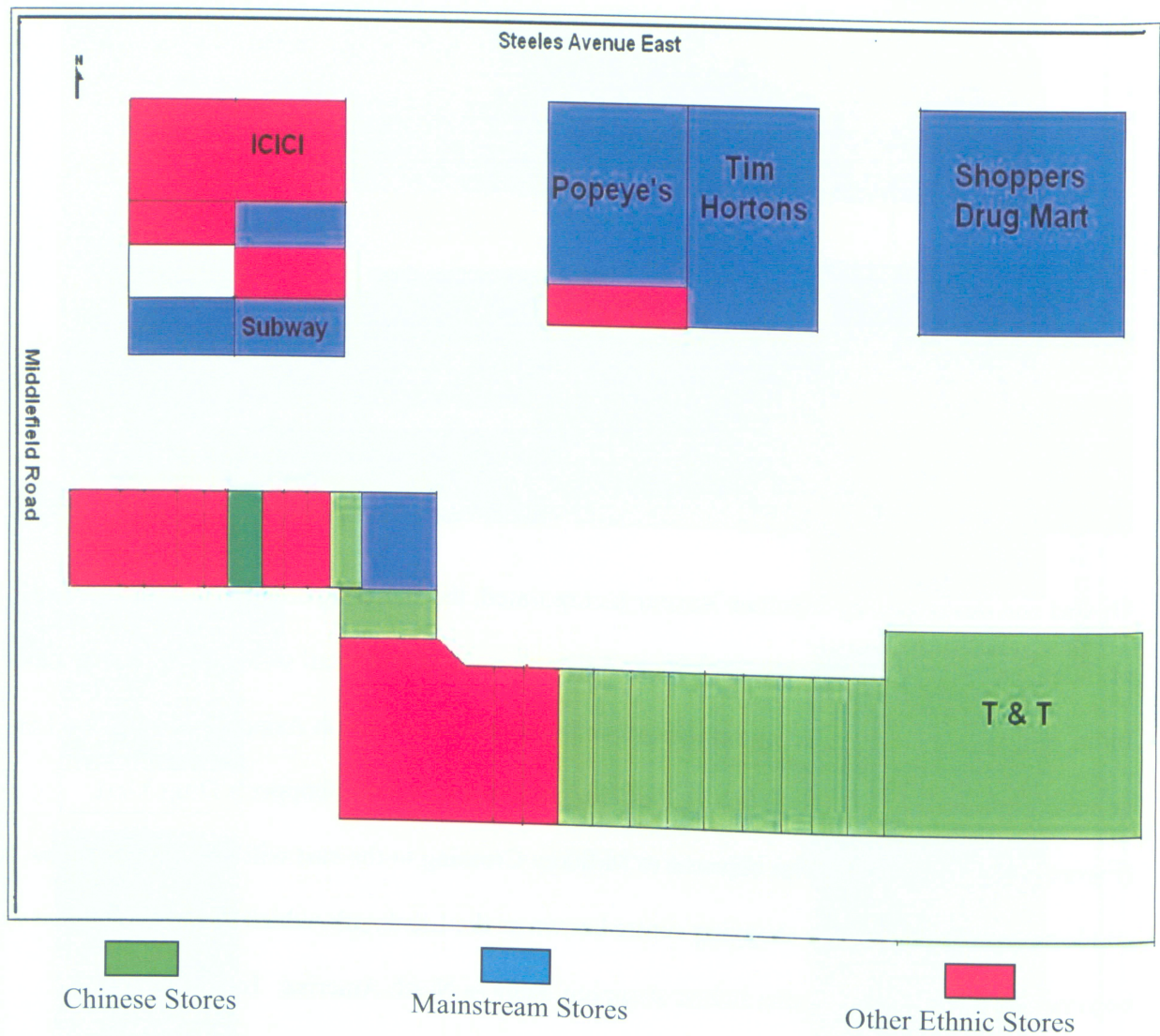


Figure 6.6: Milliken Crossing Plaza

The fourth T & T Supermarket, measuring at 42,000 sq. ft., is located in Mississauga at the intersection of Central Parkway West and Mavis Road. Following the trend of the Markham and Scarborough T & T stores, the Mississauga store is located in a newly-constructed mixed-

ethnic shopping plaza called Grand Park Centre (Letter “D” in Figure 6.3). Some Chinese businesses occupy the plaza, such as a hobby store, salon, and optometrist, mainstream fast food chains, such as A & W and Arby’s, as well as a large Thai restaurant (Figure 6.7).

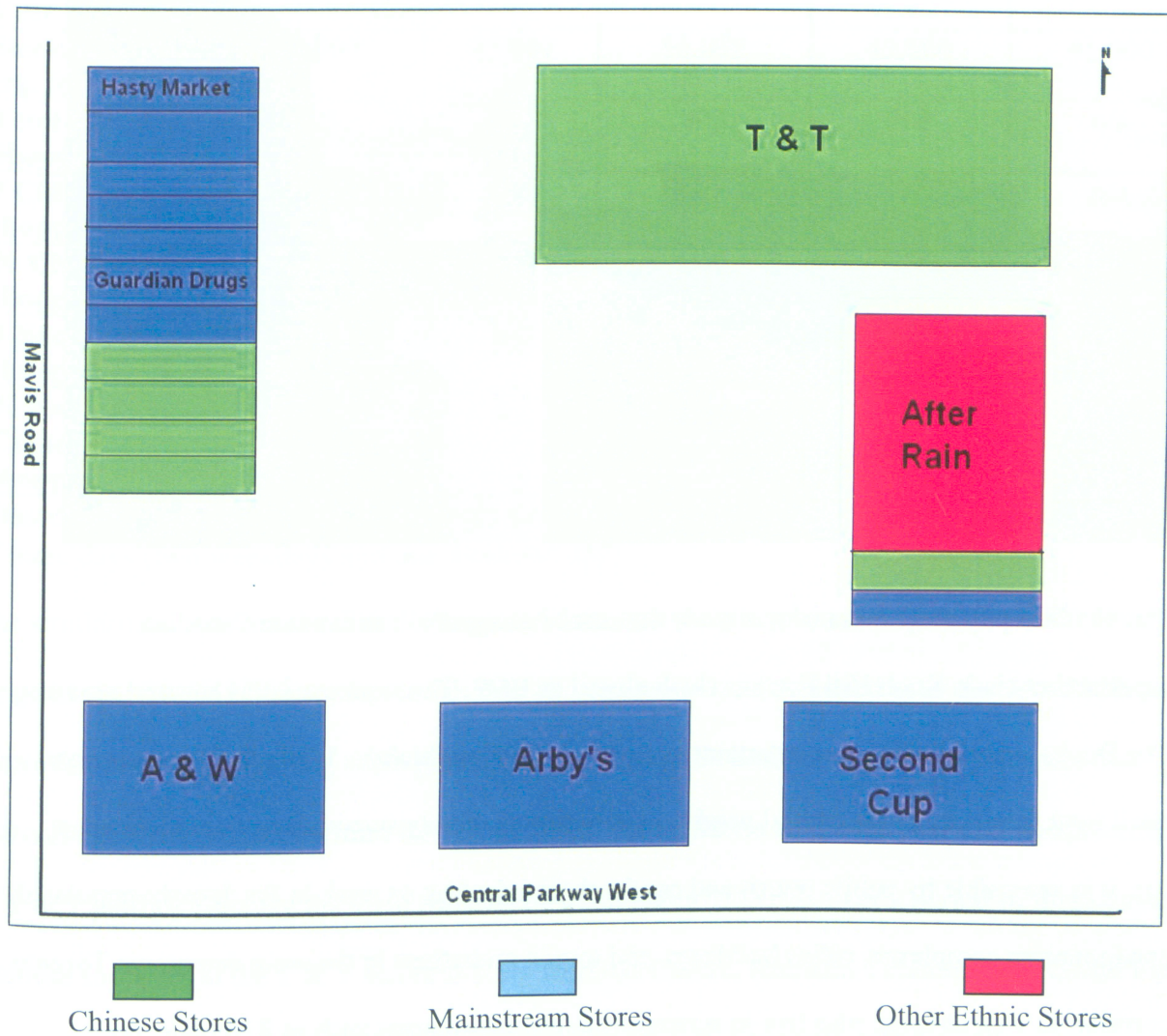


Figure 6.7: Grand Park Centre, Mississauga

The fifth and newest T & T Supermarket, located near Cherry Street and Polson Road in downtown Toronto, recently opened in August 2007 (Letter “E” in Figure 6.3).



The 41,000 sq. ft. store takes over a space that once belonged to mainstream Canadian supermarket chain Knob Hill Farms, which closed in 1999. The supermarket is situated next to The Docks, a popular outdoor entertainment complex and nightclub. While there are no other retail establishments or residential neighbourhoods immediately surrounding the supermarket site, it is accessible by public transit and car for those who live or work in the densely-populated condominium complexes, office buildings, and tourist attractions in the main downtown Toronto corridor, as well as those who live in surrounding downtown areas such as Riverdale, the Beaches, Cabbagetown, and Harbourfront (Canada Newswire, 2007).

Table 6.1 compares the physical attributes of each shopping plaza in which T & T serves as an anchor store.

Table 6.1: Comparisons Among T & T Located Shopping Centres

T & T Plaza Name	Promenade Shopping Centre	New Horizon Centre	Milliken Crossing Plaza	Grand Park Centre	Downtown Waterfront
City	Thornhill	Markham	Scarborough	Mississauga	Toronto
Development Year	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007
Size of Store (sq. ft)	65,000	45,000	65,000	45,000	41,000
Total # Shoppers *	605	1009	802	748	n/a
# Chinese shoppers *	380	925	696	662	n/a
% Chinese shoppers *	62.8	91.7	86.8	88.5	n/a
# Non-Chinese shoppers *	225	84	106	86	n/a
% Non-Chinese shoppers *	37.2	8.3	13.2	11.5	n/a

*Based on field surveys conducted by the author of this paper at one hour intervals over a period of three days (two weekdays and one weekend day)

The similarities between the T & T shopping plazas are that they house large supermarkets that range in size from 41,000 sq. feet to 65, 000 sq. feet and were developed after the year 2000. However, differences among these plazas include the ethnic composition of the shoppers that patronize the T & T stores within the plazas. Field observations of the number and composition of T & T patrons entering the store were taken at one hour intervals over a period of three days. Chinese shoppers at the T & T stores at New Horizon Centre, Milliken Crossing, and Grand Park Centre locations comprise 92, 87, and 88 percent of all T & T patrons, respectively. These figures are not surprising for the Scarborough and Markham locations since both stores are located in areas in which there are a large number of census tracts where Chinese comprise over 40 percent of the total population. Furthermore, according to a report written by John Winter Associates (2003), the area within a 1 to 2 km radius of the Milliken Crossing plaza is inhabited

by approximately 60,000 people, of which 9 out of 10 residents speaks a language other than English or French, and 40 percent living within the one kilometre radius and 49 percent within the one to two kilometre radius speaks Chinese. Thus, the Chinese population in these areas are well-served by T & T and other Chinese businesses.

However, the large proportion of Chinese shoppers at the Mississauga location is surprising, since Mississauga does not contain any census tracts in which the Chinese comprise more than 40 percent of the population. While the store is located in an area in which there is a large number of census tracts in which Chinese comprise no more than 10 percent of the population, it is located near the only two census tracts in that city that contain 20 to 40 percent of Chinese, the largest concentration of Chinese in Mississauga.

Chinese shoppers at the Promenade location comprised only 63 percent of the total number of shoppers, which is considerably smaller than any other T & T location in the Toronto CMA. Thus, the proportion of non-Chinese shoppers at this location was 37 percent of the total number of customers, which is considerably larger than any other T & T store. The large non-Chinese population at the Promenade store can be explained by its location in an area with a considerably less concentrated Chinese population. An examination of the location of the Promenade store in relation to the concentration of Chinese in the area indicates that this store is surrounded by a large number of census tracts in which the Chinese comprise between 0 and 10 percent of the total population. While the store is also located near several census tracts that contain 10 to 20 percent of Chinese concentration and a few census tracts that contain between 20 to 40 percent Chinese concentration, these are relatively few when compared to the T & T locations in Markham and Scarborough. In fact, the Promenade is located in an area that is inhabited and patronized by a large Russian-Jewish population, which is apparent from the large

number of stores and plazas in the surrounding area that provide kosher products and religious/ethnic-specific services for its large Jewish population, as well as from the number of Orthodox Jewish families seen walking home from Synagogue services on Saturday mornings and afternoons. The large non-Chinese population might also be explained by the location of the store in a mainstream shopping mall. Since a majority of stores in the mall cater to a non-specific ethnic population, people of all ethnicities are likely to frequent these stores, not just Chinese. While the development of a Chinese supermarket in a major mainstream shopping mall is not an unusual trend for T & T in Western Canada, which opened a location in the world renowned West Edmonton Mall, it is not commonly seen in the Toronto CMA.

6.4.1 Mixed Ethnic Versus Chinese Enclosed and Outdoor Plazas

As was illustrated in the previous section, almost all T & T Supermarkets in the Toronto CMA are located either in an enclosed mainstream shopping mall or in a newly-developed mixed ethnic shopping plaza. This is a change from the traditional location of Chinese supermarkets in converted mainstream-to-Chinese or newly developed enclosed Chinese shopping malls and plazas. Using Finch and Leslie Square and Market Village Shopping Centre as examples of Chinese plazas and malls that house more traditional concept supermarkets, comparisons were made with the physical nature of the plazas in which T & T serves as an anchor store.

Finch and Leslie Square is an example of a former mainstream shopping plaza that had gradually been taken over by a number of Chinese-owned and operated businesses throughout the 1980s and 1990s, including a supermarket, restaurants, a bakery, an optical store, pharmacy, hair salon, and spa.



Located at the intersection of Finch Avenue East and Leslie Street in North York, the plaza houses Sunny Supermarket, a traditional-concept supermarket that took over the space once occupied by the now-defunct Chinese supermarket chain Big Land Farm, and is considered to be a mid-sized supermarket compared to other Chinese stores. The plaza is a mixture of an enclosed and outdoor shopping centre concept and contains 25 store units. A CIBC branch is the only mainstream establishment in the shopping centre, while a Korean restaurant makes up the only business that falls under the “other ethnic” category.

Market Village is an enclosed Chinese shopping mall located at the intersection of Kennedy Avenue and Steeles Avenue East.



Occupying 325,000 sq. feet and containing approximately 140 retail units, the mall was built in 1995, taking over a mainstream-owned and operated Weal and Cullen Barn and Garden Centre. A majority of the mall houses independently owned Chinese stores, restaurants, and food take-out stalls, as well as the Markham Chinese Community Centre and various medical and real estate services that are owned and operated by Chinese professionals. There are also some mainstream outlets, such as McDonalds, which are operated by Chinese staff. The shopping centre is also home to two Chinese supermarkets, Food Fair and Goldfield.

Table 6.2: Comparisons Between Chinese and Mixed Ethnic Shopping Centres

T & T Plaza Name	Promenade Shopping Centre	New Horizon Centre	Milliken Crossing Plaza	Grand Park Centre	Finch & Leslie Square	Market Village
City	Thornhill	Markham	Scarborough	Mississauga	North York	Markham
Yr. Developed	2002	2004	2005	2006	1980s	1995
Physical Form	Enclosed mainstream mall	Mixed-ethnic plaza	Mixed-ethnic plaza	Mixed-ethnic plaza	Converted Chinese plaza	Enclosed Chinese Mall
# Retail unit	182	39	47	18	25	140
% Chinese	6.6	76.9	44.7	33.3	92	96.4
%Mainstream	87.9	23.1	17.0	61.1	4.0	2.1
% Other Ethnic	5.5	0	34.0	5.6	4.0	2.1

According to Table 6.2, one noticeable difference between the T & T shopping plazas and those that contain a traditional concept Chinese supermarket is that the latter contain a greater number of Chinese and fewer mainstream or “other ethnic” businesses. Chinese businesses in Finch and Leslie Square and Market Village comprise 92 and 96 percent of the total number of businesses, respectively. In contrast, Chinese businesses occupy between 7 to 77 percent of businesses in the shopping centres in which T & T serves as an anchor store. Mainstream businesses also assume a much larger presence in the T & T shopping centres,

comprising between 23 to 88 percent of all businesses in each plaza/mall, compared with just 4 and 2 percent in Finch and Leslie Square and Market Village, respectively. Thus, compared to more traditional concept Chinese supermarkets in older Chinese shopping centre developments, new Chinese supermarkets are being located in plazas and shopping malls that contain a greater amount of mainstream and other ethnic retail stores alongside Chinese businesses. It is possible that commercial developers and ethnic retailers are starting to realize that the location of Chinese and mainstream businesses do not have to be mutually exclusive and that the success of either ethnic or mainstream businesses are dependent on attracting a diverse range of customers, not just in ethnicity but also in age and gender. In order to better understand the nature of mixed-ethnic plazas and shopping malls, the following section will examine and discuss the activity of cross shopping between ethnic and mainstream stores.

6.5 Cross-Shopping

The recent development of suburban mixed-ethnic shopping centres and the incorporation of ethnic businesses in enclosed mainstream shopping malls demonstrate a new phase of Chinese commercial activities and shopping centre development in the Toronto CMA. Unlike the retail strips in traditional inner-city Chinatowns or store units in traditional Chinese shopping centres, it is not unusual to see major mainstream retailers or restaurant chains, such as Shopper's Drug Mart and Tim Hortons, located side by side with Chinese restaurants and retail shops in more recent shopping centre developments. However, although mainstream, Chinese, and other ethnic businesses co-exist on the same premises, do customers engage in cross-shopping? Do Chinese shoppers frequent the mainstream businesses along with more culturally familiar co-ethnic businesses? Similarly, do members of the mainstream population, who may typically

frequent more familiar mainstream retail and food chains, incorporate relatively new and unfamiliar ethnic retail and food stores such as T & T into their shopping repertoires?

As the development of mixed-ethnic shopping centres in the Toronto CMA is a relatively new phenomenon, and since each T & T store is located in a mixed-ethnic shopping centre, it is fitting to examine the degree of cross-shopping behaviour in these shopping centres. This paper defines cross shopping as visiting at least one ethnic and one mainstream business in the same shopping centre consecutively, and will specifically examine cross-shopping behaviour between T & T Supermarket and mainstream stores at Promenade Shopping Centre, New Horizon Centre, and Milliken Crossing Plaza. Shoppers at Promenade were identified as cross shoppers if they entered the T & T complex through the mainstream shopping mall entrance, or vice versa, indicating that they had likely browsed mainstream stores in the mall prior to or after shopping at T & T, as opposed to entering from the parking lot entrance, which does not provide much indication of any cross shopping behaviour taking place. Cross shopping behaviour was measured a bit differently for the other two mixed-ethnic plazas. Since each of the outdoor shopping plazas contains a relatively large number of retail and food stores within a sprawling complex, only cross shopping behaviour between T & T Supermarket and the mainstream retail chain Shopper's Drug Mart was examined. Shoppers Drug Mart was chosen among other mainstream stores due to its proximity to T & T as well as its prominence in the Toronto CMA.

Table 6.3 shows the degree of cross-shopping in the three T & T locations and provides some demographic information on the people who were observed engaging in cross shopping, such as their ethnicity (Chinese or non-Chinese), approximate age group, and gender.

Table 6.3: Demographic Profile of Cross Shoppers

Shopping Centre	New Horizon Centre		Milliken Crossing		Promenade		Total	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Total # Cross Shoppers	96	100	52	100	630	100	778	100
Gender								
# Male	40	41.7	21	40.4	220	34.9	281	36.1
# Female	56	58.3	31	59.6	410	65.0	497	63.9
Ethnicity								
# Chinese	90	93.8	46	88.5	328	52.1	464	59.6
# Non-Chinese	6	6.2	6	11.5	302	47.9	314	40.4
Age Group								
<20	0	0	2	3.8	14	2.2	16	2.0
20-40	18	18.8	20	38.5	169	26.8	207	26.6
40-60	58	60.4	23	44.2	306	48.6	387	49.7
>60	20	20.8	7	13.5	141	22.4	168	21.6

The values in this table comprise the number and percentage of cross shoppers during a 4-hour period, with observations being taken at one hour intervals over a period of four days (two weekdays and two weekend days). Over this 4 hour period, a total of 96 and 52 individuals exhibited cross-shopping behaviour in New Horizon Centre and Milliken Crossing, respectively, which translates into an average of 24 and 13 individuals per hour. Approximately 62 percent of cross shopping took place on the weekend and 38 percent on the weekdays at New Horizon Centre. At Milliken Crossing, 63 percent of cross shopping took place on the weekend compared to 36 percent on the weekday. This is not surprising, given that the weekends would typically be expected to generate more shopping activity at T & T in general, as many individuals and families are unburdened by work and school and can thus allot more time for shopping and leisure activities. For both locations, cross shopping is more common among

Chinese than non-Chinese shoppers, with 94 and 86 percent of Chinese, respectively, engaging in cross shopping compared with just 6.5 and 14 percent of mainstream shoppers, respectively. This is not surprising since, as was indicated in Figure 6.2, a majority of people who shop at T & T are of Chinese descent. Cross shopping is also more common among females than males, with 58 and 60 percent of females, respectively, engaging in cross-shopping behaviour compared to 42 and 40 percent of males. Among the approximate age groups, shoppers who engaged in the highest rate of cross shopping behaviour at New Horizon Centre were those between 40 and 60 years of age at 60 percent, followed by those over the age of 60 at 21 percent. For the Milliken Crossing location, the age groups with the highest rates of cross shoppers were those in their between 40 and 60 years of age at 44 percent, followed by those in the age group of 20 to 40 years of age at 38 percent.

Cross shopping behaviour, however, was most pronounced in the Promenade Shopping Centre location. According to Table 6.3, approximately 630 individuals engaged in some form of cross-shopping behaviour (an average of 158 shoppers per hour) between T & T Supermarket complex and the mainstream portion of the shopping mall. This high frequency of cross shoppers might be due to the large number of stores within the shopping mall compared to the number of stores in the outdoor mixed-ethnic plaza, thus generating more foot traffic in general and providing more options for shoppers to engage in cross-shopping between the Asian and mainstream stores. At this particular location, it is not unusual to see shoppers entering T & T Supermarket with bags from mainstream retail outlets such as the Gap and Sears, or from the nearby bulk food store Bulk Barn. Similarly, it is not rare to see shoppers browsing other stores throughout the sprawling mall complex carrying bags with the T & T logo. Of this total number of cross shoppers, 52 percent were Chinese and 48 percent were of non-Chinese origin. The

proportion of non-Chinese cross-shoppers contrasts significantly with non-Chinese cross shoppers at New Horizon Centre and Milliken Crossing plazas, and might be explained by the fact that Promenade Shopping Centre is a mainstream shopping mall with a significantly larger proportion of popular mainstream retail stores when compared to the other two outdoor mixed ethnic plazas. Thus, it is not unusual for the Promenade location to attract a wider non-Chinese population and hence number of cross-shoppers. Furthermore, 65 percent of cross-shoppers at this location were female compared to 35 percent of males. In terms of approximate age distribution, the largest age group was those between the ages of 40 and 60 years, followed by those between the ages of 20 and 40 years.

6.5.1 Mixed Ethnic Plazas: Potential Benefits

One potential benefit of mixed ethnic shopping centres is that they may attract a more diverse clientele. For instance, by locating in mixed ethnic shopping centres, T & T Supermarket can tap into a market that would otherwise not be available had it located in a Chinese shopping centre, such as mainstream and other ethnic populations that frequent mainstream retail chains but may not be familiar with Chinese establishments. Likewise, mainstream businesses in these plazas can attract clientele from immigrant and ethnic populations that would normally shop or eat at co-ethnic stores and restaurants in other ethnic plazas. According to a developer at Windsor Norstar, T & T Supermarket's immense popularity among shoppers and retailers throughout the Toronto CMA creates an attraction of customers from a 6 to 10 km radius. As a result of the strong drawing power of T & T, the supermarket also acts as a magnet for other Chinese businesses to develop nearby, and entices mainstream businesses such as Shopper's and Tim Hortons, to take advantage of this attractive and diverse market.

Another benefit of locating in a mixed-ethnic shopping centre is that the mixture of popular mainstream and ethnic stores can draw individuals from a wider demographic. For instance, the average demographic of the Middlefield and Steeles area is relatively affluent, 34 years of age with large families (an average of 4 individuals per family), which provides an ideal and relatively young market that is more open to patronizing Western and other ethnic goods and services as well as more modernized Chinese restaurants and shops such as T & T Supermarket. Canadian-born and second generation immigrants may also find these plazas attractive, having been acculturated into mainstream retail stores and restaurants and at the same time are able to purchase and consume the Chinese goods that they grew up with in a more modern environment. Furthermore, older Chinese Canadians may be drawn to mixed-ethnic plazas, as they will still be able to seek out familiar co-ethnic goods and services that they are accustomed to.

Some of the businesses in these mixed ethnic shopping centres have taken these potential benefits of attracting a mixed ethnic clientele into consideration and amended their store operations in order to accommodate a more diverse customer base. For example, Shopper's Drug Mart in New Horizon Centre and Guardian Drugs at Grand Park Centre display bilingual English and Chinese aisle and store signs, respectively, in order to cater to the larger Chinese demographic in those locations. In addition, the T & T Supermarket at Promenade Shopping Centre carries kosher products to cater to the large Jewish population in the surrounding area, and the T & T store at Milliken Crossing maintains an aisle stocked with South Asian beans, spices, and sauces to cater to a sizeable South Asian population in the area.

However, at the same time, while some mainstream businesses see the potential benefits of locating in a mixed ethnic environment or in areas with a large ethnic population, some may see it as a drawback. According to a developer at Windsor Norstar, a number of difficulties

arose in recruiting larger mainstream supermarkets and banks to lease store units in Milliken Crossing Plaza, as some of these businesses deemed the demographic of the Steeles Avenue East and Middlefield Road area as “too ethnic.” It’s possible that the relatively new nature of the mixed ethnic shopping centre has not permitted mainstream retailers to evaluate the successes and/or shortcomings of these shopping centres and thus may not want to take a risk in locating in these particular commercial developments. Perhaps as mixed ethnic shopping centres gain greater status in numbers and are further examined in greater depth to determine their pros and cons, more mainstream retailers will choose to engage in this type of business development.

CHAPTER 7: LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Limitations

One major limitation of this study is that it was not able to incorporate more first-hand knowledge or perspectives from key informants or representatives from T & T Supermarket or from many of the development companies involved in the development of each T & T store in the Toronto CMA, due to factors such as difficulties in locating developers, lack of response or interest from the companies, or because the company was committed to other projects. As the demographic and geographic information provided by Windsor Norstar on the retail establishments and residential areas surrounding the T & T store in Scarborough was highly detailed and informative, it is unfortunate that the same quality of information could not be elicited for the other shopping centres or from the T & T corporation itself. It is suggested that future research on this topic attempt to fill in this missing information in order to generate a more complete picture of T & T Supermarket and the shopping plazas in which T & T serves as an anchor store.

Furthermore, due to a combination of language barriers and time constraints, this project did not include responses from shoppers themselves on topics such as why they choose to shop at T & T and their frequency of engaging in cross shopping behaviour in the T & T shopping centres. This would be an interesting component to add to future research on this topic, either through focus groups or questionnaires, because it would better capture the frequency, degree, and reasons for engaging, or not engaging, in cross shopping behaviour in mixed ethnic plazas.

A third limitation of this project is that the Chinese retail strip database and Chinese shopping centre database may not have been fully updated with information on newer shopping

centre developments, or may not have reflected changes to the composition of retail stores as a result of relatively high turnover rates of some Chinese businesses. However, the databases provide an excellent approximation of the number and types of Chinese commercial activities and are not meant to be fully representative of every Chinese business that exists in the Toronto CMA.

Fourth, It should be noted that the observations of cross shopping behaviour that were undertaken in this project merely provides a glimpse into whether cross shopping occurs and who engages in cross shopping. Furthermore, the field research only provides an estimation of the number of individuals who shop at T & T Supermarket and who engage in cross-shopping between ethnic and mainstream stores and thus may not be fully representative of the total number of T & T shoppers and cross shoppers in the shopping plazas that were examined. While conducting the field observations, it was realized that some cross-shoppers may have been missed in the count because, given the large amount of shopping bags that many shoppers possessed upon emerging from either T & T or Shopper's Drug Mart, some may have made a detour to place their purchases in their cars prior to moving on to the next store. Or, due to the sprawling nature of some of the shopping plazas, some may have even driven from one store to another in order to save time and energy. In addition, since only cross shopping behaviour was observed between T & T Supermarket and Shopper's Drug Mart, the degree of cross shopping might have been underrepresented between T & T Supermarket and other mainstream stores in the complex. Amount of cross shopping behaviour at Promenade Shopping Centre may also have been underrepresented because, as there was often an overwhelming number of shoppers going between the supermarket and the shopping mall, observations had to be divided such that half of the observation time was spent on solely counting individuals entering the mainstream

mall from the supermarket, and the other half was spent solely counting the number of individuals entering the supermarket from the mainstream mall. Finally, this study also did not examine cross-shopping behaviour between Chinese and other ethnic businesses, such as the South Asian restaurants and stores found in the Milliken Crossing plaza, due to time constraints and the lower numbers of other ethnic businesses in some of these plazas. However, it would be an interesting trend to investigate for future research.

7.2 Summary and Conclusions

T & T Supermarket is a product of transnational interests, incorporating financial capital and ideas from Taiwan, Canada, and the United States. As a result of its transnational nature, the supermarket takes on Western characteristics with a pan-Asian flair, blending a mixture of cultures while reaching out to a broad market. T & T Supermarket is a prime indication that the Chinese grocery store has come a long way from its humble beginnings. First, the introduction of T & T Supermarket to the Toronto CMA marks a change in product offering in Chinese supermarkets, from providing almost exclusively Chinese brands and products for an exclusively co-ethnic clientele, to offering a mixture of pan-Asian and mainstream fare to attract a wider customer demographic. Secondly, T & T marks a change in the location of Chinese supermarkets from inner-city Chinatown retail strips to traditional Chinese suburban plazas and malls, to the current location in new mixed-ethnic plazas and in enclosed mainstream shopping malls. Thus, Chinese businesses are no longer segregated from mainstream and other ethnic shops, providing a wider range of retail establishments and potentially introducing ethnic and mainstream stores to broader demographics. Finally, the location of T & T in mixed-ethnic commercial developments marks a trend in the study of cross-shopping behaviour between ethnic and mainstream stores. Further research on this topic can provide a better idea of whether

stores in these plazas are gaining a more diverse clientele and whether other retail establishments will choose to set up shop in these mixed-ethnic shopping centres in future.

The evolution of the Chinese supermarket coincides with the expansion and modernization of Chinese commercial and business development, which in turn coincides with dramatic changes in the number and composition of Chinese immigrants. The picture of the new Chinese supermarket culture is one of diversity and choice, socializing and community engagement, education and cultural exchange of information, and the blending of traditional and modern cultural ways. Customers who shop at T & T, whether recent immigrants or Canadian-born, will find elements of cultural familiarity and comfort as well as the novel and exotic. The blending of ethnicities and cultures within supermarkets such as T & T may also be a reflection or a product of Canadian multiculturalism and could set the framework for future ethnic supermarket developments.

References

- Aldrich, H. E. & Waldinger, R. (1990). Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 16, 111-135.
- Anderson, K. (1991). *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Bonacich, E. & Modell, J. (1980). *The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity: Small Business in the Japanese American Community*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Chan, J. B. L. & Cheung, Y. (1985). Ethnic Resources and Business Enterprise: A Study of Chinese Businesses in Toronto. *Human Organization*, 44(2), 142-154.
- Chan, K. (2005). *Migration, Ethnic Relations and Chinese Business*. London: Routledge.
- Citizenship and Immigration Canada. (2005). Recent Immigrants in Metropolitan Areas: Toronto: A Comparative Profile Based on the 2001 Census. Retrieved March 18 from <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/research/papers/census2001/toronto/parta.html>
- Edgington, D. W., Goldberg, M. A., & Hutton, T. A. (2006). Hong Kong Business, Money, and Migration in Vancouver, Canada. In W. Li (ed.), *From Urban Enclave to Ethnic Suburb: New Asian Communities in Pacific Rim Countries* (pp. 155-183). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Fetters, E. (2003, November 18). Store taps Asian market. *The Herald*, pp. A6.
- Flavelle, D. (2007, January 11). Asian "Loblaws" set to expand TASTE OF ASIA Supermarket to open downtown. *The Toronto Star*, C1.
- Fong, E., Luk, C., & Ooka, E. (2005). Spatial distribution of suburban ethnic businesses. *Social Science Research*, 34, 215-235.
- Gabaccia, D. (1998). *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Goldberg, M. (1985). *The Chinese Connection*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Gulli, C. (2007, May 28). Grocery Wars. *MacLeans*. Retrieved May 28, 2007 from http://www.macleans.ca/business/companies/article.jsp?content=20070528_105305_105305.

- Hoe, B. S. (2003). *Enduring Hardship: The Chinese Laundry in Canada*. Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- Kelley, N. & Trebilcock, M. (1998). *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Lai, D. C. (2003). From Downtown Slums to Suburban Malls: Chinese Migration and Settlement in Canada. In L. Ma and C. Cartier (eds.), *Geographic Perspectives on the Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility and Identity*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Ltd.
- Lazarus, E. (1997, February 24). Supermarket chain caters to Asian shoppers. *Marketing Magazine*, 102 (7), 2.
- Lee, J. (1997, Feb. 10). Joint venture catering to niche clientele was timed perfectly in Lower Mainland, analyst says: Asian market success story targets wider consumer base. *The Vancouver Sun*, pp. C1.
- Li, P.S. (1982). Chinese Immigrants on the Canadian Prairie, 1910-1947. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 19, 527-540.
- Li, P. S. (1993). Chinese Investment and Business in Canada: Ethnic Entrepreneurship Reconsidered. *Pacific Affairs*, 66 (2), 219-243.
- Li, P. S. (1998). *The Chinese in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Li, W. (2006). Spatial Transformation of an Urban Ethnic Community: From Chinatown to Ethnoburb in Los Angeles. In W. Li (ed.), *From Urban Enclave to Ethnic Suburb: New Asian Communities in Pacific Rim Countries* (pp. 74-94). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Light, I. (1984). Immigrant and ethnic enterprise in North America. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 7 (2), 195-211.
- Light, I. & Gold, S. J. (2000). *Ethnic Economies*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Light, I. & Rosenstein, C. (1995). *Race, Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship in Urban America*. New York: Aldine and Gruyter.
- Liu, X. & Norcliffe, G. (1996). Closed Windows, Open Doors: Geopolitics and Post-1949 Mainland Chinese Immigration to Canada. *The Canadian Geographer*, 40(4), 306-319.
- Lo, L. (2006a). Changing Geography of Toronto's Chinese Ethnic Economy. In D. H. Kaplan and W. Li (eds.), *Landscapes of the Ethnic Economy* (pp. 83-96). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

- Lo, L. (2006b). Suburban Housing and Indoor Shopping: The Production of the Contemporary Chinese Landscape in Toronto in W. Li (ed.), *From Urban Enclave to Ethnic Suburb: New Asian Communities in Pacific Rim Countries* (pp. 134-154). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Lo, L. & Wang, S. (1997). Settlement Patterns of Toronto's Chinese Immigrants: Convergence or Divergence? *Canadian Journal of Regional Science*, 20(1-2), 49-72.
- Matt, S. J. (2007). A Hunger for Home: Homesickness and Food in a Global Consumer Society. *The Journal of American Culture*, 30(1), 6-17.
- Meng, Y. (2005). *New Developments and Spatial Changes of Chinese Commercial Activity in Toronto CMA*. Major Research Paper, Department of Geography, Ryerson University, Toronto.
- Murdie, R. A. & Teixeira, C. (2003). Towards a Comfortable Neighbourhood an Appropriate Housing: Immigrant Experiences in Toronto, in P. Ansief and M. Lanphier (eds.) *The World in a City* (pp. 132-191). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Portes, A. (1987). The social origins of the Cuban enclave economy of Miami. *Social Perspect*, 30, 340-372.
- Preston, V., Kobayashi, A., & Siemiatycki, M. (2006). Transnational Urbanism: Toronto at a Crossroads. In V. Satzewich and L. Wong (eds.), *Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada* (pp. 91-110). Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press.
- Preston, V. & Lo, L. (2000). Asian theme malls in suburban Toronto: Land use conflict in Richmond Hill. *Canadian Geographer*, 44(2), 182-190.
- Roberts, J. A. G. (2002). *China to Chinatown: Chinese Food in the West*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Serecon Management Consultants Inc. (2005). *Canada Food Trends 2020: A Long Range Consumer Outlook, Prepared for Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada*.
- Severson, K. (2002, April 24). 99 Ranch Market stocks the world's food on its shelves. *The San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. 4.
- Siu, P. C. P. (1952). The Sojourner. *American Journal of Sociology*, 58, 35-44.
- Thompson, R. H. (1989). *Toronto's Chinatown: The Changing Social Organization of an Ethnic Community*. New York: AMS Press Inc.
- Toronto Life. (2007). T & T Supermarket. Retrieved May 28, 2007 from <http://www.torontolife.com/guide/food/provisioners/tt-supermarket/>.

- Hoe, B. S. (2003). *Enduring Hardship: The Chinese Laundry in Canada*. Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- Wang, L. & Lo, L. (2007). Immigrant grocery-shopping behavior: ethnic identity versus accessibility. *Environment and Planning A*, 39, 684-699.
- Wang, L. & Lo, L. (2007). Global connectivity, local consumption, and Chinese immigrant experience. *GeoJournal*, 68, 183-194.
- Wang, S. (1999). Chinese Commercial Activity in the Toronto CMA: New Development Patterns and Impacts. *The Canadian Geographer*, 43(1), 19-35.
- Williamson, R. (1993, November 15). Taiwanese bite into food trade: Asian supermarket competes with entrenched giants in Vancouver mall. *The Globe and Mail*, pp. B5.
- John Winter Associates Limited. (2003). *Shopping Centre at Steeles Avenue East and Middlefield Road, Prepared for Norstar Commercial Developments Inc.*
- Yee, P. (2005). *Chinatown: An Illustrated History of the Chinese Communities of Victoria, Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, and Halifax*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd.