THE FORCE OF REGULATION IN THE LAND OF THE FREE: THE PERSISTENCE OF CHINATOWN, WASHINGTON DC AS A SYMBOLIC ETHNIC ENCLAVE ☆

Ching Lin Pang and Jan Rath

ABSTRACT

Like many other cosmopolitan cities, Washington, DC has a Chinatown, a site of leisure and consumption, based on the commodification and marketing of ethno-cultural diversity. The successful transformation of an ethnic precinct into a tourist attraction depends on supportive economic and social infrastructure as well as on the flourishing of small-businesses, commodifying ethnic features. For sure, this Chinatown does not represent the nodal point of a vibrant community. On the contrary, it is artificially kept alive by city planners and a handful of self-appointed

*Chinese spokespersons through its inclusion in DC's regulatory structures
that strongly support and promote ethnic theming.*

INTRODUCTION

Like many other cosmopolitan cities, Washington, DC, promotes its Chinatown. This ethnic precinct is roughly located north of a line extending the midpoint of G Place eastward from 9th to 6th Street, only a few blocks northwest of Capitol Hill. Each year, hundreds of thousands of visitors come to the precinct by public transportation – there is a Chinatown Metro Station at Gallery Place – or by other means, and find their way to the cafes, restaurants and shops and the neighboring Verizon Center, home to professional sports teams, pop concerts and family events. The 'world's largest single-span Chinese arch' at 7th and F Streets, the banners and store signs in Chinese characters, the decorative fences and brick pavers, the annual Chinese New Year's Day Parade, and various other markers help Chinatown play up its ethnic character (Picture 1).

DC's Chinatown exemplifies a familiar phenomenon, namely the proliferation of urban space as site of leisure and consumption, based on the commodification of ethno-cultural diversity, located in a formerly derelict ethnic precinct. In itself this phenomenon is not particularly new, certainly not in traditional countries of settler immigration, such as the United States, Canada, and Australia. As far back as the 1880s, it became fashionable for middle-class New Yorkers to go slumming or 'rubbernecking' in Chinatown (Lin, 1998). Many others have followed these trendsetters and today, more than one century later, various ethnic 'enclaves' or 'ghettos' are indeed destinations of mass tourism (Anderson, 1990; Conforti, 1996; Shaw, Bagwell, & Karmowska, 2004; Bodaar & Rath, 2005; Rath, 2005; and various others). QA :1

While representing a wide range of political, economic, social, and cultural spaces within the urban landscape, Chinatown as an urban locale evokes various images in the 'Western' popular mind. These images are related to 'vice' and 'exoticism' and are rather persistent. Chinatown is repulsive and seductive at the same time. Interestingly, Chinatown as an urban space has undergone significant transformations, largely as a consequence of globalization on diasporic communities in the North American context. As a result, the nature of migration flows have changed, cities have taken on a more global than local role, social identities have become

Picture 1.

deterritorialized, and cosmopolitan cultures have emerged (Cohen, 1997). These changes are also reflected in ethnic settlements, transforming the traditional ethnic enclave into 'ethnoburbs' (Li, 1998) or heterolocal communities (Zelinsky & Lee, 1998). Whereas the 'traditional' Chinatown represents inner-city ethnic enclaves, ethnoburbs are multiethnic communities in which one ethnic group has a significant position (Miller, 2003). QA :2 Incidentally, we are aware of the debate, held among North American scholars in the 1990s, about the phenomenon of ethnic enclaves. This debate revolved around niche-like concentrations of immigrant and ethnic minorities in the urban economy and focused on the role of ethnic entrepreneurs and ethnic workers (see for instance Portes & Manning, 1986; Portes & Jensen, 1987; Sanders & Nee, 1987; Waldinger, 1993; Logan, Alba, & Jones, 2003). In this article, however, we define enclaves in a more simpler way, namely as a territory that distinguished itself in a political or cultural way from its surroundings. We are, moreover, aware when discussing these enclaves that a North American typology of Chinatown dominates, a typology that may not fully appreciate European (Christiansen, 2003) and Asian experiences (Yamashita, 2003).

1   Anyway, visiting Chinatown, but also Little Italy, Little Saigon, Finn-
town, Banglatown or whatever other place, has become part of the more
3 general phenomenon of 'cultural tourism'. Cultural tourism is based on the
use of cultural symbols and reflects various societal changes, one of them
5 being the changing perception and appreciation of the cultural Other. While
ethno-cultural enclaves were still very much associated with lower social
7 classes in the 1950s and 1960s and in some places even in the 1970s, they no
longer stood exclusively for insularism, poverty, inferiority, vice, and social
9 backwardness by the mid-1980s (Wong, 1995; Li, 1998). Another change
refers to the transformation of urban economies that are no longer based on
11 manufacturing industries but ever more on service industries, and that re-
volve around the production, circulation, and consumption of information
13 (Tsu, 1999; cf. Rath, 2006). The commodification of real or perceived (et- `QA :3`
hno-)cultural symbols is contingent on the expansion of cultural economies
15 and simultaneously contributes to it and may, at the same time, foster the
transformation of dilapidated ethnic streetscapes into places of cultural
17 consumption (Zukin, 1995). A growing number of leisure seekers, visitors,
travelers, and business persons gravitate to these places and enjoy the
19 products and services that are offered in these new cultural economies. In
doing so, they strengthen these developments and encourage local entre-
21 preneurs, business developers, and city boosters to continue on that track.
   At present – and notwithstanding economic recession, threats of terrorism
23 and bird flu in several parts of the world – the tourism and leisure economy
is a growing sector. What makes this development even more interesting is
25 the fact that the tourism and leisure economy is one of the few growth
sectors that are all-inclusive: it provides numerous jobs and business op-
27 portunities to both high- and low-skilled immigrants of both genders (World
Travel and Tourism Council, 2005). Immigrants are, sure enough, involved
29 in this economy as wage laborers or as entrepreneurs. In their capacity as
entrepreneurs, immigrants are active as producers of a range of tourist
31 services and attractions, varying from restaurants, travel agents, and gift
shops to festivals and street parades. There can be no mistake that these
33 entrepreneurs are central to the transformation of shopping strips or shop-
ping malls into 'exotic' ethnic precincts.
35   An ethnic precinct's tourist potential is exploited best when it is embedded
in a larger tourism industry (Hope & Klemm, 2001). Ethnic precincts –
37 except perhaps the manufactured ones such as the Chinatown in Las Vegas
or the China Pavilion in Walt Disney's Epcot theme park in Orlando – are
39 typically the product of immigrant ethnic communities. Most grew without
any organized plans. They exist because immigrants have carved out spaces

1   that have served as nodal points of community life. For the exploitation of
its tourism potential immigrants do not actually have to live in that area.
3   Leichhardt is Sydney's Little Italy, but has ceased to be home to the Italian
population. The Italian community nonetheless meets in Leichhardt, where
5   the sights, sounds, flavors and irresistible aromas of Italy come alive in
numerous Italian bars and cafes (Collins & Castillo, 1998; cf. Halter, 2006).
7   The Eden Center just outside Washington, DC, is described as the heart and
soul of the Vietnamese community for the entire East Coast. Eden Center
9   continues to grow and extend its financial and community support into the
surrounding Vietnamese and Asian community. The Center, however, is
11 'just' a shopping mall, not a residential area, that serves a population that
shows a dispersed pattern of residential location (Wood, 1997; Zelinsky &
13 Lee, 1998). What matters is that this shopping mall provides a public space
where people can meet co-ethnics and behave in a manner familiar to them,
15 and where tourists can indulge and consume cultural diversity.

   In the eyes of tourists, these are shops, i.e. a particular type of shops, that
17 give the neighborhood its ethnic flavor and foster the kind of public life that
give cultural tourists an excuse to linger. Imagine an ethnic enclave without
19 shops and businesses. Only a few cultural tourists will be interested in
strolling along nondescript houses or be attracted to, say, Korean account-
21 ancies, Indian construction businesses, or Hispanic exhaust centers. On the
other hand, easily accessible book and music stores, gift shops, bric-a-brac
23 shops, travel agents, and especially restaurants, groceries, and supermarkets
do have the capacity to attract non-coethnic leisure seekers. This is no
25 coincidence, as food is one of the cultural features that people tend to retain
over a longer period of time and that may help bridge cultural differences at
27 the same time (Van den Berghe, 1980; see also Diner, 2001; or Valle &
Torres, 2000, for more nuanced and critical perspectives). Ethnic precincts
29 hold additional attraction when cultural tourists are able to visit particular
ethnic institutions (such as churches, temples, and mosques, but also com-
31 munity center; see Lalich, 2003) or attend cultural events, such as New Year
parades, food festivals, or other public manifestations. Whatever combina-
33 tion of products and services are supplied, the point is that immigrant en-
trepreneurs are key figures in these developments (Kunz, 2005).
35 Let us return to Chinatown, Washington, DC. There can be no mistake
that a 'real' Chinatown does exist. That is, city maps and 'official' tourist
37 guides invite visitors to this 'colorful, diverse neighborhood' and its 'nu-
merous restaurants'. However, key actors involved do not seem to be sat-
39 isfied with current developments. Community leaders, real estate developers,
city planners, business support people, cultural tourism marketers, and local

researchers express serious concerns about the future of DC's Chinatown. A typical account of the situation is this newspaper report:

> But Washington's Chinatown has been surrounded and flooded by dramatic change. Seventh Street NW has been transformed into a strip of restaurants and trendy stores. The block north of MCI Center is home to the 275,000-square-foot Gallery Place with a 14-screen theater, fashionable shops and a spa. Upscale apartment buildings stand to the north and the east. More are on the way. The neighborhood has become a boomtown, but there's increasingly less 'China' in Chinatown. As the area's Chinese community gathered yesterday for its New Year's celebration and parade, there was a palpable sense that something is being lost, if not by subtraction then by dilution. "In another few years, you won't see Chinatown," said Thomas Lee, past president of the Chinese American Citizens Alliance. "You'll be hard-pressed to find the arch because it will be dwarfed by everything else." (*Washington Post*, February 14, 2005)

The critical voices revolve especially around issues of authenticity and the credibility of its Chinese distinctiveness, and thus about the unique selling point of this precinct (Pictures 2 and 3).

Indeed, when visiting DC's Chinatown, one first feels more disappointment than exaltation. This Chinatown is clearly *not* the nodal point of a vibrant community. Strolling along the many stores, one hardly passes by Chinese residents or Chinese consumers. Mainstream chain stores, such as Starbucks and Fadó, but also less swanky places such as Hooters, Fuddruckers, Ruby Tuesday, Radioshack, and CVS Pharmacy, and especially the huge Verizon Center – previously named the MCI Center – dominate the streetscape. Anyone can observe how these stores symbolically and sometimes also literally overshadow the distinctive 'Chinese-ness' of Chinatown. The Chinese presence seems to be confined to just one block. There are the Wah Luck House, which is a home for Chinese elderly, a dozen or more inexpensive eateries and a few more up-market restaurants, including the Hunan Chinatown, the Golden Palace, and Tony Cheng's Mongolian restaurant. New mainstream developments, however, dwarf these places. Some, therefore, cynically refer to Chinatown as the 'China-block' (Pictures 4 and 5).

The local actors find themselves in a puzzling and paradoxical situation. These actors seem to be searching for credible representation and imaging, but the outcome resembles a makeshift, Disneylandish Chinatown. Ethnic Chinese are conspicuous by their absence and one misses the bustle that is so characteristic for other Chinatowns like the ones in San Francisco or Manhattan, New York. Indeed, it seems that this precinct has ceased to be the spatial heart of a vigorous ethnic community. Assuming that this is the case, the real interesting question becomes: what accounts for the persistence of

Picture 2.

Chinatown as a symbolic ethnic enclave? Why do entrepreneurs continue to attract clients by collectively playing up a real or pretended Chinese character. And what does this tell us about the structural determinants of small entrepreneurship, ethnic as much as nonethnic?

In this article, we will argue that the revitalization of DC's Chinatown coincides with the expansion of DC's central business district and concomitant penetration of corporate capitalism, but that the precinct continues to exist, albeit in a more symbolic way, first and foremost because of governmental regulation. In what follows, we will first briefly discuss ethnic/immigrant entrepreneurship theory and introduce the mixed embeddedness approach. Thereafter, we will describe and analyze the process of regularization of Chinatown as a one-of-a-kind commercial enclave.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP THEORY

Let us now examine the literature of immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurship. Most studies of immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurship focus on entrepreneurs

Picture 3.

only and are mainly interested in explaining the proclivity of certain groups toward entrepreneurship and their paths to entrepreneurial success.[1] Scholars studying these questions have developed several theoretical approaches, ranging from those emphasizing the cultural endowments of immigrants (i.e., certain groups are culturally inclined towards risk-taking behavior; see Light, 1972; Metcalf, Modood, & Virdee, 1996), to others that highlight racist exclusion and blocked mobility in the regular labor market (i.e., marginalized individuals are driven towards entrepreneurialism as a means of escaping unwelcoming labor markets; see Ram, 1993; Collins, Gibson, Alcorso, Tait, & Castles, 1995; Barrett, Jones, & McEvoy, 1996; Saxenian, 1999).

A number of years ago, Waldinger and his associates (1990) developed a composite theory that brought together these views, based on the principle that entrepreneurship is the product of the interaction between group characteristics and the opportunity structure. As such their *interactive model* combines ethno-cultural and socio-cultural factors (agency) with politico-economic factors (structure). According to Waldinger et al., the latter entail market conditions (particularly access to ethnic/nonethnic consumer

Picture 4.

markets) and access to ownership (in the form of business vacancies, com-
petition for vacancies, and government policies). This interactive model has
been appreciated as an important step towards a more comprehensive the-
oretical approach, even though it is more of a classification than an ex-
planatory model. However, it has also been subjected to criticism. Its
shortcomings included its methodology (Light & Rosenstein, 1995), the lack
of attention devoted to issues of class and gender (Morokvasic, 1993; Collins
et al., 1995), insufficient emphasis on processes of racialization of immi-
grants (Collins et al., *ibid.*), a priori categorization of immigrants as ethnic
groups and the concomitant assumption that immigrants as ethnic entre-
preneurs act differently than mainstream entrepreneurs (Kloosterman &
Rath, 2003), and the narrow and static way economic and politico-regu-
latory factors are dealt with (Bonacich, 1993; Rath, 2000, 2002). As regards
the latter, the authors conceive market conditions in terms of the ethnic-
ization or de-ethnicization of consumer markets, and confine politico-reg-
ulatory factors to a shortlist of laws and regulations that specifically apply
to immigrants.

Picture 5.

Theoretical development has continued but, oddly enough, this has led to a convergence of approaches to issues of *social embeddedness*, that is, the assumption that individual entrepreneurs participate in ethnically specific economic networks that facilitate their business operations (especially in acquiring knowledge, distributing information, recruiting capital and labor, and establishing relations with clients and suppliers). This would suggest that the proliferation of Chinatown as a tourist attraction would be mainly the result of the mobilization of the Chinese entrepreneurs' ethno-social networks. Their social embeddedness enables them to reduce transaction costs by eliminating formal contracts, gaining privileged access to vital economic resources, and providing reliable expectations as to the effects of malfeasance. Particularly in cases where the entrepreneurs' primary input is cheap and flexible labor, as is true of some parts of the tourism industry, the reduction of transaction costs by mobilizing social networks for labor recruitment seems key. Many students of immigrant entrepreneurship, especially in the United States, are indeed fervent adherents to a version of economic sociological thought that focuses on the entrepreneurs' social networks and impact on entrepreneurship (see for example Zhou, 1992;

1 Wong, 1998). However, taking advantage of social embeddedness is a com-
plex and dynamic process, is connected to cultural, human, and financial
3 capital (Light & Gold, 2000), is contingent on the goals pursued and the
political and economic forces at work (Granovetter, 1995; Kumcu, 2001),
5 and is the product of the interaction of structural factors such as migration
history and processes of social, economic and political incorporation in the
7 mainstream as well as their spatial variations (Rath, 2002). These intricacies,
however, have not always been adequately addressed.
9   In recent years, continental European researchers criticized this economic
sociological thought for focusing on the supply side of entrepreneurship
11 only. They argued, moreover, that these theories of immigrant entrepre-
neurialism assume an unregulated and undifferentiated economy, whereas in
13 reality economies are never unregulated and undifferentiated. Scant atten-
tion has subsequently been paid to the array of *regulatory structures* that
15 promote certain economic activities while inhibiting others. For example,
while virtually anyone can establish a private business in the United States,
17 in Germany and even more so in Austria individuals must apply for special
licenses even to sell flowers in restaurants and bars, and they need the
19 approval of a particular organization to engage in most forms of production
or service (see for instance Haberfellner, 2003). It is thus important to ad-
21 dress these highly relevant forms of regulation. Next to that, one must also
fully appreciate the *economic dynamics* of a market. It does not require much
23 sociological imagination to see that designers of virtual tourist guides, pen-
cils vendors, or take-out restaurateurs operate in entirely different markets.
25 Different markets obviously offer different opportunities and obstacles, de-
mand different skills, and lead to different outcomes in terms of business
27 success or – at a higher level of agglomeration – a different ethnic division of
labor.
29   Acknowledging the salience of regulation as well as market dynamics,
researchers have proposed a *mixed embeddedness* approach to immigrant
31 entrepreneurship (Kloosterman, van der Leun, & Rath, 1999; Kloosterman
& Rath, 2001, 2003; Rath, 2002). The multi-scalar approach is considered to
33 be more appropriate, since it relates social relations and transactions to
wider political and economic structures. It acknowledges the significance of
35 immigrants' concrete embeddedness in social networks, and conceives that
their relations and transactions are embedded in a more abstract way in
37 wider economic and politico-institutional structures. While appreciating the
relevance of social and cultural structures for economic development, this
39 article must be situated within this emerging analytical approach.

1   How does regulation work? To begin with, regulation should not be
confused with legislation, as there are two other forms of regulation. There
3 are 'sticks', which Engelen (2001) refers to as 'legislation per se', and 'car-
rots' (financial incentives and disincentives) or 'sermons' (persuasion), all
5 different forms in complex packages that define what is 'possible' in a mar-
ket. Nor should regulation be confused with state regulation. A multitude of
7 agents play a role in regulation processes, such as local, national or inter-
national governmental agents, unions, quangos, not-for-profit organiza-
9 tions, voluntary associations, and individual and their social networks.
Regulation can be manifested in thick or thin ways or can either be imposed
11 or enforced or be a matter of voluntary action.
      These notions are important, as they make it clear that regulation is not
13 just a matter of repression and constraining, but also of enabling. Sup-
pressing illicit practices such as dodging taxes and labor and immigration
15 laws by prosecuting the perpetrators are important manifestations of reg-
ulation (repression), but so are decisions to tolerate these practices and not
17 prosecute them. The plethora of business support programs also constitutes
forms of regulation (Dreef, 2004), as these are efforts to change the market
19 landscape.
      These notions make it clear that regulation occurs in advanced welfare
21 states, but also in liberal welfare states. The United States government, for
instance, is admittedly a relatively lean government that supposedly has less
23 means to regulate economic life, but this is amply compensated for by the
regulation of a more voluntary nature. In the land of the free, economic life
25 (and not only economic life) is severely dogged by litigation. In addition, the
federal government has various instruments to regulate markets. Its rela-
27 tively open immigration programs for professionals and businessmen have
enhanced the proliferation of money-makers in Silicon Valley, where im-
29 migrant entrepreneurs own a quarter of the high tech companies (Saxenian,
1999). In the same vein, local governments or private organizations or co-
31 alition of the two may deploy a plethora of instruments to interfere in the
market economy, varying from business support schemes, economic devel-
33 opment zone programs, zoning laws, place marketing and so forth. The
tourism industry, as we will see, is a case in point.
35   Let us turn now to the economic processes that foster the growth of urban
cultural tourism industry. The growth of this industry is intricately linked
37 with the rapid transformation of the manufacturing economy to the infor-
mation economy and beyond. Deindustrialization resulted in the need for
39 localities to differentiate themselves in order to attract a share of this spa-
tially mobile capital. In the case of cities in particular, authorities ranging

1 from local governments to marketing consortia have been striving to present localities as attractive to potential investors, employers, inhabitants, and
3 tourists (Kearns & Philo, 1993). Urban cultural diversity is then a vital resource for the prosperity of cities and a potential catalyst for socio-eco-
5 nomic development, particularly since business investors consider this diversity as one of the factors determining the location of businesses.
7   Cities, faced with job losses and decay, engage in 'a desperate struggle for survival' and one after the other bet on the tourism and leisure industry, a
9 sector with few barriers to entry and the potential for large returns (Judd & Fainstein, 1999; Hall, 2000). The commodification and marketing of diver-
11 sity, i.e. the commercial use of the presence of the ethnic Others or their symbols, fits in well with this process (Halter, 2000). The chances of this
13 occurring are obviously contingent on the level of living, lifestyle and consumption patterns of those living in Western cities and the degree to which
15 they develop a distinctive taste for cultural products offered by migrant and minority groups.
17   Zukin describes the growing enthusiasm for 'interesting' landscapes that have the potential to draw tourists (Zukin, 1995), and explores the rela-
19 tionship between industrial restructuring and the deterioration of factory landscapes vs. the growing significance of places of consumption. Zukin
21 (1991, p. 16; see also Zukin et al., 1998) reminds us that landscapes are 'contentious, compromised product[s] of society' that create visual order
23 and, in so doing, both reveal and conceal social processes. She is particularly concerned with the growing social polarization evident in many Western
25 societies and devotes much of her effort to understanding places that appeal to affluent consumers. These include landscapes of leisure, such as Coney
27 Island, Disney World, or Las Vegas, as well as gentrified inner-city neighborhoods that contain mixed land uses. These places contribute both ma-
29 terially and symbolically to the urban economy and are therefore highly prized by planners and city boosters (Zukin, 1998).
31   To foster this process, city governments attempt to attract investment (or invest themselves) in high-profile events, institutions, and symbolic land
33 uses, such as Olympic games, international sports teams, and towers or special bridges. Some also emphasize areas of the city that may interest local
35 consumers or tourists, including ethnic festivals and ethnic precincts that offer a wealth of goods and services that appear exotic, exciting, and au-
37 thentic (Knecht & Soysal, 2005). As Zukin notes, this has led to a sea-change in the way these types of areas are understood and represented by
39 the state: 'Elected officials who, in the 1960s, might have criticized immigrants and nontraditional living arrangements, now consciously market the

1 city's diverse opportunities for cultural consumption' (1998b, p. 836). This
   process leads to a commodification of diversity and has led to a situation
3 where culture – particularly the more 'sanitized' manifestations of immi-
   grant and minority cultures – can be seen as an economic resource for cities.
5 In practice, governmental and nongovernmental regulation may support, or
   at least not thwart the transformation of ethnic precincts into tourist at-
7 tractions. This can be accomplished by passing favorable zoning regula-
   tions, creating a clean and safe environment and ensuring the area's
9 accessibility.

11

CHINATOWN AND THE REGULATION OF ETHNIC THEMING

15

   How did this work out in our case? The Chinese presence in Washington,
17 DC, dates from the mid-19th century (Chow, 1996). DC was a secondary
   destination, never a primary destination, as the Chinese who arrived in the
19 20th century came there from other US states. They were low skilled,
   suffered from racial exclusion, and flocked to a neighborhood somewhere
21 between Pennsylvania Avenue, Constitution Avenue, and 15th Street, NW.
   In the 1920s and 1930s, they were forced to vacate their houses and busi-
23 nesses in order to make place for the construction of a series of public
   buildings in what later became the Federal Triangle government office
25 complex. The Chinese relocated to a neighborhood that was originally in-
   habited by German and Jewish immigrants, i.e. the location of today's
27 Chinatown. As elsewhere in the United States, the Chinese faced many
   difficulties in the labor market and, consequently, gravitated to self-em-
29 ployment. They managed to carve out a niche in laundry services and, when
   this industry became obsolete, they entered the catering business. Until the
31 1960s, the overwhelming majority of Chinese in the District of Columbia
   lived in Chinatown. Many houses and shops were marked with decorative
33 metal latticework and railings as well as Chinese signage.
      In the 1960s and 1970s, major societal changes unfolded. At this juncture,
35 many cities, especially those that were dependent on manufacturing econ-
   omies, were in decline. Washington, DC, being the center of public admin-
37 istration in the United States, never had an economy that was strongly
   reliant on manufacturing industries. Yet, many Washingtonians moved to
39 greener pastures, and in so doing undermined the city's economy and tax
   base. This had an enormous impact on various neighborhoods, including

1 the residential areas in downtown DC, as it magnified their sorry plight and enhanced the neglect of its public spaces. Ethnic Chinese residents who
3 could afford it, like many other middle-class city dwellers, moved into the suburbs. This process was fostered by the upward social mobility that many
5 Chinese had experienced, and this held particularly true for better-educated, second-generation immigrants who were increasingly fed up with the rising
7 crime, rising taxes, and deteriorating business climate. The average age of the population increased, while the average level of education decreased.
9 Many other ethnic enclaves or ghettos witnessed similar developments (cf. Wilson, 1987; Zhou, 1992). But what distinguished DC's Chinatown from
11 other Chinatowns, such as the ones in New York, was that only a few new immigrants arrived to fill the vacancies of those who left the neighborhood.
13 Chinatown, consequently, gradually ceased to be the vibrant heart of the Chinese community. Admittedly, Chinese immigration did continue, but
15 most newcomers were college-educated professionals who moved directly into the suburbs. The newcomers did not see Chinatown's symbolic and
17 economic potential in the gentrification of metropolitan neighborhoods. Instead, heterolocalism became the new way (Wood, 1997; Zelinsky & Lee,
19 1998), while Chinatown became an ever more unsafe, run-down place.
   Next to these spectacular socio-economic developments, there were im-
21 portant political developments. The political leadership of DC passed through a serious crisis following major riots in the wake of the assassi-
23 nation of Martin Luther King in 1968. The riots, that affected Washington, DC and 110 other American cities, revolved around issues of equal treat-
25 ment of racial minorities. The civil unrest directly and indirectly devastated the economy of Washington, DC. It accelerated the closure of many busi-
27 nesses, the redundancy of thousands of workers, and the departure of many city dwellers of all racial and ethnic groups for the suburbs. As a result of
29 this, property values depressed, crime increased, and new investments were discouraged. The blight of the city prompted the local government to take
31 serious steps to address urban decline and to interface with minority groups at last. The interests of minority groups were suddenly on the political
33 agenda and this enhanced the empowerment of African-Americans and other ethnic minority groups. It is important to note that these events took
35 place in an era in which the assimilationist orthodoxy lost its natural dom-inance. With hindsight, we know that multiculturalism became de rigueur
37 and this too contributed to the empowerment of minority groups that stake out claims for citizenship rights.
39   The city embarked on an urban renewal process, among others in the eastern part of downtown, i.e. Chinatown. Improving the streetscape and

1 attracting businesses were given top priority, so as to stimulate the ad-
   vancement of corporate businesses in Washington, DC's central business
3 district. One of the plans designed to boost the inner city's economy entailed
   the development of a convention/sports center, to be located in Chinatown.
5 This plan stirred the Chinese community for obvious reasons: the locals
   feared that the redevelopment would wipe out their houses and businesses
7 and a new political crisis was lurking that could possibly thwart the process
   of urban renewal. In a series of meetings, self-proclaimed community leaders
9 and city officials eventually reached a compromise. The way in which ethnic
   Chinese leaders and city officials defused this crisis turned out to be critical
11 for all further developments.
       First, the ethnic Chinese leaders and the city officials reached a consensus
13 that the Chinatown area needed to be economically revitalized in a city that
   was becoming increasingly more gentrified and up-market. Secondly, both
15 parties acknowledged the historic and contemporary value of Chinatown as
   an ethnic cultural area, and subsequently embarked on a plan to preserve
17 and enhance the neighborhood. In so doing, the city officially acknowledged
   the ethnic Chinese heritage, and underscored the potential of Chinatown as
19 a tourist attraction. Thirdly, it was decided that the convention center – not
   a sports center – would be built on the edge of Chinatown. Several blocks of
21 houses had to be demolished, but in return the city supported the construc-
   tion of the Wah Luck house, an apartment complex designed by a Chinese
23 architect offering affordable residence to elderly Chinese.
       This compromise marked the start of a close collaboration between city
25 officials and Chinese community leaders who seemed to share the same
   objectives. This collaboration was sealed with a series of legal actions se-
27 curing the protection and enhancement of Chinatown as downtown's only
   ethnic cultural area, for instance in the Zoning laws and District of Co-
29 lumbia Municipal Regulations (see Figs. 1 and 2). This legitimized the
   claims of the Chinese community, legally acknowledged the existence of the
31 precincts, and formally fixed its boundaries. Today, these rules and regu-
   lations still exist. They stipulate that the city is to treat Chinatown specially
33 to boost its 'ethnic cultural' character through a variety of land use and
   design guidelines, incentives, and special programs. These serve the pres-
35 ervation of the historic character and structural integrity of the precincts.
       The city–community collaboration had been institutionalized by the es-
37 tablishment of the Chinatown Steering Committee. This committee was to
   monitor the developments and to act as interlocutor between the community
39 and the government. This collaboration clearly showed the city's willingness

1

3

5

7

9

11

13

15

17

19

21

23

25

27

29

31

33

35

37

39

ζ7   **CHINATOWN**

927.1   The Chinatown objectives are as follows:

    (a)   Retain and enhance Chinatown as a thriving, mixed-use Downtown community including substantial housing with community and cultural facilities, street-level retail with related wholesale operations, supporting office and professional uses, and hotels;

    (b)   Obtain a concentration of land uses consisting of ethnically-oriented ground floor retail uses, substantial housing and office uses, community facilities, and hotel uses as appropriate;

927.2   The policies established in support of the Chinatown objectives are as follows:

    (a)   Develop a physical design criteria for new and rehabilitated buildings which will reinforce the definition and identity of Chinatown as a special cultural district;

    (b)   Develop a range of special design guidelines which would include building design guidelines, historic preservation relationships, and streetscape and sign criteria and that are supportive of creating a special Chinatown cultural district;

Fig. 1. Zoning Laws

Title 11   **District of Columbia Municipal Regulations**

1705.1   The principal policies and objectives from the Comprehensive Plan for the Chinatown area are to:

    (a)   Protect and enhance Chinatown as Downtown's only ethnic cultural area;

    (b)   Maintain and expand the existing concentration of retail uses emphasizing Chinese and Asian merchandise and related wholesale operations serving residents, visitors, tourists, and business travelers;

    (c)   Reinforce the area's economic viability by encouraging mixed use development, including substantial housing, cultural and community facilities, offices, retail and wholesale businesses, and hotels; and

    (d)   Protect existing housing and the most important historic buildings with suitable preservation controls, residential and commercial zones, and economic incentives.

Fig. 2. District of Columbia Municipal Regulations

1   to make this project work. It should be noted that to date no other ethnic
group in Washington, DC, has enjoyed such a favorable position.
3   Over the course of time, many actors actively participated in the reshap-
ing and enhancing of the Chinatown area, including the DC Planning Office,
5   the Downtown BID (Business Improvement District), Mainstreet Develop-
ment Programs, Heritage Preservation, etc. One of the issues pertained to
7   the distinctiveness of Chinatown, insofar as expressed in the streetscape. The
Chinatown Steering Committee was encouraged by city planners to design
9   guidelines for Chinatown. In 1976, the District government's Chinatown
Program called for design guidelines to reinforce the distinctiveness of the
11 precinct. The Mayor's Downtown Committee in 1982 and the comprehen-
sive plan in 1984 once again called for that objective. This resulted in *The*
13 *Chinatown Design Guidelines Study*, a book written by a local consulting
firm – the Architects Engineers – to enhance the Chinese character of Chi-
15 natown. The guidelines, issued in December 1988, can be seen as the
crowning piece of earlier initiatives (see Fig. 3).

17

19

21

23

25

27

29

31

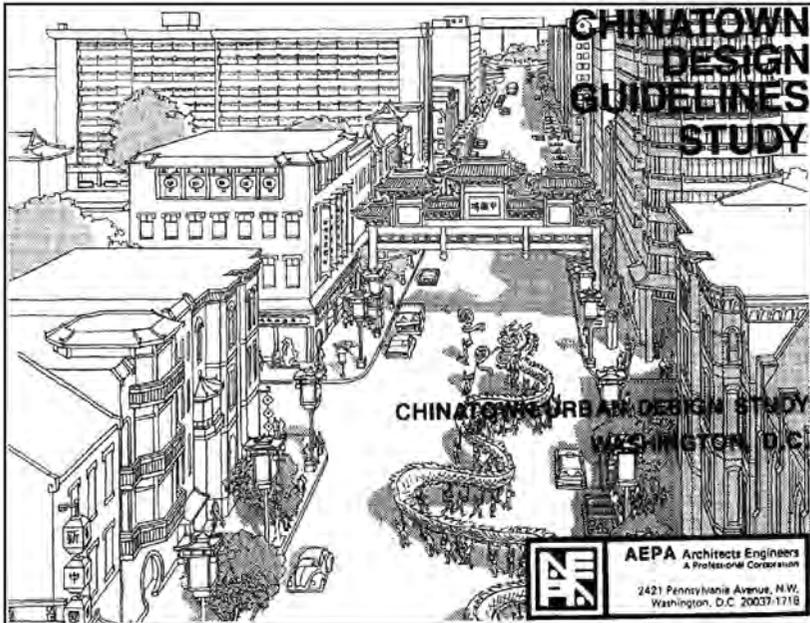33

35

37

39

Fig. 3.   The Chinatown Design Guidelines Study

1   In the book's preface the authors write:

3   The Chinatown Design Guidelines Study is intended to lead to the adoption of building
        design guidelines and streetscape standards that will guide and assist architects, devel-
        opers, and planners involved in development and renovation in Washington, DC's Chi-
5   natown. It is hoped that the criteria and guidelines suggested herein will help create an
        enhanced Chinatown with a strong Chinese character.

7

     This guidebook is a clear attempt to underline and enlarge the distinctive
9   Chinese-ness of the Chinatown by codifying Chinese culture and cultural
     characteristics. Drafted with care and based on scientific research, the
11   guidelines provide very specific criteria and allow for a range of styles in-
     cluding traditional, modern and postmodern adaptation, while referring to
13   existing building in China that have similar features. The near-scientific
     approach largely neutralizes the critique that enhancing 'Chinese-ness'
15   would create a caricatural version of Chinese culture. In fact, the architects
     sought inspiration in existing postmodern and hybrid buildings in China.
17   The Chinatown Steering Committee and the city planners believed this in-
     itiative would make Chinatown appealing to tourist and leisure seekers, but
19   also to overseas businesses people and investors, especially from Taiwan.
     The latter might be related to the fact that some committee members were
21   connected to Taiwan. They also expected local mom-and-pop stores, the
     'local touch', to flourish and to add to the Chinese 'flavor'.
23   While the City Planning Office adopted only a short version of the design
     guidelines, architects were expected to take into account the symbolism of
25   Chinatown and Chinese spirit, and thus to combine Chinese traditions and
     modern architecture. In reality, the prominent Chinese architecture – be it
27   traditional, modern or postmodern adaptation – is hardly noticeable when
     entering DC's Chinatown (except perhaps the Wah Luck House, the roofing
29   of some of the restaurants, or some of the architectonic ornaments of the
     Verizon Center). Some striking particularities of DC's Chinatown are Chi-
31   nese signs for mainstream chain stores including Starbucks, McDonalds,
     and Hooters, which seem exotic in a Western city (Picture 6).
33   Rather than enhancing the neighborhood's Chinese-ness, these chain
     stores with signs in Chinese characters look odd and therefore unconvinc-
35   ing. Apart from the incorrect – on purpose or not – rendition of Hooters
     into Chinese (the translation is 'owl'), a Starbucks with Chinese signage (but
37   with Hispanic and other non-Chinese workers) does not launch us into the
     Chinese realm. One can even state that the legal provision imposing all store
39   owners to have Chinese signage has a reverse effect. It actually tends to
     underline the unconvincing, unnatural nature of Chinatown instead of

Picture 6.

contributing to it. This is partly due to the fact that there is a lack of continuing input of the ethnic group itself. No progress has been made into the full-fledged development of a Chinatown in which mom-and-pop stores are thriving and larger companies capitalize on the mobilization of trans-national business linkages.

Chinatown reached its peak in terms of small-scale mom-and-pop stores and restaurants in the 1980s. Up until that period, DC did not offer an extensive choice of restaurants and bars that were open during the night. For the longest time, Chinatown had been the only place offering late-night leisure activities. However, neighborhoods such as Adams Morgan and Georgetown have taken over this role. The expectation of grand-scale in-vestment from Taiwan and the establishment of family-run business have not materialized either. On the contrary, more and more mainstream stores have found their way into the Chinatown area, watering down the 'Chinese-ness' of the area. As of 2003, 1500 new residential units have been estab-lished in Chinatown and its vicinity. Yet this development has not lead to more Chinese business in the neighborhood, and it seems more likely that

high-income gentrification will continue to make its mark in the area that has de facto become part of the central business district.

As has been said, nobody seems to be sufficiently satisfied with the outcome, let alone being compelled by it. There is a smoldering conflict about the Chinese character of the area. Some rumors have it that especially the Chinese entrepreneurs in the Chinatown Steering Committee were defending their personal or business interest instead that of the larger Chinese community. The representative nature of the Chinese Steering Committee has been a bone of contention. Unlike other advisory neighborhood commissions, the members have not been elected. Furthermore, members of the committee do not live in Chinatown but in the suburbs. These self-proclaimed leaders have divergent views on the development of Chinatown: one group, comprising the more affluent and more successful business persons, wants to reach out to mainstream capital and aspires after the development of grand projects that fit into the central business district; the other group, comprising leaders of community organizations, claims ownership of the ethnic heritage and aspires after a more festive Chinatown. According to the latter group, the members of the Chinatown Steering Committee saw to it that the area would not become too Chinese, as that would deter corporate capitalism.

CONCLUSIONS

We argued that transforming an ethnic precinct into a tourist attraction is embedded in the symbolic and political economy. Although the main actors in this process – city planners and the Chinese community including its entrepreneurs – seem at first sight to support both the economic revival and the symbolic transformation of the Chinatown area, the DC case shows us the difficulty of successfully reshaping an ethnic precinct into a thriving business and tourist area.

This reshaping requires a social infrastructure that is able to support the development of a regular precinct into a tourist attraction as well as a proliferation of small-businesses that commodify ethnic features. Both conditions are no longer fulfilled and this is probably related to a combination of social processes, including the social and spatial mobility of second and third generation Chinese and the gradual change of the place – ethnic boundary nexus. Furthermore, DC's Chinatown never had a history of attracting newcomers 'fresh off the boat'. The formal recognition of Chinatown did not change this pattern, as new immigration of ethnic Chinese

1 into the area hardly occurs. If it did, it could help foster the maintenance of
   ethnic groups and boundaries and the sustenance of ethnic community life
3 in the way that Glazer and Moynihan (1964) described four decades ago.
   Ethnic Chinese community life is obviously changing and may even fade
5 away in more advanced stages of assimilation.

      This, however, is only one part of the story. There are also changing
7 market conditions, notably the process of gentrification. The ethnic Chinese
   business community that once constituted the economic structure of the
9 precinct has been shrinking in the past few decades. At the same time cor-
   porate business entered the precinct. The city's urban renewal programs and
11 economic development programs enticed private capital to invest in Chi-
   natown, and various mainstream corporations were indeed most willing to
13 spend large numbers of dollars in such a centrally located neighborhood.
   The establishment of the Washington Convention Center and later also the
15 MCI Center – recently renamed Verizon Center – have had a tremendous
   impact on the neighborhood. Numerous visitors and spectators flock to
17 Chinatown whenever there is an event and this has certainly helped im-
   proving the quality of the neighborhood and the local economy. The
19 spending power of high numbers of consumers did attract mainstream chain
   stores and corporations. The flip side of this development was that small
21 one-of-a-kind stores were pushed or bought out of the market, as they could
   not counter balance the power of corporate capitalism.
23   These mainstream corporations take the Chinese heritage for granted but
   hardly include it in their marketing. The Marriot Hotel, for instance, located
25 on 900 F Street, thus on a location that once constituted the heart of Chi-
   natown, does not even bother to refer to Chinatown on its web site:

27
      With its spectacular $25 million renovation, the Courtyard by Marriott Washington
      Convention Center has beautifully transformed the historic Riggs Bank Building into
29   one of the most sought after Washington, DC hotels. Sharing a neighborhood with some
      of the city's finest restaurants, foremost businesses and government offices, you can
31   easily walk to the Metro subway, famed museums and the Verizon Center. Enter this
      grand hotel, and you'll find the amenities and services that make business travel easier ...
      [2]
33

   Under these conditions, there is no reason to assume that an ethnic precinct
35 such as Chinatown is given a perpetual life span. There is no sustained
   inflow of new Chinese migrants into Chinatown. The same settlement pat-
37 tern applies to newcomers, mainly highly educated migrants with a high
   income. Furthermore, the second generation Chinese do not show any in-
39 clination to settle in Chinatown. Instead, like their middle class counter-
   parts, they avoid the city center. Thus with a declining presence of ethnic

Chinese, a declining demand for Chinese goods and services, and a declining proliferation of Chinese merchants and other small entrepreneurs, Chinatown as an ethnic commercial enclave is slowly but surely disappearing.

Yet, there is a regulatory environment that strongly supports and promotes ethnic theming. Self-appointed Chinese spokespersons – including a number of successful entrepreneurs – have been regarded as representatives and guardians of ethnic authenticity and have, consequently, managed to gain authority. As a result of that, and perhaps at odds with the dominant representation of the United States of America as the land of free enterprise, Chinatown's symbolic economy has been included in DC's regulatory structures. Ethnic theming is obviously not required on the companies' web sites, but it is required on the streets. It is this regulation that accounts for the fact that Chinatown continues to have a 'Chinese' streetscape and that all businesses – including mainstream ones – collectively play up an 'exotic' Chinese character, in line with the popular 'Western' image.

NOTES

1. The literature is inconclusive as to the use of concepts such as immigrant entrepreneurship and ethnic entrepreneurship (cf. Rath, 2002a, 23–24).
2. http://marriott.com/property/propertypage/WASCN.

REFERENCES

Anderson, K. J. (1990). "Chinatown re-oriented". A critical analysis of recent redevelopment schemes in a Melbourne and Sydney enclave. *Australian Geographical Studies*, *28*, 131–154.

Barrett, G., Jones, T., & McEvoy, D. (1996). Ethnic minority business. Theoretical discourse in Britain and North America. *Urban Studies*, *33*(4–5), 783–809.

Bodaar, A., & Rath, J. (2005). Cities, diversity and public space. *Metropolis World Bulletin*, *5*, 3–5.

Bonacich, E. (1993). The other side of ethnic entrepreneurship: A dialogue with Waldinger, Aldrich, Ward and associates. *International Migration Review*, *27*, 685–692.

Chow, E. N. (1996). From Pennsylvania Avenue to H. Street, NW. The transformation of Washington's Chinatown. In: F. C. Cary (Ed.), *Urban Odyssey. A multicultural history of Washington, DC* (pp. 190–207). Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Christiansen, F. (2003). *Chinatown, Europe. Identity of the European Chinese towards the beginning of the 21st century*. London: Routledge Curzon.

Cohen, R. (1997). *Global diasporas. An introduction*. London: UCL Press.

Collins, J., & Castillo, A. (1998). *Cosmopolitan Sydney. Explore the World in one city*. Annandale, N.S.W.: Pluto Press with Comerford and Miller.

1   Collins, J., Gibson, K., Alcorso, C., Tait, D., & Castles, S. (1995). *A shop full of dreams. Ethnic small business in Australia*. Sydney: Pluto Press.

3   Conforti, J. M. (1996). Ghettos as tourism attractions. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *23*(4), 830–842.

5   Diner, H. R. (2001). *Hungering for America. Italian, Irish, and Jewish foodways in the age of migration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

    Dreef, M. E. P. (2004). *Politiek, Migranten en Informele Economie. Politieke en Bestuurlijke*
7   *Ontwikkelingen ten aanzien van de Amsterdamse Confectieateliers, 1980–1997*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam.

9   Engelen, E. (2001). Breaking in and breaking out. A Weberian approach to entrepreneurial opportunities. In: R. Kloosterman, & J. Rath (Eds), *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Special issue on 'Immigrant Entrepreneurship', 27(2).

11 Glazer, N., & Moynihan, D. P. (1964). *Beyond the melting pot. The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

13 Granovetter, M. (1995). The economic sociology of firms and entrepreneurs. In: A. Portes (Ed.), *The economic sociology of immigration. Essays on networks, ethnicity, and entrepreneurship* (pp. 128–165). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

15 Haberfellner, R. (2003). The case of Austria: Immigrant self-employment in a highly regulated economy. In: R. Kloosterman & J. Rath (Eds), *Immigrant entrepreneurs. Venturing*
17 *abroad in the age of globalization* (pp. 213–232). Oxford: Berg.

    Hall, P. (2000). Creative cities and economic development. *Urban Studies*, *37*(4), 639–649.

19 Halter, M. (2000). *Shopping for identity. The marketing of ethnicity*. New York: Schocken Books.

    Halter, M. (2006). Tourists 'R' us: Immigrants, ethnic tourism and the marketing of metro-
21 politan Boston. In: J. Rath (Ed.), *Tourism, ethnic diversity and the city*. London: Routledge.

23 Hope, C. A., & Klemm, M. S. (2001). Tourism in difficult areas revisited. The case of Bradford. *Tourism Management*, *22*, 629–635.

25 Judd, D. R., & Fainstein, S. S. (Eds) (1999). *The tourist city*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

    Kearns, G., & Philo, C. (Eds) (1993). *Selling places. The city as cultural capital past and present*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

27 Kloosterman, R., & Rath, J. (Eds) (2001). Immigrant entrepreneurs in advanced economies. Mixed embeddedness further explored. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Special
29 issue on 'Immigrant Entrepreneurship', 27(2), 189–202.

    Kloosterman, R., & Rath, J. (Eds) (2003). *Immigrant Entrepreneurs. Venturing abroad in the age of globalization*. Oxford/New York: Berg/University of New York Press.

31 Kloosterman, R., van der Leun, J., & Rath, J. (1999). Mixed embeddedness. (In)formal economic activities and immigrant business in the Netherlands. *International Journal of*
33 *Urban and Regional Research*, *23*(2), 253–267.

    Knecht, M., & Soysal, L. (Eds) (2005). *Plausible Vielfalt: wie der Karneval der Kulturen denkt, lernt und Kultur schafft I*. Berlin: Panama Verlag.

35 Kumcu, A. (2001). *De fil en aiguille: Genèse et déclin des ateliers de confections turcs d'Amsterdam*. Amsterdam: Thela Thesis.

37 Kunz, P. (2005). *Ethnic entrepreneurs, ethnic precincts and tourism. Missed opportunities from Sydney*. A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Sydney: University of Technology Sydney.

39

1 Lalich, W. F. (2003). *Ethnic community capital. The development of ethnic social infrastructure in Sydney*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Technology Sydney, Sydney.

3 Li, W. (1998). Anatomy of a new ethnic settlement. The Chinese ethnoburb in Los Angeles. *Urban Studies*, *35*(3), 479–501.

5 Light, I. (1972). *Ethnic enterprise in America. Business and welfare among Chinese, Japanese, and Blacks*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Light, I., & Gold, S. J. (2000). *Ethnic economies*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

7 Lin, J. (1998). *Reconstructing Chinatown. Ethnic enclave, global change*. Minneapolis and Globalization and Community, Vol. 2. London: University of Minnesota Press.

9 Logan, J. R., Alba, R., & Jones, B. J. (2003). Enclaves and entrepreneurs. Assessing the payoff for immigrants and minorities. *International Migration Review*, *37*(2), 344–388.

11 Metcalf, H., Modood, T., & Virdee, S. (1996). *Asian self-employment. The interaction of culture and economics in England*. London: Policy Studies Institute.

13 Morokvasic, M. (1993). Immigrants in garment production in Paris and Berlin. In: I. Light & P. Bhachu (Eds), *Immigration and entrepreneurship. Culture, capital, and ethnic networks* (pp. 75–96). New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

15 Portes, A., & Jensen, L. (1987). What's an ethnic enclave? The case for conceptual clarity. A comment. *American Sociological Review*, *52*(6), 768–773.

17 Portes, A., & Manning, R. (1986). The immigrant enclave: Theory and empirical example. In: S. Olzak & J. Nagel (Eds), *Competitive ethnic relations* (pp. 47–68). New York: Academic Press.

19 Ram, M. (1993). *Managing to survive. Working lives in small firms*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Rath, J. (Ed.) (2000). *Immigrant businesses: The economic, political and social environment*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York: Macmillan Press and St. Martin's 21 Press.

Rath, J. (Ed.) (2002). *Unravelling the rag trade. Immigrant entrepreneurship in seven world cities*. 23 Oxford: Berg.

Sanders, J., & Nee, V. (1987). Limits of ethnic solidarity in the ethnic enclave. *American Sociological Review*, *52*(6), 745–767.

25 Saxenian, A. (1999). *Silicon valley's new immigrant entrepreneurs*. San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California.

27 Shaw, S., Bagwell, S., & Karmowska, J. (2004). Ethnoscapes as spectacle. Reimaging multicultural districts as new destinations for leisure and tourism consumption. *Urban Studies*, *41*(10), 1983–2000.

29 Tsu, T. Y. (1999). From ethnic ghetto to "Gourmet Republic". The changing image of Kobe's Chinatown in modern Japan. *Japanese Studies*, *19*(1), 17–32.

31 Valle, V. M., & Torres, R. D. (2000). Mexican cuisine. Food as culture. In: V. M. Valle & R. D. Torres (Eds), *Latino metropolis* (pp. 67–99). Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press.

33 Van den Berghe, P. L. (1980). Tourism as ethnic relations. A case study of Cuzco, Peru. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *3*(4), 375–392.

35 Waldinger, R. (1993). The ethnic enclave debate revisited. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *17*(3), 428–436.

37 Waldinger, R., R. Aldrich, R. Ward and Associates (1990). *Ethnic entrepreneurs. immigrant business in industrial societies*. Newbury Park: Sage.

39 Wilson, W. J. (1987). *The truly disadvantaged. The inner city, the underclass and public policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1   Wong, B. (1998). *Ethnicity and entrepreneurship: The New Chinese immigrants in the San Fran-cisco bay area*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
3   Wong, K. S. (1995). Chinatown. Conflicting images, contested terrain. *MELUS*, *20*(1), 3–15.
    Wood, J. (1997). Vietnamese American place making in Northern Virginia. *Geographical Re-view*, *87*(1), 58–72.
5   World Travel and Tourism Council. (2005). *Travel & tourism sowing the seeds of growth: The 2005 travel & tourism economic research: Executive summary*. London: World Travel &
7   Tourism Council.
    Yamashita, K. (2003). Formation and development of Chinatown in Japan. Chinatowns as tourist spots in Yokohama, Kobe and Nagasaki. *Geographical Review of Japan*, *76*, 910–
9   923.
    Zelinsky, W., & Lee, B. A. (1998). Heterolocalism. An alternative model of the sociospatial
11 behaviour of immigrant ethnic communities. *International Journal of Population Geog-raphy*, *4*, 281–298.
13 Zhou, M. (1992). *Chinatown. The socioeconomic potential of an urban enclave*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
    Zukin, S. (1991). *Landscapes of power. From Detroit to Disney World*. Berkeley, CA: University
15 of California Press.
    Zukin, S. (1995). *The cultures of cities*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
17 Zukin, S. (1998). Urban lifestyles. Diversity and standardization in spaces of consumption. *Urban Studies*, *35*(5-6), 825–839.
19 Zukin, S., et al. (1998). From Coney Island to Las Vegas in the urban imaginary. Discursive practices of growth and decline. *Urban Affairs Review*, *33*(5), 627–654.   QA :5

21

23

25

27

29

31

33

35

37

39

AUTHOR QUERY FORM

		Please e-mail or fax your responses and any corrections to:
ELSEVIER	**Book : RSO-V025** **Chapter : 25006**	**E-mail:** **Fax:**

Dear Author,

During the preparation of your manuscript for typesetting, some questions may have arisen. These are listed below. Please check your typeset proof carefully and mark any corrections in the margin of the proof or compile them as a separate list*.

Disk use

Sometimes we are unable to process the electronic file of your article and/or artwork. If this is the case, we have proceeded by:

∈ Scanning (parts of) your article   ∈ Rekeying (parts of) your article   ⅁ Scanning the artwork

∈ *Uncited references*: This section comprises references that occur in the reference list but not in the body of the text. Please position each reference in the text or delete it. Any reference not dealt with will be retained in this section.

Queries and / or remarks

Location in Article	Query / remark	Response
AQ1	Rath (2005) is not listed in the reference list. Please provide.	
AQ2	Miller (2003) is not listed in the reference list. Please provide.	
AQ3	Rath (2006) is not listed in the reference list. Please provide.	
AQ4	Please provide page range for Engelen (2001).	
AQ5	Please provide all the names of the authors for Zukin et al. (1998a).	

Thank you for your assistance