ABSTRACT

THE IMPACT OF SPORTS EVENTS ON URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN POST-MAO CHINA: A CASE STUDY OF GUANGZHOU

By Hong Chen

The study on the relationship between sports and cities has proliferated among academics. However, research is mostly focused on developed countries such as the United States and Europe. What kind of impacts do sports events have on Chinese cities? Do sports-events influence post-Mao China differently than developed countries? Assessing the impacts that sporting mega-events have on Guangzhou, which will host the 16th Asian Game in 2010, this research reveals that China’s governments are the key actor in the process of bidding for and hosting mega-sports events. Cities in China have used this strategy to stimulate new district development instead of urban redevelopment. The city governments in China are pursuing sporting mega-events for infrastructure improvement rather than economic issues. The construction of new stadiums and infrastructure, environmental improvement, city image improvement and district development are positive outcomes; however, there is a lack of economic assessment. There is a need for the city to cooperate with the private sector, adopt public participation and to develop a cost-effective use of sports facilities after the sporting mega-events are over.
THE IMPACT OF SPORTS EVENTS ON URBAN DEVELOPMENT
IN POST-MAO CHINA: A CASE STUDY OF GUANGZHOU

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 Introduction

Hosting sporting mega-events has been commonly identified as a pro-growth strategy to cities’ renewal in the world. The processes of bidding and running sporting mega-events and building stadiums have become a window into understanding the changing nature of urban development. The study on relationship between sports and cities has proliferated among academics. Most research in the USA has shown that mega-events, especially sporting mega events, have played a key role in the regeneration of the downtown area and in changing the image of the city as well as led to economic benefits for the host cities.

In the first decade of 21st Century, China will host different kinds of international mega-events such as the 29th Summer Olympic Games in Beijing in 2008, the 2010 Shanghai World Expo, and the 16th Asian Games in Guangzhou in 2010. These mega-events will have impacts on transforming Chinese cities. A new Chinese urban structure and a new morphology are developing. Most of existing theoretical explanations for the new urbanism in China focus on state socialism, foreign investment, and industrialization. Though international tourism and mega-events have become popular in China, few studies focus on their impacts on Chinese cities. To reveal the relationships between sporting mega-events and urban development in Chinese cities, this research will connect Western theories to the situation in China and examine the impact of sporting mega-events on the changing process of urban development of Guangzhou since 1980.

Various sports events have caused diverse changes on the development of Guangzhou. Besides changing city’s landscape, sports stadium has involved in the
development of new district. A notable example is the Tianhe Sports Center built for the 6th National Games in 1985 and located in an initial recreation and residential area. Since 1992, it has become the new CBD of Guangzhou and has been surrounded by skyscrapers and marvelously commercial buildings.

This research states that the relationship between sporting mega-events and urban development in China is different from US. It is a top-down process. Though private capital has released the financial burden of the government to construct new athlete’s village and stadiums for the Games, the private sector in China does not play a role similar to those in US. On the contrary, the government plays a key role in bidding and running sporting mega-events. Hosting sports events has been a strategy to stimulate new district development in Guangzhou. Both advantages and disadvantages exist when Guangzhou hosts mega-events. For example, new infrastructure construction will help to enhance city image and civic pride. Hosting sports mega-events brings many new visitors and develops urban tourism. Through hosting sporting mega-events, Guangzhou has been shaped as a national example for sports development. However, the economic impacts are unclear. The facilities utilization will be a problem after the Games are over. The research appeals for setting up cost-effective use of sports facilities in Chinese cities. Also, the economic impacts of hosting sporting mega-events and the role of private sector needs further study.

1.2 Research Objectives

The research focus on the following specific objectives:

(1) To describe the relationship between sporting mega-events and urban development in China.

(2) To evaluate government policies to better deal with sporting mega-events in the transformation of urban China.
1.3 Research Questions

To describe the relationships between urban development and sporting mega-events in post-Mao China, the research conducts a case study of Guangzhou. This thesis first describes Guangzhou’s urban development; and then introduces the planning of sporting mega-events in Guangzhou. Finally, this thesis focuses on examining the impact of sporting mega-events on urban development in Guangzhou. Three specific questions are examined for identifying the impact of sporting mega-events in Guangzhou:

(1) How do sports events change city layout, city image and city planning of Guangzhou?

(2) What are the roles of government and private sector in bidding and running sporting mega-events?

(3) What policies are adopted to facilitate sporting mega-events and the transformation of Chinese cities?

1.4 Research Design and Methodology

This research focuses on studying the impact of three sporting mega-events: the 6th National Games, the 9th National Games, and the 16th Asian Games. This research involves methods such as document analysis, statistical data analysis, field observation and structure interview. Main data sources are from government documents and newspaper. The paper first reviews literature on US cities, Chinese cities and the city of Guangzhou from the perspectives of sporting mega-events, urban entrepreneurialism, and urban development. To supplement the document analysis, structured interviews have been held with seven interviewees from the department of planning, real estate, education and media in Guangzhou.
1.4.1 Study Area and Time Period

As a famous historical and cultural city for over 2,000 years, Guangzhou is one of the first open cities, which is located in a most prosperous and rapidly growing area—the Pearl River Delta region. The land area of the municipality is 7,434.4 km² including ten city districts (Liwan, Yuexiu, Haizhu, Tianhe, Baiyun, Huangpu, Panyu, Nansha, Luogang and Huadu\(^1\)) and two suburban county-level cities (Zengcheng and Conghua). The total population was about 9.94 million in 2000. The old city center includes Liwan District, Yuexiu District, and part of Haizhu District. This research focuses on the ten districts. Figure 1 shows the location and municipality of Guangzhou.

Guangzhou has undergone a staggering transformation. From 1995 to 2000, Guangzhou was a lead China’s cities in increasing its gross domestic product (GDP) by an average annual rate of 13.1 per cent. The urbanization level has increased from 48.1 percent to 62.2 percent during 1978-2000 (GZSB, 2001). The urban area of Guangzhou has sprawled rapidly after 1990. In 2000, the built-up area was about 430.7 sq. km which was approximately 4 times and 2 times of that in 1980 and 1990 (GZSB, 2001).

Since the 1980s, various sports events have caused diverse changes on the development of Guangzhou. For example, the constructions of new stadiums have changed and will change the city’s landscape. The Tianhe Sports Center, which was built for the 6th National Games in 1987, has been surrounded by modern office and commercial buildings since 1992. It has become the new CBD of Guangzhou.

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\(^1\) It was in June 2000 that the two former county-level cities, Panyu and Huadu were incorporated into the urban districts of Guangzhou by the State Council. The ten districts in 2000 were Dongshan, Liwan, Yuexiu, Fangcun, Haizhu, Tianhe, Baiyun, Huangpu, Panyu, and Huadu. In May 24, 2005, Guangzhou Municipality was adjusted again. Fangcun District and Dongshan District were canceled and incorporated into Liwan District and Yuexiu District respectively. New Yuexiu District include some areas from Dongshan, Tianhe, and Baiyun. Nansha District is divided from Panyu District. Luogang District includes some area from Tianhe, Baiyun, and Huangpu District. The new 10 districts of Guangzhou in 2005 include Liwan, Yuexiu, Haizhu, Tianhe, Baiyun, Huangpu, Panyu, Nansha, Luogang and Huadu (Guangzhou Daily, 2005).
The study period is between 1978 and 2010. The year 1978 is chosen to be the beginning of the study period because Guangzhou started to host various sports events since 1980s. Guangzhou hosted the 6th National Games in 1987 and will host the 16th Asian Games in 2010. This study focuses on the impacts of three sporting mega-events on Guangzhou: the 6th and 9th National Games and the 16th Asian Games.

1.4.2 Data Source

To find out the possible relationship between sports events and urban development in Guangzhou, both qualitative and quantitative data will be collected. Sources include the following:

Government documents: Different kinds of documents were collected for this research. The main sources are the planning documents such as 2 latest comprehensive city planning agendas of Guangzhou, 2 plans for the National Games (1986 Plan for Tianhe New District and 1999 Plan for Guangdong Olympic Sports Center), and 2005 Research Report for 2010 Guangzhou Asian Games.

Structured interviews: To supplement the document analysis, seven interviews were conducted in Guangzhou from July 2005 to September 2005. The seven interviewees are working in the department of government planning, real estate, education and media.


Newspapers: Local newspapers such as Guangzhou Ribao (The Guangzhou Daily News); Nanfang Dushi Bao (The South City Daily News); Nanfang Ri Bao (Nanfang Daily News), and Yangcheng Wan Bao (The Ram City Evening News).


Other Sources: journalistic and internet articles, unpublished dissertations, and related books.
Figure 1 New Municipality of Guangzhou

1.4.3 Structured Interviews

This research has passed Miami University human subjects review. All the structured interviews procedure and questions had reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board for Human Subjects (IRB) prior to the initiation of the research.

The interviews were undertaken in July-September 2005 by a research assistant, a young Chinese journalist, who familiar with the city and has lived in Guangzhou for more than ten years and worked for local newspapers for more than seven years. The assistant has already had high-level certification of professional journalist in China. However, to assure the quality of assistant’s job, the researcher has trained her to understand the research methodology, how to do an interview, and how to maintain privacy and confidentiality of data. The training and communication were done by e-mail and long distance phone. In addition, Professor Stanley Toops, the advisor of the research, met the assistant in Guangzhou to discuss the research procedure in the end of June 2005.

The research assistant finished seven interviews during July-September 2005. The interviewees include two planners, two journalists, a professor, a real estate consultant and a real estate agent. In subsequent pages, their names are shown as Planner A, Planner B, Journalist A, Journalist B, Professor A, Consultant A and Agent A.

1.4.3.1 Data Gathering Procedure

Interviewees were asked to participate in a structured interview for approximately 45-60 minutes that took detailed notes on the conversation. The assistant was responsible to ask all questions I sent to her and took notes. The location of interview was mutually decided by interviewee where include their homes or offices, cafes, tea houses and other public settings in Guangzhou, China. Data were collected in face-to-face interviews by assistant and were treated confidentially. The personal identities such as a name, photography or personal references such as an address, phone number or
identification number were conducted by e-mail between researcher and assistant. All records of the study have been kept private and confidential. Research subjects had pseudonyms immediately after assistant sent them to researcher by e-mail. The assistant has deleted all the interview digital recording files immediately after she sent the files to the researcher. The digital data will be stored under password protection on researcher’s personal computer. Only the researcher has access to the records. All of the information of interviews will be kept until submission of the final report and when suitable, destroyed and erased.

Firstly, the researcher sent the interview questions by e-mail to the assistant. The assistant followed an interview question guide to do the structured interviews by asking questions, taking notes and if possible, making digital recordings. No interviewee wanted to make recording, therefore, the assistant took notes in the procedure of interview. The assistant did not answer interviewees' questions. Rather all questions were referred to the researcher. Data analysis was conducted by researcher at Miami University.

1.4.3.2 Interview Questions

The assistant gave the interviewees a Chinese translation copy of interview questions that was prepared by the researcher. To protect the assistant and interviewees, the interview questions would not involve in political and sensitive questions. The basic questions include: what is the impact of sporting mega-events? And how does the government plan for the sporting mega-events?

The themes addressed in the interviewed questions are attached in Appendix A.

1.4.4 Data Analysis

Research question (1) is answered by document analysis, statistical data analysis, and analysis from structured interviews. Newspaper articles, governmental and planning documents were collected. Besides of these, a research assistant conducted structured interviews in the Guangzhou. Planner A, Planner B, and Professor A in the structured interviews answered the questions related to the process of planning on mega-events.
Question (2) is answered by document analysis, statistical data analysis and analysis from structured interviews. Newspapers, journals, published statistical yearbooks, related published papers, and governmental analysis documents were collected. All of the interviewees talked about the role of government. Some interviews mentioned about the actors such as developers and private capital.

Question (3) is answered by document analysis and analysis from structured interviews. Archival research on government policy was obtained not only via interviews but also through the Internet, newspapers, and other public information.

1.5 Structure of Thesis

This thesis seeks to address in a logical order three research questions: (1) how do sports events change city layout, city image and city planning of Guangzhou; (2) What are the roles of government and private sector in bidding and running sporting mega-events; and (3) what policies are adopted to facilitate sporting mega-events and the transformation of Chinese cities.

The introductory chapter provides an overview of research background and addresses the significance of research. Also, this chapter describes research design and methodology including objectives, research question, and methods. Chapter 2 is the literature review on sports events and urban entrepreneurialism in the North American contexts which examines the relationship among sporting mega-events, different actors’ roles, and urban development in Western cities. As the Western context remains limited in its ability to describe post-Mao urban development, Chapter 3 first posits an expansion upon existing research on urban entrepreneurialism, urban planning, sports and tourism development in China. The second part of Chapter 3 gives a brief review on related research on Guangzhou. Chapter 4 addresses the general situation of urban development in Guangzhou and provides an introduction of three sporting mega-events hosting in Guangzhou: the 6th National Games (1987), the 9th National Games (2001),
and the 16th Asian Games (2010). To examine the relationship between sporting mega-events and urban development in China, Chapter 5 focuses on an analysis of the relationship between sporting mega-events, different actors’ roles, and urban development in city of Guangzhou. Lastly Chapter 6 concludes the major research findings of the study and evaluates government policies to better manage sporting mega-events in the transformation of urban China.

This research reveals that hosting sporting mega-events have generated new opportunities and challenges on Guangzhou. The process of planning and hosting mega-sports events has been a strategy for local government to stimulate urban development, particularly facilitate new district development in Guangzhou. Though local government is playing a key role in the process, there is a need to cooperate with private sector, adopt public participation and develop cost-effective use of sports facilities.

### 1.6 Summary

This chapter provides an overview of the research background, research objectives, and research methodology, along with thesis structure and research findings. This case study of Guangzhou provides a framework for understanding the nature and patterns of post-Mao urban development. It will help Chinese urban planners and policy makers to formulate comprehensive plans and regional development strategies for future hallmark sports events.
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This literature review posits debates on sports and tourism, mega-events, and urban entrepreneurialism in the North American context. Firstly, this Chapter states that the effect of globalization have been to restructure the urban economy, refashion urban space, and reposition cities in the world. To pursue economic growth, new strategies such as adopting entrepreneurial urban politics, hosting mega-events, and constructing flag-ship projects have adopted to city. The literature on sports and tourism shows that construction of sports facilities in cities may result in poor economic impacts but good planning policies in US cities. Among the regime, private sector has played a key role in the bid and organization of Olympics. The previous research on sports tourism and mega-events has concentrated on economic impacts and has focused on developed regions. Few studies on sporting mega-events have been done in other areas.

The review of urban entrepreneurialism discusses the development of the related Western theories by identifying the evolution of entrepreneurialism, viewing the interpretations of urban entrepreneurialism in different perspectives of regime theory, regulation theory, and the consequence of urban entrepreneurialism. The research states that entrepreneurialism has been an important strategy for city to attract investments and tourists and has been a method to organize sporting mega-events. However, little research has been conducted on the relationship between entrepreneurialism and sporting mega-events in either developed or developing states. This Chapter poses a link to analyze the impact of different actors in running sporting mega-events.
2.2 Sports and Globalization

Globalization\(^2\) has been commonly identified as a strong and growing force in restructuring the urban economy, reshaping urban space, and repositioning cities in the world (Short and Kim, 1999; Xu and Yeh, 2005). As globalization has melted national boundaries and intensified competition, cities have assumed new roles and importance (Yeung, 2000:7). Law notes that:

The effects of globalization and decentralization have been experienced in the run-down and closure of activities and establishments which have often resulted in derelict and under-used areas on the edge of the city centre and in the inner city (Law, 2002:49).

Harvey (1985) states that as the economic restructuring of many regions and the subsequent loss of heavy industry in many industrial and waterfront areas in the 1970s and 1980s, cities now must compete and base competition on consumption rather than production in a post-industrialization world (Harvey, 1985). With the globalization and modernization process, industrialization has contributed less to urban development in Western countries since 1970s. Though industrialization has greatly contributed to urban development in Western countries before the 1930s, industries gradually fled cities during the 1930s and 1970s, which resulted in large population decrease in center cities and suburban retail. As large population decrease and inner cities decay, “cities have adopted pro-growth strategies through marketing place, advocating ‘civic boosterism’, and hosting prestige projects or mega events (Xu and Yeh, 2005: 283). To attract more investment and revive center cities, a commonly admitted strategy is to

\(^2\) People around the globe are more connected to each other than ever before. Information and money flow more quickly than ever. Goods and services produced in one part of the world are increasingly available in all parts of the world. International travel is more frequent. International communication is commonplace. This phenomenon has been titled "globalization." ( Porter, http://globalization.about.com/cs/whatisit/a/whatisit.htm). It is “an uneven phenomenon” (Short and Lee, 1999:6).
construct flag ship projects such as sports stadiums in downtown area (Chapin, 2000; Garvin, 2002).

In fact, during the past two decades, American cities have experienced an unparalleled boom in entertainment infrastructure construction. Harrow concludes that:

“There have been 256 sports, arts, convention, and entertainment facilities developed in the United States this decade at a total cost of over $19.4 billion”. With the increased dependence on sports as an economic growth engine of American cities, there have been 21 facilities developed or substantially modernized for National Football League teams since 1995, and “over 100 regions have successfully implemented major and minor league sports and entertainment facilities during this decade” (Harrow, 2002).

Studies on the relationship between sports and cities have increased. According to Gavin (2002), as hallmark construction is completed, there are additional benefits such as improvement of city image, creation of jobs, and increasing quality of life for local communities. Stadium construction which attracts or retains a professional sports team will help to build up cohesion of the community (Gavin, 2002) and redevelop the inner city (Hall, 2001). Examples include 1984 Olympic Games at Los Angeles, 1996 Olympic Games at Atlanta, and 2000 Olympic Games at Sydney (Hall, 2001). However, stadium construction has posed a number of questions for observers concerned with the emerging social and physical form of American cities (Spirou and Bennett, 2003). It is a “high-risk public strategy for stimulating local economic growth” (Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying, 2002: 180) because most recent research reveals that neither sports stadiums nor sports teams play a significant role in local economic development (Baade, 1996).

However, the study on the relationship between sports and cities is mostly focused on developed countries such as the United States and Europe. Such pro-growth strategies are also identified in China (Xu and Yeh, 2005). Due to a lack of research, the impacts of sports events on urban development are unclear in China. In seeking to understand the relationships, this review first outlines Western theories on
interrelationships between sports and cities. Then it concludes the research on mega-events. Finally, it discusses the role of actors in North American context through an introduction of urban entrepreneurialism.

2.3 Sports and American Cities

As sports have become a core culture industry in the US, professional sports have assumed a central role in expressing civic achievement. Sports arenas have been the locales in which sporting cultural symbols are observed, packaged, marketed, and purchased. To attract more visitors, cities across the US have devoted huge sums of money to finance the construction of sports stadiums. As the money is mostly from public, it induces financial crises in most cities. In the early 1990s, many cities and some states in the US decided that providing a facility for a professional sports team is a legitimate function of the government (Baim, 1994: 1). From 1970 to 1990, the proportion of professional sports teams’ facilities that were publicly owned increased from 70 to 80 percent (Spirou and Bennett, 2003:19). In 1997 there were 113 major league professional franchises in four sports3 (Crompton, 2001). Thirty-one of them had a new stadium or arena built, and thirty-nine teams were actively seeking new facilities, finalizing a deal to build one, or waiting to move into one (Noll and Zimbalist, 1997). All of these were built with public money and leased to the owners for either no rental fee or nominal sums which do not approach the amount needed to cover the debt charges involved (Crompton, 2001). “This largesse is particularly remarkable given the conditions of financial crises and infrastructure deterioration that prevail in major cities (Crompton, 2001:15).

However, Bale (1989) argues that professional sports team will bring a positive influence to local communities by improving the sports and media business, increasing the property value in the local community, and generating “a huge constituency of

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3 Four sports include professional football, baseball, hockey and basketball (Crompton, 2001).
people who will actively follow the sports team” (Whitson and Mellicon, 1999). It is a positive entity for civic cohesion, civic identity, and pride (Garvin, 2002; Baade and Matheson, 2002).

Some leaders in American cities even determined that the presence of a professional football team was a sure means of restoring their city’s national reputation (Spirou and Bennett, 2003:25). According to one of the leaders who justified the Rams’ resulting move to St. Louis in 1990s,

> Whether one agrees with it or not, some people measure the caliber of a city in terms of having a professional baseball team and a professional football team. When St. Louis lost football, it became a second-class city. With football back, St. Louis is once again a first class city. (Thomas Eagleton, former Missouri Senator; Quote from Spirou and Bennett, 2003:25).

Nevertheless, for the impact of sports in local economy, most recent research reveals that neither sports stadiums nor sports team play a significant role in local economic development (Baade, 1996). For example, the regression analysis by Baade and Dye (1990)\(^4\), the micro-research on direct or indirect impacts of sports conducted by Baade (1993), and Rousentrau’s Indianapolis case study\(^5\) (1994), have confirmed that sports facilities would not motivate local economic development. Noll and Zimbalist (1997) conclude that no statistical significant evidence there is positive economic impact of new sports facilities beginning from 1950. “It’s usually nil and possibly it could be negative for a city because of debt” (Noll and Zimbalist, 1997). As the government is willing to pay money for perceived political gains from sports,

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\(^4\) “Applying regression analysis to census data from nine metropolitan areas: Cincinnati, Denver, Detroit, Kansas City, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, San Diego, Seattle, and Tampa Bay; Baadde and Dye concluded that the effects of stadiums and professional teams on area development were not as great as proclaimed by local officials and franchise representatives. In particular, Baade and Dye noted that the multiplier assumptions of typical economic impact analyses should be viewed with suspicion. Stadium investments were not associated with increases in personal income, and in some cases they may have had negative effect on local development (Spirou and Bennett, 2003: 24).”

\(^5\) “Without minimizing the success and publicity Indianapolis has enjoyed, outcomes of this magnitude are so small that it is plausible to consider that, had the city focused on other factors, a larger economic impact would have been possible (Rosentraub, Swindell, Przybylski and Mullins 1994,237).” Quote from Spirou and Bennett, 2003: 25.
negative returns on the economic investment are not surprising (Baade and Matheson, 2002). Chapin (2004) points out that overall city development would not be guaranteed by massive investment in sports infrastructure. Hall (2004) also notes,

“Though the opportunity costs of investing in sport as opposed to other redevelopment options in terms of employment generation are rarely undertaken, sport facilities can make an important contribution to the physical infrastructure of communities, providing a social focus for a community and affecting people’s perception of their neighborhood and can also contribute to the quality of life of communities. It is hard to overcome that sport is good for people, makes for better citizens, creates pride in the community and generates a positive image in the city (Hall, 2004:201).”

According to Zaretsky, most impacts from constructing sports facilities are negative. Zaretsky (2001) states cities pursuing or retaining a professional sports team have experienced lower development in local economy than those that do not have a sports team because a professional sports team or stadium has a small (perhaps even negative) impact on local economic growth. Construction and operation of sports stadiums and sports teams would not increase local tax revenue. Local communities have mostly experienced over-spending on sports stadiums and subsidizing sports teams rather than huge income. Neither sports stadiums nor professional sports teams bring tourists or new industries to cities, so neither of them would be a catalyst of local economic development (Zaresky, 2001). As Hudson (1999) states that professional sports teams would not increase per capita personal income in metropolitan areas, Zaretsky (2001) even argues that sports stadiums and professional sports team have reduced the growth of local per capita income.

Rousentrau’s Indianapolis case studies (1994, 1997) have explained that public funding of sports facilities in cities may represent a poor economic choice. Though the Indianapolis government claims that the sports stadium has stimulated local economy,
the economic development in Indianapolis has experienced lower growth than other cities that have no sports teams in the U.S.A. (Rousentrau and etc. 1994).

Therefore, scholars have suggested that cities should be wary when they decide to pursue economic growth through constructing a sports stadium to attract or retain a professional team.

To avoid some negative impacts of sports facilities, Chapin (2002) suggests that a sports stadium must be planned in a convenient location with accommodation of thousands of parking spaces for vehicles. Garvin (2002) believes that such good planning policy will improve the city’s image, enhance community identity, and improve civic pride as the design. Ritchie and Adair also emphasize that “effective planning and management of sport tourism requires an understanding the nature of sport tourism and the impacts and issues associated with its development” (Ritchie and Adair, 2004: 300).

In sum, construction of sports facilities in cities may result in poor economic impacts but good planning policies. The growth of public dollars in sports facilities will catalyze a city as a new representative of a region or state. As a result, the city will have more external influence, potential efforts and attraction for long-term development after hosting a sporting mega-event. Therefore, urban governments should continue to invest public money in sports facilities and try to avoid the negative impacts.

2.4 Tourism and Cities

As “tourism has been perceived as a mechanism to regenerate urban areas through the creation of leisure, retail and tourism space” (Hall, 2001: 167), Stanback (1985) and Page (1995) state that tourist cities had the highest growth rate among the American cities. Tourist cities have represented a new and extraordinary form of urbanization as they are built for consumption on the quest for fun, excitement, relaxation and leisure (Mullins, 1991; Page, 1995). To lure new businesses or encourage the expansion of
existing businesses, local development policy for American cities has changed from traditionally relying on the use of tax incentives or infrastructure investment to newly emphasizing policies that promote urban tourism (Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying, 2002:180). Cities have adopted place marketing to project a unique image by the development of such as convention centers, large hotels, restaurants, entertainment facilities, and shopping malls (Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying, 2002:180). Such cities already had a basis such as historic building, sports and cultural events in their visitor attraction (Law, 2002:49). For example, tourist cities have adopted four selling strategies: image marketing, attractions marketing, infrastructure marketing and people marketing (Page, 2002:217). However, “tourism was never perceived as a panacea for all urban problems but as part of the solution” (Law, 2002:50). Nevertheless, cities still crave to pursue local development by different kinds of strategies including tourism and mega-events host right.

Various studies have focused on tourism and urban development. Fainstein and Judd (1999) explain the emergence of tourism benefit from the tourists’ movements which encompass the consumption of a complex array of tangible goods, and occupations, advertising and experience. Providing a variety of different concepts and models of the origin-linkage-destination system, Pearce concluded that “tourism is essentially about people and places, the places that one group of people leave, visit and pass through, the other groups who make their trip possible and those they encounter along the way” (Pearce, 1995: 1). The complete frame to study urban tourism is provided by Page in 1995 which includes the origin and the nature of urban tourism, the method to study on urban tourism, and the management and planning of urban tourism. Examining the role of the private and public sector in the provision of services and facilities for tourist, Page (1995) concludes that private sector’s involvement in tourism

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6 Tangible goods includes souvenirs, food and drink, rental cars and jets, plus physical facilities in the form of lodges, hotels, and convention centers (Fainstein and Judd, 1999:1).

7 Examples of occupation include waiter, reservations clerk, tour guide, and booking agent (Fainstein and Judd, 1999:1).
will “give rise to conflicts in the operation of tourism where the state takes a \textit{laissez-faire} role in tourism planning and management” because private sector’s profit motivations (Page, 1995: 64). According to Page (1995), there are 10 urban tourism destinations of different scale including “capitals of countries (e.g. London, Paris, New York); metropolitan centers and historical centers with ancient walls (e.g. Kaderburi, York) and small cities-fortresses; big historical cities (e.g. Oxford, Cambridge, Venice); coast and riverside upgraded areas (e.g. London Docklands, Sydney Darling Harbour); industrial cities (e.g. Bradford, 19th century); coast resorts and resorts for winter sports (e.g. Lillehammer); integrated tourism resorts (purpose built); buildings of tourism entertainment (e.g. Disneyland, Las Vegas); centers of specialized tourism services (baths and shrines); and cultural cities (e.g. Florence)” (Page, 1995). However, sporting tourism and mega-events are not specific fields in Page’s study.

\subsection*{2.4.1 Sporting Tourism Research}

Bale (2003) examines the development of sport from both historical and geographical perspectives. He argued that sports “took time not only grow but also to spread from place to place” (Bale, 2003:5). “The geographical diffusion of sport graphically illustrates the roles of imperialism and globalization at the same time” (Bale, 2003:5). Tracing the history of sport tourism, Ritchie and Adair (2004) state that the interrelationship between sports and tourism is not a new phenomenon. One of the earliest writings on the links between sport and tourism is Don Anthony’s “Sport and Tourism” in 1966. Almost forty years on from this landmark paper, a number of complete texts such as focusing on sports tourism have been published which mostly focus on the nature of sports tourism impacts, “with significant emphasis on its economic impacts” (Weed and Bull, 2004:1). Weed and Bull (2004) argue that sports tourism “is a unique area of study derived from the interaction of activity, people and place, a dependence on the social institution of sport to characterize the area would be somewhat incongruous” (Weed and Bull, 2004: xv). As sports tourism “is conceptualized as a social, economic and cultural phenomenon that arises from the
unique interaction of activity, people and place” (Weed and Bull, 2004: xiv), most research ignores the perspective of politics in sports tourism.

Ritchie and Adair (2004) conclude that sports tourism can provide many opportunities for destinations while it produces threats and distinct challenges to destinations, industry and local communities if it is not planned or managed effectively (Ritchie and Adair, 2004: 300). Therefore, effective planning and management of sport tourism are very important and requires an understanding the nature of sport tourism and the impacts and issues associated with its development (Ritchie and Adair, 2004: 300).

However, the research on sports tourism focuses on developed regions. As sports tourism has become a global industry, there should be more research on other areas such as China. According to Weed and Bull (2004), “the extent to which academics working in the sports tourism field around the world are often unaware of each other’s work is starting to be reflected in an unnecessary duplication of research efforts” (Weed and Bull, 2004:xiii). Therefore, this calls more communication between scholars from different countries.

2.4.2 Mega-events Research

Hall (1989) defines mega-events as follows:

“Hallmark tourist events, referred to as mega or special events are major fairs, festivals, expositions, cultural and sporting events which are held on either a regular or a one-off basis. Hallmark events have assumed a key role in international, national and regional tourism marketing strategies. Their primary function is to provide the host community with an opportunity to secure high prominence in the tourism market place (Hall, 1989: 263)”.

The study of mega-events has been a new area of tourism research (Hall, 1989). According to Chalip (2004), event tourism has been the fastest growing element of the leisure travel market. Events have “dominated natural or physical features in the identification of cities (Chalip 2004: 226)”. Ritchie (1984), Hall (1992), and Fredline
(2004) have described event impacts in six different categories: economic, tourism and commercial, physical, socio-cultural, psychological, and political.

Most research in the USA has shown that mega-events, especially sporting mega-events have played a key role in the regeneration of the downtown area and in changing the image of the city as well as led to economic benefits for the host cities (Hall, 2001; Law, 2002: 135). A mega-event, such as an Olympic Games or a world’s fair, may spur local economic development by attracting tourists and media recognition for the host city (Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying, 2002: 180). Therefore, “event sport tourism has provided the vast majority of research and scholarship in the field of sport tourism (Ritchie and Adair, 2004: 11)”. However, Hall (1989) states that “the measurement of the economic impact of mega-events through multipliers and spin-offs stresses a cause–effect approach in which the mega-event is the actor whose actions are always on balance to be lauded as a revenue generator and economic stimulant (Hall, 1989: 266)”.

Therefore, Hall (1989) concludes that:

“Each case needs to be judged on its own merits, but it is clear that a mitigation plan to control adverse effects needs to be in place whether the impact is a forward or parallel linkage. There is also a need to analyze impact equity in terms of losers, winners, and vulnerability. Perhaps the best conclusion to this matter is to remind mega-event proponents ‘to deal with the issues and public concerns that really count, not just those that are easy to count’ (Interorganizational Committee on Guidelines and Principles for Social Impact Assessment, 1995: 35) (Hall, 1989: 266)”.

Similarly, Brown and Massey (2001) argue though there is considerable work on other areas of major event impact, “there is a paucity of research material on the sports development impact of major events”. Moreover, most researchers state that “the majority of previous studies have concentrated on economic rather than social impacts
of hallmark events (Brown and Massey, 2001: 3); and “little research has been conducted about the social impacts of sport tourism, and in particular crime as an element of event sport tourism (Ritchie and Adair, 2004: 12)”. As various methods are required to define the indicators to measure the social impact of sporting mega-events, and it is difficult to collect related data in China, the social impact is not be covered in this research.

In addition, mega-event strategy is a “high-risk public strategy for stimulating local economic growth” (Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying, 2002: 180). This strategy is a product of an active growth regime, “an informal coalition between local business leaders and city officials” (Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying, 2002: 184). Therefore, the growth of regime pursues economic development by uniting the resources of business and using an “external event to stimulate local development and invigorate the city’s image (Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying, 2002:185)”. In the American experience, among the regime, private sector has played a key role in the bid and organization of Olympics. Though local governments in the U.S have tried to control the bid and organization of the mega-events, they failed and had to depend on private business because of a lack of money and resources. The Olympics influenced the economic development and infrastructure improvement of host city as well as benefit private business while cause some social problems (Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying, 2002).

From this review, in summary, the research focuses on the impact of sporting mega-events from the perspectives of planning and actors in China’s city.

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8 Brown and Massey (2001) conclude that there are six main subject areas in previous research concerning hallmark or major-events. They are including “sports participation and development”, “social impact”, “legacies”, “urban regeneration”, “tourism”, and “economic impact”. Also, they figure out some of these overlap considerably – issues of ‘social impact’ and ‘legacies’; issues of ‘economic impact’ and ‘urban regeneration’, for instance” (Brown and Massey, 2001: 3).
2.5 Actors in Cities

The literature on sports and tourism has shown that though public sector has continued to invest on stadium construction, private sector is the key actor in the process of bidding and hosting sporting mega-events (Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying, 2002). Studies on American Olympic host cities have shown though local governments in the USA have tried to control the bid and organization of the mega-events, they failed and had to depend on private business because of a lack of money and resources. Therefore, the impacts are more concentrated in economic factors and particularly benefit private business (Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying, 2002).

Cities are built for economic, cultural and political activities. Various actors play different or similar roles in cities. With the globalization, cities have become progressively delocalized and preached global action, market awareness, and entrepreneurship (Savitch, 1996:55). Since the 1970s, to attract mobile capital, city and state governments have changed their roles in the world economy from managerial roles and functions to more initiatory and entrepreneurial forms of action (Short and Kim, 1999; Johnston et al., 2000:875). For instance, in North America, urban governments had to co-operate with market/business leaders/business community in such cities as Detroit, Toronto, Vancouver and especially Baltimore (Mollenkopf, 1983; Logan and Molotch, 1987). At the same time, British central government has encouraged the local government to focus on economic growth for improving the efficiency, competitive powers and profitability of British Industry (Rees and Lambert, 1985:179). As local governments have taken entrepreneurial approaches to cooperate with private sector and capital, they have to transform the traditional “government” from provision of welfare and services into new “governance” which more concerned with economic growth, and

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9 Urban governance represents “a set of relations and the process of the formation and implementation of public policy at the local level involving both elected and non-elected organizations” (Painter, 2000:198). The most common usage of the term “governance” refers to “the mode of conduct of specific institutions or organizations with multiple stakeholders, the role of public-private partnerships, and the other kinds of strategic alliances among autonomous but interdependent organizations” (Quote from Wu, 2002: 1072).
become more risk-taking, inventive, and profit motivated (Mollenkopf, 1983; Harvey, 1989; Hall and Hubbard, 1996).

Since the 1980s, the concept of urban entrepreneurialism, a new type of governance has received scholarly attention among western academics (Mollenkopf, 1983; Judd and Ready, 1986; Gottdiener, 1987; Harvey, 1989; Hall and Hubbard, 1996, 1998; Macleod, 2002). According to Schumpeter (1934), entrepreneurship is “the creation of opportunities for surplus profit through ‘new combinations’ or innovation (Jessop, 1998:79)”. Johnston et al., define urban entrepreneurialism as “the promotion of local economic development by urban government in alliance with private capital and unions” (Johnston et al., 2000:875). Therefore, urban entrepreneurialism is ‘public – private partnership’ to foster local economic growth as the role of local governments has changed from traditional management (provision of welfare and services) into entrepreneurial “governance” which is more concerned with economic growth (Harvey, 1989; Hall and Hubbard, 1996:153). Entrepreneurship is shaped by “risk-taking, inventiveness, promotion and profit motivation” (Hall and Hubbard, 1996:153) and has a long history in many cities and regions (Cox and Mair, 1988; Kirlin and Marshall, 1988; Cox, 1993; Hall and Hubbard, 1998). The term “urban entrepreneurialism” has changed at different case studies at different times, such as “growth machine (Moloth, 1976, Logan and Molotch, 1987), growth-coalition (Logan and Molotch, 1987), urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1989, Leitner, 1990), the post-Keynesian state (Gaffikin and Warf, 1993), new urban politics (Cox, 1993), urban regimes (Harding 1994. Stone 1989), city challenge (Lewis 1994), flagship development (Smyth, 1994). Others include entrepreneurial city, urban boosterism, urban corporatism, urban privatism, and public-private partnership (Short and Kim, 1999:119).

Though the entrepreneurial city emerges from economic globalization, its shape and nature very much depend upon national regulation systems and local political cultures (Short and Kim, 1999). The cross-disciplinary literature on urban entrepreneurialism has analyzed the economic, social and cultural transformation of
Western cities (Hall and Hubbard, 1998). To interpret the changing complexion of urban politics amidst the discourse of so many disciplines, Stone (1989), DiGaento and Klemanski (1993) applied regime theory as a means of examining the social production of governance. From a regime perspective, a multiplicity of monolithic interest groups which have labeled as ‘growth coalitions’ have dominated local region developments (Leitner, 1990; Harding, 1992; Lawless, 1994; Hall and Hubbard, 1996). However, as research have shown that the transitions of urban regimes in different cities vary according to time and location urban governances are not always the stereotypical ‘growth coalition’ model in terms of regime theory (Cowen et al., 1989; Bassett and Harloe, 1990; Diaento and Klemanski, 1993; Savitch and Kantor, 1995, Hall and Hubbart, 1998).

A second approach to studying urban entrepreneurialism is regulation theory10, which relates to political economy of scale, as the role of urban governments changes in response to the processes of global economic activity. Regulation theory gives a more “holistic interpretation” than regime theory to urban entrepreneurialism in relation to the international circulation and accumulation of capital. However, it is merely one aspect of the shift in social regulation associated with the transition from Fordist11 to post-Fordist regimes of accumulation. About Fordism in regulation theory, Johnston et al. (1994) note that:

10 From this perspective, urban entrepreneurialism is capital accumulation under a wider context of global economic and regulatory restructurations (Hall and Hubbart, 1998:16). Harvey (1987, 1989, and 1993) has explained the most thorough exploration by pointing out that “the new urban politics and the aspiration of urban regimes should be seen not so much as a reaction to global forces, but rather as a trigger to new forms of competitive capitalism (Hall and Hubbart, 1998:17)”. Subsequent studies not only concentrate on the role of the local state, but also consider the role of global scale under the political economy in terms of capital mobility (Robson,1989;Mayer, 1991; Painter,1991; Knox,1991; Short et al, 1993; Cox,1993; Goodwin,1993; Peck,1995; Hall and Hubbard, 1996;1998; Wood,1998).

11 Fordism: “A set of industrial and broader societal practices associated with the workplace innovations pioneered by Henry Ford in Detroit, Michigan in the second decade of the twentieth century…Ford’s strategy to reorganize shop floor production while at the same time forging a new relationship with his workers. Auto mobile production was being revolutionized through the use of the mass-production assembly lines and application of the principles of Taylorism to organize workers’ tasks. At the same time, Ford hoped that by paying his workers a high wage commensurate with their enhanced productivity, and by shortening the working day to eight hours, he could create an efficient workplace with a stable family life and incomes large enough to acquire the very products they themselves were producing” (quote from Johnston et al., 1994).
“Regulation School of political economy has used Fordism to describe a broader system of social relations transcending the practices of any single firm. The Fordist Regime of accumulation refers to a period stretching roughly from the end of the 2nd World War to the mid-1970s. The era was characterized by the widespread mass production of standardized goods using inflexible, dedicated machinery, exploitation of internal scale economies, a Taylorist fragmentation and deskillng of work, and relatively narrow and rigidly defined job descriptions. The key to this regime’s sustained success was a unique and unprecedented social promise stuck between workers and owners, manifested in a set of institutions governing wage determination, collective bargaining and social welfare functions. Collectively, these institutions served to link annual wage increases to the productivity increases being realized from mass-production techniques. Their net result was to distribute sufficient income … in production sites” (quote from Johnston et al., 1994).

Reconstructions of urban image and landscape have attracted considerable attention in the literature on the entrepreneurial city (Bianchini, Dawson and Evans, 1992; Berry and Huxley, 1992; Crilley, 1993; Short et al., 1993; Olds, 1995; Page, 1995; Graham, 1995; Hubbard, 1995; Rutheiser, 1996). Hall and Hubbard (1998:8) have pointed out that manipulation of city images has become one of the most important topics in the entrepreneurial era. The cultural logic of urban entrepreneurialism explores “the relations between the political economy of place and the cultural politics of place” (Hall and Hubbard, 1996; 1998). Urban politics seek to promote growth through image-enhancing projects revitalizing the city with civic centers, convention complexes, mass transit systems, sports stadiums, riverfront development, and festival markets which suppose to create more jobs, erect new economic structures, and attract more manufacturers (Clark, Green, and Grenell, 2001). However, except for the success of Baltimore and Detroit in securing the revitalization of their downtowns through prestige development, many of the image-enhancing schemes have turned out to be loss-making (Hall and Hubbard, 1998).

12 For instance, Sheffield’s 1991 Student Games have burdened “the local population with a large long-term debt repayment by compensating council taxes (Goodwin, 1993; Lawless, 1994)”. The Atlanta Omni Center which received massive state funding has “proved to be one of the biggest real estate disasters in history (Rutheiser, 1996)” (quote from Hall and Hubbard, 1998).
A substantial number of studies have focused theoretically and empirically on the transformation in urban governance (Table 1). However, a lack of research focuses on social benefits and non-benefits resulting from the espousal of urban entrepreneurialism. Although urban entrepreneurialism succeeds in attracting investment, Logan and Molotch (1987), Harvey (1989), Smith (1990), Fitzgerald, Ely and Cox (1990) have argued that it induces many social and economic problems such as social inequalities and uneven development. For example, Hambleton (1991) and Galster (1992) have noted that a new urban “underclass” has emerged by the entrepreneurial strategies in a number of US cities. Barnekov, Boyle and Roch (1988)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Cities (authors)</th>
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| USA    | Columbus (Cox and Jonas, 1993)  
Indianapolis (Rosentraub et al, 1994)  
Los Angeles (Fulton, 1997)  
Miami (Nijman,1997)  
Minneapolis (Leitner,1990)  
New Orleans (Miron,1992)  
New York (Fainstein,1991)  
San Francisco (Deleon,1992; Leitner,1990)  
Syracuse (Roberts and Schein,1993; Short et al., 1993) |
| UK     | Birmingham (Hubbard, 1996a,b; Loftman and Nevin, 1998)  
Bristol (Bassett,1996)  
Cardiff (Imrie et al.,1995)  
Glasgow (Boyle and Hughes, 1991,1995; Booth and Boyle,1993; Loftman and Nevin,1996; Paddison, 1993)  
Liverpool (Parkinson and Bianchini, 1993)  
London (Brownill, 1994; Fainstein, 1991)  
Manchester (Cochrane et al., 1996; Lawless, 1994; Loftman and Nevin, 1996; Peck and Tickell, 1995)  
Sheffield (Lawless, 1994; Loftman and Nevin,1996; Raco, 1997) |
| Others | Rotterdam (Hajer,1993)  
New Castle, New South Wales (McGuirk et al., 1996) |

have suggested that entrepreneurial strategies have attracted little new inward investment and failed to create more jobs. The redistribution of wealth and opportunity will transfer from the “less well-off to urban elites” (Logan and Molotch, 1987; Harvey, 1989). Little “trickle down” benefits most classes of citizens, especially the poor and minorities from the “high level development projects” promoted by urban corporate regimes (Clark, Green, and Grenell, 2001:52). Fitzgerald, Ely and Cox (1990) have claimed that poorest urban groups get not direct but indirect jobs. Loftman and Nevin (1998) have found that though Birmingham City Council has succeeded in creating jobs through prestige development program, such jobs were primarily poorly paid or part-time positions in service sector employment.

In sum, the review of the debates about Western urban entrepreneurialism development has proposed that entrepreneurial policies are problematic and limited. Though the goal of cooperation between local government and private sector is to achieve economic growth, most urban entrepreneurial projects have failed (Jessop, 1998). Entrepreneurialism may pose questions of social justice. It may encounter dilemmas such as “striking a balance between co-operation and competition (both in and among cities); between imitation (of existing best practice) and innovation (the search for new and better practices)” (Jessop, 1998); and between economic growth and social inequality (Hall and Hubbard, 1998).

2.6 Entrepreneurialism and Sporting Mega-events

The pursuit of sporting mega-events has become increasingly popular among governments, corporations, and civic ‘boosters’ worldwide. Most supporters argue that there would be major economic, developmental, political, and socio-cultural benefits after the events. Some of the supporters even state that sport is a generator of national as well as local economic and social development. Manzenreiter and Horne (2005) figure out that economically sporting mega events have been “viewed as an industry around
which cities can devise urban regeneration strategies”, and socially sports “has been viewed as a tool for the development of urban communities and the reduction of social exclusion and crime (Manzenreiter and Horne, 2005)”.

From the review above, it is clear that entrepreneurialism has been an important strategy for city to attract investments and tourists. Undoubtedly, it has also been a method to organize sporting mega-events. However, little research has been conducted on the relationship between entrepreneurialism and sporting mega-events in neither developed countries nor developing states. There is a need to analyze the impact of different actors in running sporting mega-events. This purpose of this research is to clarify the relationship in China’s cities.
CHAPTER 3 POST-MAO CITIES IN CHINA

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this Chapter is to describe the urban development in Chinese cites. To understand the relationship between sporting mega-events and urban development in China, this Chapter first posits an expansion upon existing research on urban entrepreneurialism, urban planning, sports and tourism development in China, particularly research on Tianjin, Hong Kong and Shanghai. The second part of this Chapter gives a brief review on related research on Guangzhou where urban development is driven by both global and local forces in the post-reform period.

Most research on Post-Mao cities focuses on examining the decentralization, marketization, and globalization. There is a lack of study on the impacts of sporting mega-events in Chinese cities even though hosting sporting mega-events in China is popular now. Similarly, most research on Guangzhou focus on the impacts of economic reforms. Little study has been done to reveal the relationship between sporting mega-events and urban development.

3.2 Research on Post-Mao China Urbanism

After its open reform in 1978, the nature and pattern of Chinese cities have changed with the transformation from a central-plan economy to a market oriented strategy in the global market (Yusuf and Wu, 1997). While “socialism with distinct Chinese characteristics” has shaped the patterns of China’s transformation towards an unknown destination, the “big-bang therapy” and a transition “from ‘plan’ to ‘clan’” have led the nations in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to move toward
hybrid forms of capitalism (Nee, 1992; Naughton, 1995; Walder, 1995; Lin, 2004). Therefore, scholars have debated the nature of reform and transition in China on emphasizing decentralization of power, marketization, and globalization (Wei, 2005). For instance, Sit and Yang (1995) confirmed that foreign investment has shaped the urbanization in Southern China. Oi (1992) linked the decentralization of power and the rise of local state corporatism and Nee (1999) argued that the infusion of market mechanisms is fundamental to the changes taking place in China. While Wei (2000) stated that the transition of China should be best understood as “a triple process of decentralization, marketization, and globalization,” Lin (2004) argued that the interplay of “state socialism and the intrusion of global capitalism” was the main ingredient to explain the transformation of Chinese cities. However, privatization and globalization have shaped the economic restructuring and urban transformation in all “cities after socialism” (Andrusz et al., 1996; Logan, 2002; Pannell, 2002; Ma, 2002; Lin and Wei, 2002; Lin, 2004). Therefore, on one hand, to explain the transformation of Chinese cities from a closed, socialist form of government to one more receptive to market-oriented economy, the main ingredient should be the interplay of privatization, state socialism, and the intrusion of global capitalism.

On the other hand, international tourism and mega-events have become popular in China. For example, in 2000, the international tourism receipts have reached US$16,224 Million, which is 62 times of the receipts of 1978 (CNTO, 2000). In the first decade of 21st Century, Chinese cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou, will host different kinds of international mega-events including the 29th Summer Olympic Games (2008) and the 16th Asian Games (2010). As few studies focus on the impacts of international tourism and mega-events on Chinese cities, it calls for more research on the relationships between sports events and urban development in Chinese cities.
3.3 Urban Development in China

China has adopted a gradual, experiential approach to reform which is different from the Eastern European former socialist countries, (Wei, 2005). Lin (2004) notes that:

China’s urbanization and urban development have been different from many of its socialist counterparts in the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and the socialist Third World (Forbes and Thrift, 1987; Pannell, 1990; Chen and Parish, 1996; Smith, 2000).

The controls “over public finance, material allocations, foreign trade, and personnel management have been decentralized from the national government to local government” (Duckett, 1998; 36).

After the introduction of the household responsibility system replacing the people’s communes in the early 1980s and the emergence of township and village enterprises in the second half of the 1980s, the growth of China’s private sector in the 1990s was the third major institutional transformation of its economy (Garnaut and Song, 2004).

Private sector has played an important role in a variety of ways and has become a necessary component of the Chinese urban economy (Garnaut and Song, 2004). Private enterprises increase employment by both recruiting new workers into the non-agricultural economy and absorbing laid-off workers from the reformed state-owned enterprises in the cities. The investment from private sector has transformed China’s fixed-asset investment and housing construction from a state-dominant investment to a diversified-oriented one. Also, private enterprise activities also affect urban construction, land conversion and urban space in Chinese cities (Garnaut and Song, 2004).

The emergence of private sector is a natural progression, and its growth can be viewed as a “bottom-up” development (Garnaut and Song, 2004). During Mao’s era, private sector was suppressed in China. Private business greatly shrank after
collectivization in the mid-1950s and was virtually eradicated during the Cultural Revolution. It re-emerged in the countryside following rural reform in 1978 and grew rapidly in the coastal region following rapid urbanization in the recently two decades (Garnaut and Song, 2004). According to the State Bureau of Industry and Commerce Management, by June 1999, there were 1.3 million private firms in China, with a total registered capital of 818 billion Yuan and total employment of 17.8 million workers. The non-state sector now accounts for more than 60 percent of total economic activity (Li, 2004).

Wu (1998, 2002) has suggested that with the decentralizing economy, the increasing significance of foreign investment and rising localities, new methods of public-private cooperation – entrepreneurialism, have appeared in China’s cities. Due to economic and social changes, Chinese urban governments have transformed their functions and expanded their economic and business-related tasks (Duckett, 1998). Partnerships between local government and private sector have become one of the most important strategies for China’s cities. This kind of entrepreneurialism involves in changing governance, doing business and hosting mega-events.

Though international tourism and mega-events have become popular in China, little studies focus on their impacts on Chinese cities. In 2000, the international tourism receipts in China has reached 16224 Million US$\textsuperscript{13}, which is 62 times of the receipt in 1978. In the first decade of 21\textsuperscript{st} century, Chinese cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou, will host different kinds of international mega-events including the 29th Summer Olympic Games (2008) and the 16\textsuperscript{th} Asian Games (2010). Research in the USA has shown that the development of mega-events, particularly mega-sports events, has played a key role in city regeneration and in changing the image of the city (Law, 2002: 135). What are the relationships between sports events and urban development in post-Mao cities? What will the mega-events tell us about post-Mao cities? These questions call for further study. The understanding of urban entrepreneurialism in
Western countries will help explore the relationship between sporting mega-event and China’s cities, and provide methods of studying urban transition in China.

3.3.1 Sporting Mega-events Research in China

There is a lack of study on sporting mega-events in China (Dai, 2005). One of the earliest writings on the links between special events and tourism is published in 1985, while the work on special events tourism particularly on sports tourism appeared in 2000 (Dai, 2005:10). As China is hosting some mega-events including the 29th Summer Olympic Games (2008) and the 16th Asian Games (2010), more researchers begin to focus on the impact of mega-events on China’s cities (Dai, 2005). However, there is a need to clarify the impacts of sporting mega-events.

As private sector plays a key role in the bid and organization of mega-events in American experiences, in China, on the contrary, state government is in control of most important resources. As local governments became “the most proactive economic agents” in the process of local economic growth in China (Wu, 2003:1680), they intend to adopt varied strategies to pursue economic growth. Therefore, local governments are responsible for the process of bid and organization of mega-events. For example, the earliest international mega-event in China was the 11th Asian Games hosted in Beijing in 1990. It generated a broad construction in and around the city (Beijing built the State Olympic Sports Center and the Asian Games Village especially for the Asian Games). Some of the buildings and new districts became a tourism legacy for the city. However, the relationship between sporting mega-events and local development is unclear. There is a need to clear the questions such as how much benefit did host city earn from the Asian Games? What are the pros and cons for the mega-events impact on Chinese city’s economic development and urban planning? What is the changing role of Chinese local

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14 The Olympics can be an equally expensive affair. Both the Summer and Winter Games require extensive specialized infrastructure in order to accommodate all of the events. Atlanta spent $600 million in direct infrastructure improvements for their Games, Nagano spent $1.3 billion on the 1998 Winter Games, and Beijing will reportedly spend over $20 billion on infrastructure improvements in preparation for the 2008 Summer Games (Matheson, and Baade, 2003).
government in the process of mega-sports events organizations? What kind of public policy did the Chinese government adopt? How are mega-sports events planned in China? Does the emerging private sector play any roles in the process? If so, what are the roles and how do they play? What is the relationship between government and private sector in the process of mega-sports events organizations? The research focuses on the impacts of mega-sports events from the perspectives of city planning procedure and various actors’ roles in China’s cities.

3.3.2 Urban Entrepreneurialism in China

China has proceeded through marketization via a different route from those in East European countries (Wu, 2003). It has been “more gradual through “partial reform” and decentralization of state power to local levels while east European countries had to experience a “shock therapy” by suddenly setting up a new market mechanism” (Wu, 2003: 1680). The gradualism of economic reform in China preserves the state capacity for economic intervention while the market mechanism becomes pervasive and is increasingly deepened (Wu, 2003). Research indicates that the government is still dominating the public-private co-operation as private sector is still under controlled by governmental management in China. China does not have a pure market system. Governance has been “a mechanism that embodies the coordination of and relationship between the state and society” (Wu, 2002:1072). Wu states that “governance” can be used as “a perspective to understand the new co-ordination mechanism within the government and the control beyond the reach of the government after economic reforms” (Wu, 2002:1073).

Research on China’s urban entrepreneurialism can provide an implication and understanding of post-Mao China. Initial research on entrepreneurialism in China was launched in the late 1980s and focused on the rural area but not urban area. Blecher (1991) coined the term “entrepreneurial state” to describe the business activities of departments in a county government which he had discovered in Sichuan. The entrepreneurial state reveals “the potentially competitive entrepreneurial activities of
individual departments that may exist alongside coordinated government work and constitute a separate dynamic in the reform process”.

Research on entrepreneurialism in China has been done through case studies on Tianjin, Shanghai, and Hong Kong.

- **Tianjin – State Entrepreneurialism**

Duckett (1998) first documented and analyzed “state entrepreneurialism” as it emerged in 1992 and 1993 in the northern city of Tianjin. This type of entrepreneurialism is different from co-operations between public and private sector and capital. It is the transformation of China’s governments from administrative bureaus to the entrepreneurial role by generating “profit-seeking, risk-taking” businesses and using the unique resource to trade. Why did the governments build up new businesses instead of cooperating with private sector and capital? Actually, since 1950, and during Mao’s era, private sector was suppressed in China. Private business greatly shrank after collectivization in the mid-1950s and was virtually eradicated during the Cultural Revolution. When China’s governments had to release the increasing financial burden and administrative over-employments, politically, they could not completely cooperate with foreign or oversea Chinese companies. As there were not any private businesses in China then, the governments had to create businesses by themselves. Therefore, the role of governments in China’s state entrepreneurialism differs from both Western urban entrepreneurialism (governments cooperate with private sector) and the other socialist countries (government intervention obstruct the market economy) (Duckett, 1998).

However, as the logic of state entrepreneurialism is to improve the commodity markets, and help to release financial burden, and cut the state administration, increase
the income of the whole government, such new business invested by individual bureaus has monopolized the resources in China. Though it may help the market-oriented change at the beginning and will obstruct the emergence of free market and be conflict with most people’s benefits in the country. Duckett (2001) points out that the activity is termed “entrepreneurial” because” it involves individual departments investing directly, to generate income, in businesses that operate in a market environment\(^{17}\) (Duckett, 2001: 28). Its economic consequences are unclear (Duckett, 2001). It is “not something that is to be recommended for adoption elsewhere in the developing world as a means of promoting market reform or state adaptation” (Duckett, 2001: 33).

Though Tianjin is a “typical” Chinese city by Duckett, its economic development has lagged behind other cities after 1995. It is evidenced that too more state intervention can help the market-oriented economy all the time. Duckett (2001) notes that the case study of Tianjin can not discover the role and nature of China’s urban entrepreneurialism:

More attention needs to be paid to lower levels of the state in the development process, and to the institutional and social contexts in which officials at these levels work and implement policy (Duckett, 2001: 35).

- **Shanghai – Post-Mao Entrepreneurialism**


\(^{17}\) Individual departments investing directly to generate income in businesses, which therefore differ from traditional state enterprises that receive budgetary funding as designated in state plans. Moreover, they do so to employ some of their own staff and to generate profits for themselves rather than for local or central government. Finally, these businesses are productive: they do not simply use the dual pricing system to buy goods at low state-controlled prices and sell them at higher, market ones. Rather, they are set up to build buildings, produce goods, and provide catering services and trade commodities in a competitive market environment (Duckett, 2001: 28). The new enterprises “differ from state or collective enterprises in that they are staffed with personnel from the bureau that have set them up” (1996:184). Duckett also points out though “most of the investment was made by the bureaux, the enterprises were often registered as collectives”, rather than as state-owned enterprises (1996:184)\(^{17}\). So the name of the enterprise does not provide information about the ownership and management structures of the enterprises (Duckett, 1996: 184). China’s official statistic data sometime fail to tell the truth of the country. Therefore, when I tried to find out the role of private developers on urban development in Guangzhou through the year-book statistics, I could not figure out the ownership of the real estate companies. Consequently, my study on Guangzhou which is based on the statistical data does not ascertain the increasing role of private developers in Guangzhou.
Parallel to transformation of urban governance from ‘managerialism’ to ‘entrepreneurialism’ in the advanced Western countries, China’s government has experienced entrepreneurial endeavor (Wu, 2002:1084). However, China’s entrepreneurial endeavor differs from Western countries relating to the discourse of ‘globalization’, with referring to “the direct involvement in business by profit-seeking and individual state bureaus and their subordinate agencies” (Wu, 2002:1085). The emergence of entrepreneurialism at the Shanghai’s District and Street Office government levels was “a response to the internal adjustment of governance capacities” (Wu, 2002:1086).

Scholars have applied varied theory to examine Chinese cities. For instance, Zhang (2002) applies the concepts of regime theory\(^{18}\) in Shanghai and figures out that regime theory can be partly adapted to China’s cities by examining Shanghai’s governance. The case study of Shanghai reveals that the socialist regime is featured by successful government intervention, active business cooperation, limited community participation, and uneven distribution of benefits and costs of new development (Zhang, 2002: 477). Zhang also figures out that though post-reformed Chinese constitution allows various ownerships\(^{19}\), the marketplace is weaker comparing to Western countries. The new emerging private sector is weaker and maybe less influential in coalition\(^{20}\) of urban

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\(^{18}\) Zhang argues that regime theory focus on a city’s governing coalition consisting of local government and business groups (Zhang, 2002: 475). It is based on two hypotheses – local politics revolves around land development and is dominated by a pro-growth coalition, and urban future is shaped by this coalition’s molding of local policy (Zhang, 2002: 475). By reviewing the development of regime theory, Zhang points out that the theory intends to answer such question as “how and under what conditions do different types of governing coalitions emerge, consolidate, and become hegemonic or devolve and transform” (Zhang, 2002: 476). The question and the coalition between local government and various interest groups exist not only in capitalist countries but also in other societies (Zhang, 2002: 476).

\(^{19}\) 40% of the nation’s economic activities are from nonpublic sectors and the share is increasing (Zhang, 2002:479. China Statistic Bureau, 1999). “Various forms of non-public ownership today in China include collective owned, private owned, share holding, sole foreign ownership, joint owned (by nonstate domestic owners), and joint ventures (with foreign partners)”(Zhang, 2002: 484)

\(^{20}\) In Shanghai, the new coalition composing of local government and non-public sectors (international and domestic) have emerged with limited central involvement in development projects and little community participation in decision making (Zhang, 2002: 496-497).
China (Zhang, 2002: 479). Therefore, Zhang argues that China’s urban coalition is between a social production model and a social control model\textsuperscript{21}.

Wu (2003) applies regulation theory and Jessop’s explicit definition of the “entrepreneurial city\textsuperscript{22}” to Shanghai through contextualizing the emergence of the entrepreneurial city of semi-colonial, state socialism and post-Mao periods and Shanghai’s metaphorical role in the national spatial system. In result, Wu (2003) points out that the entrepreneurial transition in Shanghai is a series of organized efforts to enhance the ‘structural’ competitiveness of the place and the formation of territorially based entrepreneurialism is a state project in the post-Mao transition. Wu (2003) notes that: in a partly mercerization society,

Government is directly involved in production by setting up various companies with linkages to the government itself” and “local government takes on the role of place promoter (Wu, 2002: 1087).

As space creation\textsuperscript{23} opens a new method for urban development, “selling space is integrated with the shift of urban planning and reorganization of land development in the transition to a market economy” in China (Wu, 2000: 358-359). The purpose of image recreation is to “overcome the negative image of the industrial past and to attract investment” (Wu, 2000: 349). As “a new image to enhance the competitiveness of place”, place promotion has been a key theme of urban governance in both capitalism and post-Mao cities for overcoming the negative image of the industrial past and to attract investment (Wu, 2000: 349). The case study on the practice of place promotion in Shanghai shows some unique features of post-Mao cities’ entrepreneurialism. While urban promotion in USA is “much a private sector business organized by the Chamber

\textsuperscript{21} In transforming China, the social production model might be better in analyzing economic development issues, while the social control model may fit well in the political dimension (Zhang, 2002: 498).

\textsuperscript{22} In 2000, Jessop and Sum (2000: 2289) defined entrepreneurial city as a city that pursues entrepreneurial strategies in an entrepreneurial discourse or fashion through promoting entrepreneurial images (Wu, 2003:1675).

\textsuperscript{23} Space creation refers to the insertion of new physical or regulatory boundaries into the existing urban fabric (Wu, 2002:1086). ‘image enhancement can be seen as part of space creation/modification’ in China (Wu, 2002: 1087).
of Commerce”, “place promotion in Shanghai is strongly supported by the central state and evolves around the commodification of place” (Wu, 2000:349).

Though the examination of Shanghai can provide an understanding of urban development in China, it fails to represent the other Chinese cities for Shanghai’s privileges in China. Wu (2000) pointes out that:

“Similar demands for governance can lead to different forms of response (Wu, 2000: 349)… comparative studies between cities un different political economy systems are needed to understand how urban development is organized and how different forms of organization influence the strategy and tactics of place promotion (Wu, 2000: 360).”

- **Other Case Studies**

Jessop and Sum (2000) “applies a Schumpeterian analysis of entrepreneurial cities to Hong Kong” (Jessop and Sum, 2000: 2287) which shows that the concept of entrepreneurship can be applied to cities pursuing competitive strategies as an entrepreneurial actor in global economy. As a capitalist city with long history of urban entrepreneurship, Hong Kong has adapted its strategies in terms of “an emerging cross-border region (Greater China) and its favorable insertion into the global market” (Jessop and Sum, 2000: 2287). However, as Hong Kong is a distinctive city under China’s “One Country, Two System” policy, it also fails to represent the other Chinese cities.

To find out the new nature and structure of Chinese cities, Gaubatz (1999) examines three aspects including “land-use specialization, circulation and building height” in China’s three cities - Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou. Gaubatz states that temporary Chinese cities are shaping by “the specialization of land use with multi-nucleation, district specialization and development zone planning; the reconfiguration of circulation of urban skylines” (1999:1519). These transformations are produced partly through the “process of comprehensive urban planning and urban renewal, and the joint processes of privatization and investment”. The privatization of
housing and real estate markets\textsuperscript{24} has transformed the planning and development of Chinese cities (Gaubatz, 1999: 1517). “Chinese urban restructuring has been increasingly reliant upon foreign sources of capital for development” (Gaubatz, 1999: 1518) which indicates that urban entrepreneurialism has contributed to Chinese urban restructuring as foreign capital can define as a kind of private capital. The finding helps to understand that private sector and capital influence Chinese urban real estate in both development/construction and purchase/markets.

### 3.4 Research Review on Guangzhou

Guangzhou has received much scholarly attention, not only because of its historical role as the southern gateway of China (Xu, 1985), but also because of its pioneering ability among Chinese cities since 1979 (Xu and Yeh, 2003). It has been a typical example to illustrate how a socialist city can be transformed through internal economic reforms and the external influence of the forces of global capitalism (Lin, 2004).

Xu (1983) examined the general urban development situation of Guangzhou through analyzing its geographical setting, population density, major functions and urban problems. The old city center of Guangzhou has been too crowded in the 1980s, and the suburban satellite area lacked coordinated planning and was largely rural (Xu, 1985). According to Yeh and Xu (1990), “social area\textsuperscript{25}”--one of the important symbols of capitalist city-- has existed in Guangzhou since 1990. Lo (1994) pointed out that Guangzhou was a transitional city moving from a closed socialist to a more open market-oriented economy with the coexistence of socialist characters and social areas.

\textsuperscript{24} Comparing the commodity housing sold in three cities, Guangzhou “records the highest levels of individual purchases”. However, it is not the local residents but Hong Kong residents purchase housing for themselves or for family members in Mainland China. Gaubatz also finds that “foreign purchases continue to dominate the commodity housing markets particularly purchases by ‘overseas Chinese’ ” and “land development is also dominated by foreign capital” (Gaubatz, 1999:1518). It has contributed “both to the changing locus of housing within the city and changing patterns of foreign and domestic investment in urban development” (Gaubatz, 1999: 1517).

\textsuperscript{25} The first social area analysis on Western city was Los Angeles studied by Shevky et al. in 1949. The three constituents of social area, including social rank (economic status), urbanization (family status), and segregation (ethnic status), were different from each other in residential districts of Western cities (Yeh, et.al 1995).
As “the convergence of socialism and capitalism, urbanization would intensify…with improved economy and a rising living standard” (Murray and Szelenyi, 1984), Guangzhou “would become more and more like its capitalist counterpart” as a socialist city (Lo, 1994: 129).

Wu and Yeh (1997) pointed out that market forces and the economic reform especially land reform26 in 1987 have changed the spatial distribution and determinants of land development in Chinese cities. In Guangzhou, the transformations of urban development and landscape in the processes of localization and marketization have been identified with some new elements including the new business districts, gentrified residential communities, new social areas, development zones and sub-centers (Wu and Yeh, 1999). Guangzhou has been “changing from a compact city to a dispersed metropolis” (Wu and Yeh, 1999).

Lin (2004) argued that with new forces of marketization and globalization, the growth of the tertiary sector in Guangzhou since the 1990s has changed the urban land use and economic landscape from an industrial-deterministic development of previous socialist urbanization towards a “post-Mao city” mixing socialist legacy. As a result of market forces and globalization, the trend of tertiarization has changed the nature of Guangzhou through reorganizing urban land use and transforming urban economic landscape. Covering both internal state policies and external global forces, Wu (1998) utilized “structure of building provision” to formulate a model of building provision to examine Guangzhou’s transformation. He concluded that “the landscape of socialism…reform has undergone transformation parallel to its post-Fordism capitalist counterparts” (Wu, 1998:261). With the decentralizing economy, the increasing

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26 In the early 1980s, the land reforms such as the land leasing and the charging of land-use fees were first experimented within the SEZs (Yeh, 1985). The land value concepts were first admitted in China. In 1987, the official document of paid transfer of land-use rights was issued by the First Session of the Seventh People’s Congress. In 1988, an amendment was approved by the National People’s Congress that the clause “The right to use of land may be transferred in accordance with law” was supplemented to Article 10 Section 4 of the Constitution and changed the notion that “No organization or individual may seize, buy, sell land or make any other unlawful transfer of land”. The land-use rights were allowed to sell, assign and transfer (Wu and Yeh, 1997) in the whole country.
significantly foreign investment and rising localities, new methods of development organization have appeared in Guangzhou (Wu, 1998).

The urban spatial structure of Chinese cities is characterized by mixed industrial and residential land use, which is different from that of Western cities. Since 1980, residential land-use has been mainly concentrated in the core city of Guangzhou (Lo, 1990). Figure 2 is a map of Guangzhou city area land use in 1990 which is cited from Lo (1990). The peripheral region was covered by sporadic industrial and residential land uses, large-scale educational areas and agricultural land. Strip land use was also shaped by the branches of the Pearl River branches and major transport roads such as Huangpu Dadao and Zhongshan Dadao which linked the Guangzhou Economic and Technical Development Zone with the city core (Lo, 1990).

Figure 2 Lo’s Land Use Map of Guangzhou City Area in 1990
Source: Lo, 1990. Fig.8
Yeh and Xu (1990) found that in Guangzhou, measured by residence, cadres occupied a belt in the suburb very near to the Old City District in the northeast; intellectuals including professors and students were found in north and south of the Pearl River conforming with the locations of the universities (the educational land); factory workers were scattered throughout the city, with a concentration in the Huangpu Port; while farmers occupied the greenbelts and the outer edge of city. It was found that this pattern of social areas falls in with the distinct functions of the three clusters in the 1984 Master Plan.

By using aerial photographs and GIS, Wu and Yeh (1997) figure out that there are 7 types of land use in Guangzhou from 1979 to 1992. The 7 changing land uses include agricultural; industrial; commercial (including large department stores, office, hotel, markets and recreation); spontaneous residential development (scattered residential buildings do not have a layout plan); planned clustered residential development (high-quality, low to high-rise, having layout plan, and regular residential areas); government, institutional and community facilities (including warehouses, transport and traffic stations, open spaces, tertiary institutes, polytechnics and universities, hospitals, sports and training grounds, utilities); and construction site (Wu and Yeh,1997). According to Wu and Yeh (1997), in Guangzhou, industrial developments were encouraged to locate in the peripheral area of cities with mixed land use (Wu and Yeh, 1997).

Before the land reform (1979-1987) over 98 percent of the developed land was converted from agricultural land, of which over 40 per cent to industrial uses and 25 percent to government, institutional and community facilities (Wu and Yeh, 1997). After the land reform in 1989, the changing proportions of agricultural and industrial lands were 58.1 per cent and 24.7 percent respectively (Wu and Yeh, 1997).

With hosting the 6th National Games in 1987, the planned residential clusters became the dominant type of land-use conversion, accounting for 33.8 percent of total land development in 1990 (Lin, 2004). After the housing and land reforms, real estate
development had speeded up and the growth of large-scale residential communities has become the most obvious feature of land development in Guangzhou.

Research on Guangzhou has been concentrated on the impacts of economic reforms during the urban process, such as changing population structure, economic structure, land use conversion, and reshaping urban spatial structure. However, as Guangzhou has hosted various sports events since the 1980s, there is a lack of literature revealing the relationship between sporting mega-events and urban development in Guangzhou. The construction of new stadiums for the 6th (1987) and the 9th National Games (2001), the 1st World Women Football Championships (2001), and the coming 16th Asian Games in 2010 has caused diverse changes on the urban development of Guangzhou. For example, the Tianhe Sports Center, built for the 6th National Games in 1987, has been surrounded by modern office and commercial buildings since 1992. Tianhe has become the new CBD of Guangzhou. Therefore, this study on Guangzhou helps to understand the impacts of sports mega-events on its city development and reveals the nature of Chinese cities.

3.5 Summary

Chinese cities have been transformed from a closed socialist to a more open market-oriented economy with the coexistence of socialist characteristics. This research states that the study on urban development in China is limited. Scholars are mostly focusing on the impacts of economic reforms through examining the decentralization and marketization. Little study has been done to reveal the relationship between sporting mega-events and urban development even though hosting sporting mega-events in China is popular now. To identify the nature of urban development in China, it is necessary to develop more case studies on interpreting how sporting mega-events is organized and how different forms of organization influence urban development in Chinese cities.
CHAPTER 4 STUDY AREA: GUANGZHOU

4.1 Introduction

This Chapter first describes the general development in Guangzhou. As a “southern gateway of China” (Xu, 1985), Guangzhou is one of the first cities to be reformed in China after 1978. The tertiary sector has increased very fast in Guangzhou and the city has expanded from a linear city along the Pearl River to a multi-center city covering “mountain, town, farmland and sea” (Li, et al. 2002, GMG, 2003). As the service sector becomes increasingly important, the city is concerned with improving recreational built-environment through hosting sporting mega-events and constructing new stadiums. Therefore, the second part of this Chapter describes the main sports facilities and three sporting mega-events in Guangzhou, that is, the 6th National Games, the 9th National Games and the 16th Asian Games.

4.2 General Development

Guangzhou is a very populous city and attracts people from the whole country. In 2000, there are about 9.94 million people. The registered population is 7.3767 million in Guangzhou (GMG, 2005a). About 2.6 million people\(^{27}\) are migrants to the city.

The tertiary sector has been increased very fast in Guangzhou since 1990 as the tertiary sector has become the pillar industry in the city with the highest employment and the gross domestic product (GDP) (Lin, 2004). The tertiary sector has been the largest employers since 1990. Similarly, the largest proportion of GDP has been in the tertiary sector since 1990. Figure 3 and Figure 4 show that employment and GDP in three sectors of Guangzhou in 1980-2000 (Lin, 2004).

\(^{27}\) According to the National Bureau of Statistics of China, migrant population refers to the population who is not registered in the city but live in the city for more than six months (source: http://www.stats.gov.cn/).
Table 2 Indicators of Guangzhou in 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population (in a million)</th>
<th>Other Indicators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Registered Population</td>
<td>7.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant Population</td>
<td>3.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>10.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Rate of Natural Increase</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Land Area</td>
<td>7434.4 square kilometers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Density of Population</td>
<td>1389 persons/ square kilometers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Figure 3 Sectoral Employments in Guangzhou (1952-2000)
Source: Guangzhou Statistical Yearbook 2001

Figure 4 Sectoral GDP Proportion of Guangzhou (1980-2000)
The trend of “tertiarization” (Lin, 2004) also happened in urban land use in Guangzhou in the 1990s. Industrial land use has declined from 27.05 to 20.67 percent of the total land use area between 1992 to 2000, while the land for urban services and residential purposes have increased from 53.98 to 63.22 percent at the same period (Lin, 2004: 37).

The urban area of Guangzhou sprawled rapidly after the land reform in 1989 which was approved that the land-use rights were allowed to sell, assign and transfer (Wu and Yeh, 1997). As all the land was controlled under the national government, there were not any land trades from 1949 to 1989. As a result, the built-up area sprawled gradually during 1949 to 1989 but rapidly in the 1990s. The average growth rate of the built-up city area in Guangzhou was about 4.67 -5.5 percent in 1949-1989 while 13.63 percent in 1990-2000 (Wu and Yeh, 1997; GMG, 2003). In 2000, the built-up area was about 430.7 sq. km. It was approximately 4 times and 2 times of that in 1980 and 1990. Table 3 shows that from 1949 to 1979, the built-up area in Guangzhou is refer to the old city center which includes Dongshan District, Liwan District, and Yuexiu District. From 1980-1999, the built-up area in Guangzhou is refer to the old eight districts Dongshan, Liwan, Yuexiu, Fangcun, Haizhu, Tianhe, Baiyun, and Huangpu. In 2000, two former county-level cities, Panyu and Huadu were incorporated into the urban districts of Guangzhou by the State Council. The built-up area in Guangzhou has been expanded to ten districts. Therefore, in 2000, the built-up area of old eight districts is 308.42 square kilometers. There was 170.45 square kilometers built-up area in Panyu District while 78.67 square kilometers in Huadu District (GMG, 2003).

4.3 Sports Facilities and Sports Events

Guangzhou has become a leading sports city in China. The city has a good sports tradition. The city has started modern sports since 1859 (CAG, 1994: 13) and has more sports events and sports fans since the 1980s. For example, in 1981, there were 6,732 football teams with 87 thousand fans in Guangzhou. In 1983, there were 3,856 sports
arenas and gymnasia in the city, which ranked No. 3 in China behind of Beijing and Shanghai (CAG, 1994: 17). In 2001, over 6,800 sports venues and stadiums in the city, of which 47 sports venues have already measured up to the Asian Games’ standards (GMG, 2005b).

Table 3 The Built-up Area in Guangzhou (1949-2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Built-up Area (sq.km)</th>
<th>Average Increased Rate (% per year)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>54.40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>135.96</td>
<td>2.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>138.96</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>142.20</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>148.35</td>
<td>2.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>156.45</td>
<td>5.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>162.90</td>
<td>4.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>169.92</td>
<td>4.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>176.00</td>
<td>3.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>182.25</td>
<td>3.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>265.63</td>
<td>9.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>308.42-557.54</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Main sports facilities in Guangzhou in 2005 include Tianhe Sports Center, Guangdong Olympic Sports Center and Guangzhou Sports Center. To host the Asian Games, the city will have 9 new stadiums and an Asian Games Village. The location of these sports facilitates is shown on Figure 5.

Since the 1980s, Guangzhou started to undertake national and international sporting events. After the 6th National Games in 1987, Guangzhou had 78 international sporting events in 1988 including the 3rd Asian Swimming Tournament, 1988 World Women Soccer Tournament, and the 1st China International Table Tennis Open Championships (CAG, 1994: 17). In 2001, the city hosted the 9th National Games, and will undertake the 16th Asian Games in 2010.
4.3.1 The 6th National Games (1987)

In 1982, China General Administration of Sports decided to undertake the 6th National Games in Guangdong Province in 1987. The 6th National Games were held in Guangdong Province in November 20th – December 5th, 1987. This was the first
National Games hosted by a province in China (SBGP, 2002). It is the first games in China using mascots for sports events (SBGP, 2002). About 6,400 athletes participated in the competitions and 1.12 million people attend the games (SBGP, 2002).

Also, this was the first time sports events were merchandised in China. To raise funds, the Guangdong Provincial Government approved establishing the Sixth National Games Services Corporation on October 26, 1984. Through issuing “China Sixth National Games Sports Lotteries Fund”, selling rights to use emblems, advertising and merchandise sale, the Corporation raised about US$ 7.5 million dollars for the Games, with US$ 3 million dollars beyond the provincial government’s goal (SBGP, 2002). The successful experience provided a reasonable plan for the 1990 Asian Games in Beijing.

As the capital of Guangdong, Guangzhou became the main arena and built up the Tianhe Sports Center and 6 new gymnasiums for the 6th National Games, which located in Liwan District, Haizhu District, Huangpu District, Panyu District, Huadu District and Zengcheng City (CAG, 1994:17). Tianhe Sports Center is the first mega- sports complex in Guangzhou, which costs about US$ 38 million dollars (RMB 310 million Yuan) (CAG, 1994). The center includes a 60,000 seat stadium, an 8000 seat gymnasium, and a 3000 spectator swimming gymnasium with 50m Olympic swimming pool (CAG, 1994; SBGP, 2002). The construction and improvement of Tianhe Sports Center did not stop until the mid-1990s. 12 tennis yards and a baseball stadium were built there after the 6th National Games (CAG, 1994: 157).

4.3.2 The 9th National Games (2001)

In November 11-25th 2001, Guangdong Province, represented by Guangzhou and 15 other auxiliary cities, undertook the 9th National Games. The Games demonstrated rapid development of Chinese sports and help the athletes prepare for the 2004 Olympic Games. 8,608 athletes took part in the competition. During the 9th Games, 7 world records, 9 Asian records and 37 national records were broken (Ministry of Culture, 2006).

Two new comprehensive sports facilities were built for the 9th National Games. One is the Guangdong Olympic Sports Center, which held the opening ceremony of the Games, while the Guangzhou Sports Center held the closing ceremony of the Games. The investment of 9th National Games was about US$ 480 million dollars (about RMB 3.85 billion Yuan), of which Guangzhou Municipal Government contributed US$ 230 million dollars (about RMB 1.850 billion Yuan, Li, 2003). Guangdong Olympic Sports Center is located in the east of Guangzhou and built up from 1998 to 2001. The construction costs about US$ 185 million dollars (RMB 1.48 billion Yuan), of which US$ 154 million dollars (RMB 1.23 billion Yuan) to construct the main stadium and US$ 31 million dollars (about RMB 250 million Yuan) to other supported facilities and infrastructures cost (SBGP, 2006). The Sports Center includes an 80,012 seat stadium, a fencing room, an archery range, a shooting range, a baseball/softball field, a hockey field, a horsemanship field and a handball field. It is the largest modern comprehensive sports facilities in the city (GMG, 2005c).

New Guangzhou Sports Center is located in the north of Guangzhou and constructed from 1999 to 2001. The total cost was about US$ 110 million dollars (about RMB 874 million Yuan, GMG, 2001). It includes a 10,018 spectator stadium, a practice stadium, a public activities center, and an administration building. It can be used for other performance and conference exposition (OCNGC, 2001). According to Liu Jiangnan, the Director General of Administration of Sports of Guangzhou Municipality, Guangzhou Stadium is the only center in China capable of hosting world class indoor track and field events (Bacchus, 2005). Both Guangdong Olympic Sports Stadium and Guangzhou Stadium are the most modern sports facilities in China and have a leading place internationally (Bacchus, 2005).

To prepare for the 9th Asian Games, Guangzhou Municipal Government built up overwhelming infrastructure construction and tried to cooperate with private capital. About US$ 7.75 billion dollars (RMB 62 billion Yuan) was spent on its urban infrastructure.

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29 Source: official site of 2001 the Organizing Committee of the 9th National Games of China
infrastructure construction such as metro subway in 1999-2001 (Li, 2003: 46). After Guangzhou Municipal Government opened the infrastructure construction market to the private companies in 2000, the investment of new Guangzhou Sports Center was cooperated by Municipal government and private companies (Chinese and Foreign Real Estate Times, 2000; OCNGC, 2001; ).

4.3.3 The 16th Asian Games (2010)

From November 12, 2010 to November 27, 2010, Guangzhou will undertake the 16th Asian Games. It will be the third city which is not the capital of a country to host the Asian Games after Hiroshima in Japan (hosted the 12th Asian Games in 1994) and Busan in South Korea (hosted the 14th Asian Games in 2002) (GMG, 2005b).

The concept applied in Guangzhou’s bid in 2004 for the 16th Asian Games was “Cooperation, Competition, and Development”. The slogan for the bidding was “Invigorate Asia, Spark the World” indicating that Guangzhou would undertake the 2010 Asian Games with “A Chinese personality, Guangdong elegance and a Guangzhou style” (GAGOC, 2006). The concept was described as:

It would be “A Happy Asian Games, A Green Asian Games and a Cultured Asian Games” which was explained as follows “a happy Asian Games will appear in the building of a harmonious Guangzhou, a green Games in ecology and sustainable development and a cultured Games in the modern qualities of the people” (Bacchus, 2005; GAGOC, 2006).

On July 23rd 2005, Guangzhou Asian Games Organizing Committee (hereinafter referred to as GAGOC) was founded as an independent legal representative. As the Games will be held in Guangzhou, there are three tiers of governments behind the 2010 Asian Games: the National Sports Ministry in Beijing, Sports Bureau of Guangdong Province, and Administration of Sports of Guangzhou Municipality (Bacchus, 2005).

30 The modern Asian Games began in 1951 and are sanctioned by the Olympic Council of Asia (OCA) (SBGP, 2006).
To prepare for the Asian Games, public money and private capital will be used to build more arenas and gymnasia in Guangzhou (SBGP, 2006). While the government is responsible for the investment of arenas and gymniasms, private capital is concentrating on the construction of Asian Games Village which is located in a 30 minutes driving distance of the majority of sports sites (SBGP, 2006). There were about 10,140 arenas and gymnasia in Guangzhou in 2005 (SBGP, 2006). The government will spend US$ 250 million dollars on arenas and gymnasium. 11 new gymniasiums in the city and 9 new gymniasiums in College Town will be built (Figure 7 and Figure 10). 46 arenas and gymnasia will be rebuilt or enlarged (SBGP, 2006). All of these stadiums are still at the planning stage (Bacchus, 2005).

4.4 Summary

As “a city of Mountains, Rivers, Flowers and Sports” (GUPDSRI, 2004), Guangzhou has been shaped as a recreational city connecting with natural environment. Since the 1980s, the tertiary sector has been increased very fast. At the same time, the city has hosted various sporting mega-events, such as the 6th and 9th National Games. The rest of this paper focuses on examining the impacts of two National Games and the Asian Games in Guangzhou. The introduction of sports facilities and sports events in Guangzhou has shown that Tianhe Sports Center has been located in the center of the city (Figure 5). It indicates that sporting mega-events has affected the urban space of Guangzhou. To understand the role of sporting mega-events in urban development in Guangzhou, the following chapter will pos it a reasonable and straightforward evaluation.

31 of which 200 can host large-scale competitions and 47 were capable of meeting the requirements of the Asian Games competitions and training (SBGP, 2006).
32 By 2010, there will be 250 thousand students in College Town.
CHAPTER 5 EVALUATION OF SPORTING MEGA-EVENTS IN GUANGZHOU

5.1 Introduction

This Chapter evaluates the impact of sporting mega-events in Guangzhou to answer the following research questions: (1) How do sports events change city layout, city image and city planning of Guangzhou? (2) What are the roles of government and private sector in bidding and running sporting mega-events? (3) What policies are adopted to facilitate sporting mega-events and the transformation of Chinese cities?

Main data sources are from the documents such as two latest comprehensive planning agendas of Guangzhou, two plans and a report for the three Games. Interview information is also included through discussing the urban planning agenda, the changing skyline, and the roles of governments and private sector in host of sporting mega-events.

5.2 Urban Planning for Sports Events and Facilities

The planning administration in China has been decentralized since 1978. Before 1978, urban planning in China was top-down, dictated by centralized ministry-led development (Xu and Ng, 1998). Local development in all Chinese cities was mainly influenced by state control and concentrated economic planning. Xu and Ng (1998) note that:

Urban planning was (also) subordinated to central economic planning and mostly involved selecting sites for industrial projects… As a consequence, cities grew spontaneously without professional planning guidance… (Xu and Ng, 1998: 38)
Since 1978, localities have obtained unprecedented autonomy to plan from the national government. Urban planning has shifted from project-led to comprehensive development (Xu and Ng, 1998: 37). However, to ensure that central guidance on the use of land is made available at the city level, the final comprehensive plan has to be submitted to the State Council for approval (Xu and Ng, 1998: 45) 33.

The national government has provided more open policies and self-regulation power to Guangzhou. As one of the first cities which benefited from the economic reforms following 1978, Guangzhou Municipal Government has gained increased autonomy to be a manager and a planner of the city (Xu and Ng, 1998). Local government has “not only begun to play a decisive role in local comprehensive development, but also been empowered to re-institutionalize its local planning administration” (Xu and Ng, 1998:41).

Fourteen comprehensive city plans for Guangzhou have been approved by the State Council (GMG, 2003). The most recent comprehensive city plan, which is formulated from 1989 (GMG, 2003: 5), is awaiting the approval of the State Council because of the adjustment of municipal administrative districts in June 2000 and May 2005 (GMG, 2003; GUPB, 2006).

Table 4 gives a review of all Guangzhou city comprehensive plans which is characterized by the goals and objectives made after 1978 address local and situation specific issues rather than socialist ideology (Xu and Ng, 1998:44). The 14th planning agenda has shaped the recent city form of Guangzhou since 1985 (Liu et al., 1987; Lo, 1994). For the 14th plan, the spatial structure of the city was developed in the form of “linear clusters” from west to east (Figure 6). There were three functional clusters: the Old City Cluster, the Tianhe District and the Huangpu District which were separated by extensive green belts. Both socialist and capitalist concepts were characteristic of the 14th plan. For example, the linear development, green belts, and functionally separated

33 Usually, the State Construction Commission will approve the plan on behalf of the State Council (Xu and Ng, 1998: 45).
clusters were expression of socialist pragmatism. The emphasis on foreign trade, light industry, commerce, and tourism are capitalist in conceptualization (CAG and GUPB, 1993; Li, et al.2002; GMG, 2003).

Table 4 Comprehensive City Plans for Guangzhou

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Plan</th>
<th>Year of Preparation</th>
<th>Plan Horizon (Years)</th>
<th>Projected Population (Million)</th>
<th>Projected Land Area (sq.km)</th>
<th>Principal Goals and Objectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>To achieve the transformation of Guangzhou from a ‘consumer city’ to a ‘production city’ (Xu and Ng, 1998: 44).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>177</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>177</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>15-20</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>210</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>To reduce the differences between urban and rural area (Xu and Ng, 1998: 44).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>To facilitate ‘socialist development’ and industrialization (Xu and Ng, 1998: 44).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>15-40</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>66-99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>7-20</td>
<td>1.75-1.85</td>
<td>90-180</td>
<td>To facilitate ‘socialist development’ and industrialization (Xu and Ng, 1998: 44).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>To develop the city of Guangzhou into an industrial base for southern China (Xu and Ng, 1998: 44).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>10-50</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>100-150</td>
<td>To create a socialist production city and a foreign trade center (Xu and Ng, 1998: 44).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>10-25</td>
<td>2.04-2.8</td>
<td>161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>10-20</td>
<td>2.5-2.8</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>To provide adequate public facilitates, improve the living environment and promote sustainable development (Xu and Ng, 1998: 44).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>1989-2003</td>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>10.82-11.55</td>
<td>755</td>
<td>To cooperate with regional development, improve urban spatial space with ecological priority from mono-center to multi-centers, improve infrastructure construction, and promote sustainable development (GMG, 2003: 16).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: compiled information from the following sources:
(1) Column No.2-5 are from CAG and GUPB, 1993. Table 1-2-1 on page 48;
(2) Xu and Ng, 1998. Table 1 on page 44;
(3) Information of line No. 15 is from GMG, 2003 (page 5, 16 and 23);
(4) GUPB, 2006.
The 15th planning agenda has been formulated for more than a decade since 1989. The most important change happened in 2000 which is based on a new Concept Plan (Figure 7). To be a regional center of producers and services, particularly as the logistics center in the Pearl River Delta, the 2000 Concept Plan suggests Guangzhou to adopt a strategy with the development of finance, science and technology, information, trade and commerce, transportation, culture and tourism (Li, et al. 2002; GMG, 2003; GUPB, 2006). As city proper has included Panyu, Nansha, and Huadu, Guangzhou has been shaped as a city of “Mountain, Town, Farmland, and Sea” (Li, et al. 2002).
To facilitate the sporting mega-events, Guangzhou has prepared some specific detail plans for the National Games and Asian Games. This research focuses on the plans for Tianhe Sports Center (1987) and the Guangdong Olympic Sports Center.
(1999), and a report on Asian Games (2005). The implication of these plans and the opinions from the interviews is discussed later in this chapter.

### 5.2.1 Plan for Tianhe Sports Center

Tianhe Sports Center is located to the east of the old city core. It was the core area for the Tianhe District since the 1980s. It is surrounded by Tianhe Bei Road, Zhongshan Dadao, Tiyu Dong Road and Tiyu Xi Road, which was an airport before 1980 and kept vacancy for years. The land area is 0.5454 sq.km. In 1984, the provincial government decided to build up a sports center there for the 9th National Games (CAG and GUPB, 1993: 68). In 1986, Guangzhou Urban Planning, Design and Survey Research Institute (GUPDSRI) formulated the Plan for Tianhe New District (hereafter refers to PTND).

There were two reasons that the government selected the location. Firstly, the government wanted to use the sports center as a driver to promote the city develop to east in accord with the 14th city plan. Secondly, it was very convenient to have new construction on an open land which was close to the old city proper. There was not any construction but agricultural land around the old airport (GUPDSRI: 1986).

According to PTND, Tianhe New District is a multi-functional district of “Sports, Tourism, Trade, and Entertainment” (GUPDSRI, 1986; CAG and GUPB, 1993). Figure 8 shows the three layers planned in PTND. The core area of Tianhe New District is Tianhe Sports Center. The interior circle is planned for commerce and trade, culture and entertainment, and tourism service. The commerce and trade area is located to the south of sports center, which will house mall, exhibition building, and official buildings. The culture and entertainment area is located to the east of sports center, of which will build up some high raise complex buildings. Tourism service area is located to the west of sports center, which will have hotels, restaurants, and other service facilitates. The exterior circle is residential area with a projected population of 100,000. The second railway station is planned to the north of sports center. With this plan, the city will construct a new axis (GUPDSRI, 1986).
PTND is not a rigorous plan and lacks possible development control. For example, the interior circle, which is planned for commerce and trade, culture and entertainment, and tourism service, is not defined very clearly. The overlaid contents make the original plan easily transfer to other land uses such as official and business space. However, its original objective is to attract investment to release the government’s financial burden for hosting sporting mega-events. It is a very popular method to provide more opportunities for the future development such as real estate or commercial building.
As a consequence, Tianhe New District has become a new attraction to both real estate construction and foreign direct investment in real estate in the city (GREEC and GZREYD, 2002). Figure 9-1 and Figure 9-2 show that Tianhe District attracted numbers of investment after the 6th National Games was over. As the main part of the old city proper, Yuexiu District and Dongshan District attracted the most investment. As a new district, Tianhe got US$ 500 million dollars in real estate investment and over US$ 62.5 million dollars from foreign direct investment in each year of 1995-2000 (GREEC and GZREYD, 2002). The other suburban area such as Panyu and Haizhu, which are located in the south of city, were lagging far behind34.

5.2.2 Plan for Guangdong Olympic Sports Center

Guangdong Olympic Sports Center (hereafter refers to GOSC) is located in Dongpu, Tianhe District, which is an ecological green area between Tianhe District and Huangpu District. It is about 8 kilometers from GOSC to Tianhe Sports Center (GUPDSRI, 1999). In 1998, Guangdong Provincial Government initially showed that the new stadium for the 9th National Games could be built in Dongpu (GUPDSRI, 1999). Following this, Guangzhou Urban Planning, Design and Survey Research Institute finished a study on selected location at Dongpu and then provided an initial plan for GOSC. After several modifications, the plan was approved by the Sports Bureau of Guangdong Province (GUPDSRI, 1999).

34 The ten districts in 2000 were Dongshan, Liwan, Yuexiu, Fangcun, Haizhu, Tianhe, Baiyun, Huangpu, Panyu, and Huadu. Old city center included Dongshan, Liwan, and Yuexiu before 2005. The new 10 districts of Guangzhou in 2005 are including Liwan, Yuexiu, Haizhu, Tianhe, Baiyun, Huangpu, Panyu, Nansha, Luogang and Huadu. Old city center now is including Liwan and Yuexiu, (Guangzhou Daily, 2005).
Figure 9-1 Total Investment of Real Estate in the old Ten District of Guangzhou in 1995-2000

Figure 9-2 Foreign Direct Investment in Real Estate in the old Ten District of Guangzhou in 1995-2000
The Plan for GOSC shows six concepts of “landmark image, environmental design, mass transportations, multi functions, high technology, and social service” (GUPDSRI, 1999). The 1.01 sq.km complex includes a hotel (170 bedrooms) and some surrounding athletics facilities. The main stadium costs about US$ $119 million and is designed by an American design consortium, the NEB (Bacchus, 2005). With a fabulous shape such as the ribbons and petals of the roof, Guangdong Olympic Stadium became one of Guangzhou New Eight Scenic Sights in 2001 (GMG, 2005c).

However, the Plan also addresses some problems of GOSC. Firstly, there is a lack of land to construct the Olympic Games Village for athletes’ accommodation. Secondly, there is a hazardous material warehouse located 400 meters south-east of GOSC, which causes pollution and safety hazards for GOSC. Another problem is the air pollution from Guangzhou Nitrogen Fertilizer Factory and Guangzhou Chemical Industry which are located to south-west of GOSC. The Plan suggests moving the factories and warehousing out of the city (GUPDSRI, 1999). However, even if the hazardous material warehouse was moved away, the pollution impact still exists for many years. It is not a good place to locate a public facility.

To solve the accommodation of athletes, Guangdong Municipal Government decided to build up another sports center in the north of city in 1999. That is the Guangzhou Sports Center, which has an athlete village. In fact, Guangzhou Sports Center is located beside the Old Baiyun International Airport. There have been some building and vacant land which has already been sold to developers. The governments bought the land and real estate: vacant land for new stadium construction and buildings for athlete accommodation. Through constructing a sports center in the east and north part of the city, the governments hoped the Games would be a driver to promote the development of the city.

5.2.3 Research Report on 2010 Guangzhou Asian Games

On April 8-17, 2005, Guangzhou Municipal Government organized an Urban Design Forum for Asian Game and a City Image Exhibition in Guangzhou. The Forum
addressed an issue about mega-events and image design in city through discussing the relationship between mega-events and urban entrepreneurialism, urban space, urban image and infrastructure construction. The Main Report for the Forum includes most of the topics and introduced a plan for 2010 Guangzhou Asian Games.

In accordance with the 15th City Plan to “optimize the North part of the city, expand the south and eastern parts and regenerate the southern part in particular” (GMG, 2003; SBGP, 2006), the report addresses “Two Centers, Four Towns” planning agenda to the Asian Games. Two centers include Tianhe New Urban Center and Guangzhou New City Center in Panyu District. Four Towns include Olympic New Town in Tianhe District, University Town in Haizhu District, Baiyun New Town (Old Baiyun International Airport), and Huadi New Town in Liwan District. The location of two centers and four towns was shown in Figure 10.

According to the government, the new stadiums will be built as far as possible in new areas of the city or areas which have a comparative lack of sports facilities so as to allow all the administrative districts and county towns to have sports arenas and gymnasia of suitable sizes, avoiding waste of sports facilities and resources and their under-use after the Games. When the Games have ended, these arenas and gymnasia and their surrounding areas will become ideal sites for sports and recreation for the people of Guangzhou (Bacchus, 2005; GMG, 2003; SBGP, 2006).
Figure 10 Location of “Two Centers, Four Towns” in Guangzhou
Illustrations: 1-- Tianhe New Urban Center; 2-- Guangzhou New City Center; 3-- Olympic New Town; 4 -- University Town; 5 -- Huadi New Town; 6 -- Baiyun New Town.

The plan states that Guangzhou is leading to a new era through constructing sports facilities, building mass transportation infrastructure for the Asian Games (GMG, 2005b; GUPB, 2005). Many new roads/freeways, new metro subways as well as hotels and restaurants have been constructing in the city since 2004. The plan also emphasizes ecological environment and the intelligent management of the City. As a city of “Mountains, Rivers, Flowers and Sports”, Guangzhou will have a new image exhibiting
“Historic Southern Capital, International Metropolis, Sports City, and Famous Town with Water and Mountains (GMG, 2005b; GUPB, 2005)”.

However, the plan focuses on stimulating new district development rather than in the old city proper. It is a general plan and needs various detail planning agenda. Some contents such as the location of main stadium will have updated modification in the coming 4 years.

5.2.4 Interviewees’ Perspectives on Planning

The seven interviews conducted by the research assistant from July 2005 to September 2005 show that, though the plans for the Games are made by the government for years, most citizens did not have an access to hear about the details even after the Games were over. Among the seven interviewees, only one planner and one professor had access to review the plans while others such as planner, journalist, and professor did not have a chance to take a look at the plan in detail. One interviewee stated that there was not any hearing or exhibition to collect the public opinions during the planning procedure. The government only posted the final decisions and general information of the final plan on newspaper. The details for the plan or original documents have never showed up in public.

According to Planner A, who had read about the plans, some differences exist among the plans for the three sporting mega-events in Guangzhou. The plan for the 6th National Games was made in a central-plan era. All the developments of the city are under government control. However, the local government lacked of development capability and needed to release the financial burden. As a result, when the national government approved Guangzhou to host the National Games, the city had more support from the national government including financial support and preferential policies. The city took a chance to construct new roads and other infrastructure improvements. The construction of Tianhe Sports Center has pushed Guangzhou to be a city star in China. Guangzhou prepared in the 1990s for the 9th National Games. The city has been more independent on economic and financial development and has needed
high quality public space rather than money. Therefore, the sports facilities for the 9th National Games have been scattered around the city instead of concentrating in only one district. The government improved the urban spatial structure through constructing new sports stadiums and provided more open space to the public. However, according to Planner A, for the reasons such as lack of employment and other service, the new sports center did not attract more investment after the Games. They did not become a prosperous area as Tianhe Sports Center. The Asian Games plan is more even in spatial distribution. The new sports facilities would be located to 4 districts to balance the recreation space between the districts.

During the interviews, Professor A stated the plans for sporting mega-events in Guangzhou lacked a pre-study on impact assessment on the sports facility constructions. There was not any marketing research or economic impacts in the plans. Though attempts have been made to hand over the management of some of the facilities, they have not been successful. Sometimes, the plans were to meet the administration goals rather than reasonable and scientific. There is a need to focus on the job opportunities from the sports events.

Planner B never had chance to take a look at the sports facilities plans. However, Planner B stated that the idea for the two National Games’ plans were too old. It is a common sense that a plan for mega-events should have research on the relationship with surrounding areas, new job opportunities, and traditional cultural preservation. However, there is not any consideration from these kinds of perspectives during the process of either the 6th or the 9th National Games.

Three interviewees stated that there was a lack of direction system for the sports facilities in the city. Accessibility to the sports facilities is a problem for citizens. It is very difficult to reach the sports facilities because they are scattered in the city and no one knows how to get there. Planner B stated this was the reason that the Guangdong Olympic Sports Center and Guangzhou Sports Center were not like Tianhe Sports Center and still lack attraction to business and citizens. According to Planner A, those
plans focus on a minority rather than the benefits of the majority. To improve the plan, there is a need to add in job creation and public participation to avoid a one-sided plan.

In a word, only one interviewee was satisfied with the plans while others were not satisfied or were unable to criticize as they had no chance to show their opinion.

5.3 Impacts of Sports Events on Urban Development

5.3.1 Urban Planning

Sporting mega-events have played a key role in Guangzhou’s urban planning. Every time a sporting mega-event will undertake in the city, there would be new concept or new modification to the old plan. In fact, with the government-dominated planning process in China, comprehensive plans are not very useful in guiding the rapid development in post-reform Guangzhou. Xu and Ng (1998) note that:

(In China,) the entire plan-making process is done administratively and involves only government officials and experts… Planners in China often encounter severe competition among various government agencies…Any changes made to the plan during its implementation is mostly done within the administrative network or through negotiations between the government and investors behind closed doors (Xu and Ng, 1998: 45).

To facilitate the rapid development and generate revenue in city, urban planning department in Guangzhou has to modify comprehensive plans frequently. The local government has two ways: “change the plan to accommodate development, or safeguard the plan and control development (Xu and Ng, 1998: 50)” . However, development control mechanisms are very weak and ineffective in Guangzhou (Xu and Ng, 1998: 50). With little experience of establishing administrative or legal mechanisms to ensure the plans are made in the public interest, to pursue economic growth, local government in Guangzhou adopts a development ideology and usually changes the plan to “accommodate development” (Xu and Ng, 1998: 50). Sometimes, a new mega-project was already in the process of construction, but the plan was uncompleted. Most projects
were building under a condition of no plan or feasibility study. For example, the feasibility study of Inner Ring Road did not come out until six months after project was done in 2000.

However, the government paid more attention to sporting mega-events. The plans for the stadiums were a little earlier than other projects. As local governments have to wait for the approval from the national government, only general plans were submitted to the State Council. Following getting the host right of sporting mega-events, the city then started to select the location of main stadium. All the detailed plan would not be finished before the location was selected. Usually, the time spent on location selection was longer than those spent on plan formulation.

In Guangzhou, there exists a phenomenon described as “One Year Earlier Rule” which means that the plan for sports events always comes out one year earlier before the date of open ceremony of the Games. Among the 15 planning agendas, the 14th and 15th agendas are mostly contributed to the form and space of Guangzhou. The 14th plan was approved in 1984 which was the exact time the Guangdong Provincial Government select the stadium location for the 6th National Games. The plan for Tianhe Sports Center was completed one year before the 6th National Games. The plan for Guangzhou Sports Center came out in 1999, which was before the 9th National Games. For the 2010mAsian Games, there is only a general plan which is followed the 2000 Concept Plan. The plans for new stadiums are still processing. With “One Year Earlier Rule”, all the plans for the new stadiums will be done in 2009.

The plans for sports events in Guangzhou are also characterized by the location of stadiums, which are always located in the new development area of the city. The city tries to use the sporting mega-events to promote the urban space. For example, Tianhe Sports Center is located to the east of city which was addressed as a new district in the 14th planning agenda (GUPDSRI, 1986); Guangdong Sports Center is located to the east of city again in accord with the “linear clusters” form in the 14th planning agenda; and the new stadiums for the Asian Games will be scattered in the city in accord with the
spatial policy of “expansion in the south, optimization in the north, advance in the east, and linkage in the west” emphasized in the 15th planning agenda. In March 2006, after 2 years selection, the location of Asian Games Village was approved by the government (SBGP, 2006). There were two locations for Asian Games Village. One is in Olympic New Town, Tianhe District, which was the Guangzhou Nitrogen Fertilizer Factory and very close to the Guangdong Olympic Sports Center, the other is in Panyu District, which is the location of Guangzhou New Town. According to the latest report, the Asian Games Village will be in Guangzhou New Town. As the Village is in the 30 minute driving distance circle of main stadiums, the main stadiums will be located in south of the city. This indicates that the city focuses on “expansion in the south” and will rapidly sprawl to the south in 5 years.

5.3.2 The Changing Skyline

Besides reconstruction of the urban space, the growth of the vertical dimension in the city is also one of the most visible characteristics of changing Chinese city form. From 1980 to 1990, 214 high-rise hotels, office buildings and mix-use buildings were constructed in Guangzhou. They are mainly clustered in three locations- i.e. along the Inner Ring-Road, Dongfeng Road and Jiangnan Boulevard (Dai, 1993). At the same time, redevelopment projects in the old city proper have radically changed the urban landscape there from 1 to 2-story houses to high-rises. For example, the famous old commercial street of Liwan District located in the Shangxiajiu Road, was converted Liwan Plaza area with eight 30-story mixed-use commercial and residential buildings (Chen, 1994; Gaubatz, 1999). Figure 8 shows the location of Inner Ring-Road, Dongfeng Road, Jiangnan Boulevard, and Liwan Plaza.

The location of tallest buildings in Guangzhou has been changed in accord with urban development from the west to east and then to the south of the city. The first “skyscraper” in Guangzhou was a 15-story Aiqun Mansion, built on the north shore of the Pearl River by an American Chinese in 1937. In 1968, the tallest building in China

was 27-storey Guangzhou Hotel located in Haizhu Plaza near Aiqun Mansion. The 33-story Baiyun Hotel, which was away from the river and east to the old city proper, was constructed in 1976. In 1991, the highest landmark was the 63-story World Trade Center Guangzhou near to Baiyun Hotel. Both were landmarks of the new business district of Huanshi Zhong Road during the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s. The CITIC Plaza, which is 391 meters height and located beside Tianhe Sports Center, so far is the tallest building in Guangzhou. In 2004, the government decided to build a new landmark for the city. A 610 meter television tower\textsuperscript{36} will be built in Haizhu District for broadcasting the 2010 Asian Games (GUDA, 2004; Information Times, 2005). It will be completed on the south shore of the Pearl River in 2007. Figure 11 shows the changing locations of the tallest building in Guangzhou.


5.3.3 Role of Actors

For hosting a sporting mega-event, there are three tiers of government: the National Sports Ministry in Beijing who assign or decide which province or city to bid or host a sporting mega-event; Sports Department of Guangdong Province who plays an overseeing role, and Sports Bureau of Guangzhou Municipality who is responsible for the detail of the Games.

Similarly, there are three actors behind the plan for sporting mega-events: National Construction Commission in Beijing who is responsible to approve the city plan on behalf of the State Council; Construction Department of Guangdong Provincial
Government who play a supervised role; Guangzhou Urban Planning Bureau who is responsible for the details of plan which is usually assigned to Guangzhou Urban Planning, Design and Survey Research Institute.

Therefore, on behalf of the national government, National Sports Ministry is responsible to make decision for bidding or hosting a national or an international sports event. In 2004, National Sports Ministry has pushed and supported three cities to bid for the international sporting mega-events: the 29th Summer Olympic Games in Beijing in 2008, the 2010 Guangzhou Asian Games, and the 2011 Shenzhen World University Games. Two cities already got the hosting rights, while the 2011 Shenzhen Universiade’s Bid needs to be approved in 2007.

The provincial government only plays a role of supervision. The Guangzhou Asian Games Organizing Committee is constituted by the official from state and provincial departments. For example, the chairman of the Committee is Mr. Liu Peng who is the Director General of the National Sports Administration, and the executive chairman is Mr. Huang Huahua who is the Governor of Guangdong Province. However, they are just “faces” of the government in public. Those who are from the municipal departments are responsible for the detail work.

On behalf of local government, Administration of Sports of Guangzhou Municipality and Guangzhou Urban Planning Bureau have to cooperate to work on the details such as how to formulate and implement the plan, raise funds and attract investment, and find more investment and investors. Hosting sporting mega-events brings Guangzhou new opportunities to develop a series of projects including improving infrastructure construction, building sports facilities, facilitating city plan and revising old plan, and stimulating local economic development. In fact, local government plays a key role in the process of bidding and hosting sporting mega-events.

During the interviews, Planner A stated that the changing roles of Central Government in China are leading the Chinese cities to bid various sports events. In a
central-plan era, the national government controlled the local government from financial perspective. In a market-oriented era, Central Government controls the Chinese cities’ development through approval authorities. The controls focus on the approval of land use, planning agenda, and mega-project constructions. Central Government would not approve normal commercial construction except for public facilities. Therefore, all the Chinese cities are bidding for different kinds of sporting event to have more constructions and land use to attract more investment to the cities.

All of the interviewees stated that local government plays a key role in hosting sporting mega-events. However, four interviewees stated there was a need to conclude private sector and public participation. For example, Real Estate Consultant A stated that local government played a negative role in real estate development with sports stadiums. According to Consultant A, private sector instead of the government will play a better role if they have chance to run the sports events. Planner B stated that as the process in organizing the sporting mega-events was overwhelming dominated by government in Guangzhou, sometimes, investors did not have a good access to find out a good development project while the governments closed all the information and control all the resource. According to Planner B, to prepare well for a mega-event, there was a need to cooperate with private sector and integrate with the surrounding areas such as Hong Kong and the Pearl River Delta.

The government pursues sporting mega-events for political reason rather than economic issues. On one hand, there is a lack of assessment or research on economic impacts of sporting mega-events in China. However, the 1990 Asian Games in Beijing showed that it was a disadvantage for the city after the Games. There was little return from the tickets sale. The sports facilities had been vacant frequently. On the other hand, it is very difficult to collect the data such as raising property value, visitor consuming, and retail selling from sports products. According to the interviews, Planner A emphasized that China has different characteristic from other countries. For example, in the developed countries, the money used for sporting mega-events mostly comes from
the private capital. Therefore, the investor for sporting mega-events will more focus on the economic return from the sports facilities. However, the key actors in China are the governments which are playing an administrative role better than marketing role.

To raise funds for the Games, the government tried different kinds of ways. Selling right of use emblems is one of the best source to raise money. Usually, there are two emblems for the Games. One is used for biding the Games; the other is used for hosting the Games. For example, there was an emblem designed to bid Asian Games in 2004. The emblem is well designed by the Chinese calligraphy of Guangzhou “广州” with five colors. In June 2006, Guangzhou Municipal Government launched a solicitation for new concept and new emblem to 2010 Asian Games (GAGOC, 2006). The new emblems will bring new funds for the Asian Games. Figure 12 shows the emblem applied in Guangzhou’s bid for the Games.

Figure 12 Emblem of Guangzhou Bid for the 16th Asian Games in 2004
(Source: Guangzhou Asian Games Organizing Committee. 2006.)

Also, the government tried to cooperate with private sector and capital. During the interviews, Real Estate Consultant A gave an example. When the city decided to build Guangzhou Sports Center in Baiyun District, the government did not pay anything. One real estate company paid all the money to build up the new stadium. As a stipend, the company rented land for free from the government and built up a real estate named Sports Garden to sale. Though Sports Garden was designed as an athletes' village,
during the 9th National Games, few athletes lived there instead of living in the downtown hotels. However, the properties were for sale for higher price after the Games. Real Estate Consultant A indicated that sometimes, the developers would know the detail more than the planners. For example, the developer beside the Guangdong Sports Center knew there would be a new stadium. The developer held the land for several years and kept it vacant until 2000. The new real estate sold up very quickly and the prices were increased to 2 times in 2 months in 2000.

However, an interviewee addressed that compared to US, UK, and Australia, Chinese cities did not have enough autonomy to sporting mega-events. It was the national government who decide to host a sporting mega-event in the country firstly, and then assigned the duty to a city to bid the Games. Local government just followed the direction of the national government.

Though private sector did not play a key role in the process, it plays an important role to help local government from various perspectives, particularly helps to raise money. For private sector, sporting mega-events will bring them more business and more development.

During the interviews, Real Estate Agent B (hereafter refers to Agent B) stated government played a key role in real estate while sporting mega-events were “provocative” for real estate development. Agent B emphasized that as the land price and land value around the sports center would be increased, those lands were attractive to developers and citizens. It has been an open secret that “where the government locates the stadium, it will be a new CBD the government wants to develop in the coming years” (quote from Agent B). Therefore, citizen would like to buy the properties around the sports center. Developers want to bid the land around there. However, if the government did not focus on the development there, the land price and land value will be decreased after the Games. Therefore, to some extent, sporting mega-events would not cause a definite change to its surrounding area if the governments do not pay attention to the development there after the Games.
With the improvement of infrastructure and city image, the city will have more civic pride (SBGP, 2006). The Games will benefit the citizens by investment in the city’s road transport network, setting up transport direction system, and improvement of an intelligent transport management. Therefore, the citizens are always supporting to host sporting mega-events. A survey from Nanfang Daily shows that Guangzhou government got a 98% support rate to host the 16th Asian Games in 2004 (Yao, 2004). Though it is very difficult to tell how 98% comes out, and most residents did not have access to the detail plan or give comments during the planning process, the media and local government are trying to please the citizens and convince the public through this kind of survey.

5.3.4 Interviewees’ Perspectives on Impacts

All the interviewees indicate sporting mega-events have brought both positive and negative impacts to the city. Five interviewees stated that hosting sporting mega-events would give an enormous boost to infrastructure construction such as transportation facilities, hotel and landmark building construction. Particularly, Planner B stated that the 6th National Games brought many highways to the city. The 9th National Games brought numbers of new buildings to the city and improve the image of city. Journalist B also emphasized the mass infrastructure construction for the 16th Asian Games as the city construct 8 new subways and expand the city proper to 20 kilometers. According to Journalist B, preparing for sports events enables more possibilities for development and construction in the city.

Four interviewees stated that there was a strong relationship between the construction of stadium and real estate development. Undertaking sports events will help the city get more support from the national government and promote the infrastructure and environmental improvement. For example, after the subway construction and opening to public, the properties around the subway station were increasing to a higher value. With land price and value increase, there would be new real estate development in the city. At the same time, more citizens would like to
choose to live around the subway or far from the old city. Therefore, sporting mega-events, integrating public transportation promotion, would help to develop new district and change citizen’s traditional living mind to live in suburban area instead of central area. That would help to release the population in the old city proper.

A considerable number of hotels and landmark buildings will be built for the Games. The city image will be improved. The city will attract more visitors and urban tourism would have a prosperous development. Also, hosting the Asian Games will benefit tertiary industries such as commercial food and beverage, social services, exhibition, cultural products, real estate and media industries.

However, there are some negative impacts. Three interviewees stated that there was a lack of use of the stadiums after the Games. As the city lacks a directory system, citizens did not have a convenient access to the sports facilities. Therefore, few citizens benefit from the new facilities. One interviewee stated that particular attention should be paid on the after-use such as management and marketization, running of sports facilities and focus on creating job opportunities for sustainable development.

Moreover, Chinese cities are a government dominated model and lack public participation. The future calls for a more open cooperation between the government and private sector. In addition, land encroachment and facilities utilization after the Games will be a problem.

5.4 Summary

This chapter examined the research questions in Guangzhou to identify the nature of post-Mao cities.

For research question 1: How do sports events change city layout, city image and city planning of Guangzhou? There are three different issues as follows:

Firstly, the sports stadiums have been always planned and built in the center of new district as a catalyst to stimulate the development of city spreading from west to east
and then to south. The first sports center, Tianhe Sports Center which was built for the 6th National Games in 1987 was located in the east of city. The second sports center, Guangdong Olympic Sports Center which was built for the 9th National Games in 2001 was located in the further east of the city. To “optimize the north of city”, a main constitute in the 15th city planning agenda, and provide an athlete village for the 9th National Games, a smaller sports center, Guangzhou Sports Center was built beside the old Baiyun International Airport. In 2006, to facilitate the “expansion in the south”, the government announced that the Asian Games Village would be built in Guangzhou New Town, which is in the south of city. As the government emphasized that the Asian Games Village is building in a 30 minutes driving distance of main Asian Games stadium, it is indicated that the main stadium will be built in south rather than rather than east of Guangzhou. It has been a trend in Guangzhou that “where the government locates the stadium, it will be a new CBD the government wants to develop in the coming years” (Agent B).

Secondly, the sports events and stadiums improve the city image of Guangzhou. All the stadiums built for the sporting mega-events have modern shapes with their contemporaneous popular designs and top devices. For example, Tianhe Stadium and its surrounding area with CITIC Plaza, China Mayor’s Plaza, and Metro Plaza has been the new CBD of Guangzhou since the mid-1990s. In 2001, Guangdong Olympic Stadium was selected to be one of Guangzhou New Eight Scenic Sights by the citizens (GMG, 2005c).

Thirdly, sporting mega-events play a key role in Guangzhou’s city planning agenda. Rapid urbanization without timely city planning agenda guiding has caused a lot of problems such as out of control on land development, populous inner city, and heavy transportation in Guangzhou. Hosting sporting mega-events provide a chance to formulate a new concept plan or produce new modification to the old plan. The government has been using the construction of new stadiums and athlete villages to improve the urban space of Guangzhou.
To answer the question 2: what are the roles of government and private sector in bidding and running sporting mega-events, this Chapter examines three tiers of governments in China. The national government in Beijing acts as a supplier to decide/assign and support a city to bid and host a sporting mega-event; the provincial government plays an overseeing role to supervise and urge the local government; the municipal government is responsible for the detail of the Games and undertakes the most investment of sports center. Since the entrepreneurial city is a new phenomenon in China, from the data opened to the public, private sector did not play an important role in the process of organizing and hosting a sporting mega-event. However, different kind of rumor mentioned that developers always play a role in the process of making decision for urban development. The Chapter states that private capital helps to release the financial burden of the government to construct a new athlete village and stadiums for the Games. However, to get the assistance, Guangzhou government transferred the use right of large land for free to the developers when they built the new stadium in Guangzhou Sports Center for the 9th Asian Games in 2001. It has been a corporate model between the local government and private sector.

Based on the document analysis and interview information, what kind of policies should be applied to Chinese cities to facilitate sporting mega-events? The answer in this research shows that local government focuses on promotion of architecture style and improvement of infrastructure rather than the economic assessment. Little economic assessment exists in the official documents. Interviewees also stated that utilization and maintenance of sports facilities would be a problem after the Games are over. Therefore, setting up cost-effective use of sports facilities is a primary need. To release financial burden, interviewees suggested the city government cooperating with private sector which Guangzhou has already adopted. The general cooperation between government and private sector is a model of “land lease- private capital”. Local government lease land use-right by a very low rate or totally free to private enterprise. Private enterprise is responsible for putting money in the construction of stadiums and
other sports facilities. As there is a lack concern on public voices or hearing on mega-construction during the process of planning sporting mega-events, the government should adopt more public participation to better serve the interests of community.

In sum, hosting sporting mega-events have generated new opportunities and challenges on Guangzhou. Different from the experience in developed countries such as the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia, Guangzhou Municipal Government is the key actor in the process of bidding and hosting mega-sports events. Hosting sporting mega-events has been a strategy to stimulate new district development instead of urban redevelopment in China. The government in China is pursuing sporting mega-events for other purpose rather than economic issues. While the constructions of stadiums and new infrastructures, environmental improvement, city image improvements and district development are positive outcomes that can result, while economic disadvantages will emerge. There is a need for city government to cooperate with private sector, adopt public participation and develop cost-effective use of sports facilities after the Games are over.
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

6.1 Concerns Review

This thesis studies the relationship between sporting mega-events and urban development. Beyond the literature review on US cities and Post-Mao cities from the perspectives of sporting mega-events, urban entrepreneurialism, and urban development, this research provides an expansion upon existing research on sporting mega-events, urban planning and urban entrepreneurialism in China. The literature review shows that hosting sports mega-events has been a driver to promote urban renewal in the Northern American cities. Most scholars agreed that sporting mega-events produce limited economic benefits to the city while good for city image. Though the local government tries to play a key role in the process of organizing sporting mega-events, usually they failed to control the whole game. In US cities, the private sector plays a key role as a host of sporting mega-events. From the research on Post-Mao cities, scholars are mostly focusing on examining the decentralization, marketization, and globalization. There is a lack of study on the impacts of sporting mega-events in Chinese cities though hosting sporting mega-events in China is popular now. This research poses a new perspective of studying the relationship between sporting mega-events and urban development. However, as lack of data access, the economic impacts and the role of growing private sector are unclear. This research addresses a further studying agenda on these issues to urban study in Post-Mao China.

Three research questions are including in this thesis:

(1) How do sports events change city layout, city image and city planning of Guangzhou?

(2) What are the roles of government and private sector in bidding and running sporting mega-events?
(3) What policies are adopted to facilitate sporting mega-events and the transformation of Chinese cities?

To answer the two specific questions on the role of different actors in organizing sports events and the impact of sports events on Guangzhou’s urban space and urban planning process, the research focuses on studying impacts of three sporting mega-events: the 6th National Games (1987), the 9th National Games (2001), and the 16th Asian Games (2010). The methods concentrated on document analysis integrating fieldwork observation, statistical data analysis, and interview analysis. The research shows that relationships in post-Mao city are different from the developed countries.

Chapter 5 examines the research question (1) and (2) in Guangzhou for identifying the nature of post-Mao cities. Three different issues are stated in this thesis to evaluate the impacts of sports events on Guangzhou’s city layout, city image and city planning. Firstly, the sports stadiums have been always planned and built in the center of new district as a catalyst to stimulate the development of city spreading from west to east and then to south. Secondly, the sports events and stadiums improve the city image of Guangzhou. Thirdly, sporting mega-events play a key role in Guangzhou’s city planning agenda. Rapid urbanization without timely city planning agenda guiding has caused a lot of problems such as out of control on land development, populous inner city, and heavy transportation in Guangzhou. Hosting sporting mega-events provide a chance to formulate a new concept plan or produce new modification to the old plan. The government has been using the construction of new stadiums and athlete villages to improve the urban space of Guangzhou.

To answer the question on the roles of actors in bidding and running sporting mega-events and how do they make impacts on Guangzhou’s urban development, Chapter 5 also examines three tiers of governments in China. Different from the experience in developed countries such as the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia, Guangzhou Municipal Government is the key actor in the process of bidding
and hosting mega-sports events. The government in China is pursuing sporting mega-events for other purposes rather than economic issues.

Since the entrepreneurial city is a new phenomenon in China, from the data opened to the public, private sector did not play an important role in the process of organizing and hosting a sporting mega-event. This research states that private capital helps to release the financial burden of the government to construct a new athlete village and stadiums for the Games. There is a corporate model which in accordance with exchange money and land use right between the local government and private sector in Guangzhou.

6.2 Discussion

This study on Guangzhou shows that the relationship between sporting mega-events and urban development in China is different from US. Hosting sporting mega-events has been a strategy to stimulate new district development in Guangzhou. Through hosting sporting mega-events, Guangzhou is shaped as a national example for sports development. It enables local government get more support from the national government such as more approval on land development and more infrastructure constructions. There are many positive impacts while following negative influences. The subsequent sections state the conclusion of thesis.

Firstly, this research shows that organizing sporting mega-events is a top-down process in China. There are 3 tiers of government behind the hosting a sports mega-event: the national government who is responsible for selecting a city to bid and host a sporting mega-event; the provincial government who plays an overseeing role; and the municipal government who is responsible for the details of the Games including constructing new infrastructure and raise funds.

Local governments play a key role in the process of bidding and hosting mega-sports events. The municipal governments represent the cities to bid a sporting
mega-event after they get approval and support from the national government. They formulate a serious of plans for the Games, raise funds, collect sponsor to attract investment, and find cooperators such as private sector.

The government pursues sporting mega-events for other reasons rather than economic issues. It is the local government who has to take the risk on the investment of hosting mega-events. However, no data was found by the researcher which mentioned how large the debt repayment undertook by the local population. The official reports in public never talk about this. No data show that the government tried to convince the public that sporting mega-events would bring the city high economic growth. In contrast, the government emphasizes that the infrastructure construction promotes the city image and bring more conveniences to the citizens. There is a lack of information discussing about where the government got the money and how to return them. Few reports mention about the assessment of investment. No information shows that whether the city had financial burden or financial benefit, and to what extent the money that the government had owned from the bank. There is a need to conduct further research on the economic impact of sporting mega-events in China.

The government tries to induce the public to believe that the games are good for the city civic pride and city image improvement. However, citizens do not have enough access to participate in the decision process or have a chance to show their opinions. This is quite different from the developed countries where the public participation is a very important part in organizing the sporting mega-events.

Secondly, private sector does not show the same importance as those in the developed countries. For private sector, sporting mega-events will bring them more business and more development. Local governments would not ignore the benefit from private sector, though they argue in public that they are working for the whole community. As organizing a sporting mega-event is done within the administrative network, there should be various negotiations between the government and investors behind closed doors. The role of private sector in China is very difficult to examine so
far as data are in an “invisible” condition. This research did not get any public information from this prospective to confirm that private sector has involved in the process of bidding sports events or selecting the location of stadium. However, this research argues that private sector plays an important role to help local government in raising money and undertake some risk of investment. Since the entrepreneurial city has been an incentive strategy in China, the research calls for more study on the role of private sector in urban development in Chinese cities.

Thirdly, hosting sporting mega-events provides the government a chance to implement the city plan and promote new district development in China. However, the plans for sports stadiums are finished just one year before the Games begin. No detail decision would be made until the last minute. One of the most visible characteristics of sports events is that the locations of main stadiums are selected in new development districts. This shows that hosting sporting mega-events in China has been a strategy to stimulate new district development rather than city renewal.

Similar to the developed countries from literature, both advantages and disadvantages exist to host a sporting mega-event. Infrastructure construction will be boosted in China’s city. As the mega-sports center construction is completed, there are additional benefits such as improvement of city image and increasing quality of life for local communities. Land price and value will be increased. City will have an enormous boost of real estate market. City was catalyzed as a new representative of the province and the country. The sporting mega-events will bring new attractions and more visitors to inspire urban tourism.

For the research question (3), this thesis emphasized that to avoid some negative impacts such as lack of public interest, land encroachment and decrease utilization rate of facilities after the Games, there to be better planning with public participation, more economic assessments instead of political intention and a multi-actor module instead of allowing a sole actor to dominate. First, there is a need to build up a legal mechanism to ensure the plans and decisions are made in the public interest. A participatory
plan-making process will have more public representation of the needs of ordinary citizens. Second, a multiple-actor module will help the government release the burden of investment and implement the public interest from the economic perspectives such as providing job opportunities and the legacy use of the facilities. It will help to avoid some problems such as a big real estate disaster by spending massive state funding. However, it is unclear that what kind of fair and accountable planning system can be adopted in China. More research on planning systems in China is needed.

6.3 Final Conclusions

This research explores the post-Mao urbanism from the perspective of hosting sporting mega-events. It makes up an overlooked area in the academic research on both global and post-Mao cities. From the global perspective, the study on the relationship between sports and cities has proliferated developed countries such as the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia. The literature has shown that though public sector has continued to invest on stadium construction, private sector is the key actor in the process of bidding and hosting sporting mega-events. Therefore, the impacts are more concentrated in economic factors and particularly benefit private business. Also, sporting mega-events have played a key role in the regeneration of the downtown area for the host cities.

However, this research provides a specific case study and shows that China has different situation from the developed countries. Firstly, China’s city governments are the key actor in the process of bidding for and hosting mega-sports events. Cities in China have used this strategy to stimulate new district development instead of urban redevelopment. The governments in China are pursuing sporting mega events for political rather than economic issues. While the constructions of stadiums and new infrastructures, environmental improvement, city image improvements and district

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development are positive outcomes that can result, economic disadvantages will emerge.

From the research on post-Mao cities, the literature review shows that the study on urban development in China is limited, growing and unclear. There is a lack of research on the impacts of sporting mega-events in China. However, this research adds a new study on the relationship between mega-events and urban development in China through examining the roles of actors and impacts on urban planning, urban spaces, and urban image. Research on Guangzhou has been concentrated on the impacts of economic reforms including changing population structure, economic structure, land use conversion, and reshaping urban spatial structure; this research adds the impacts of sporting mega-events.

However, the economic impacts of sporting mega-events in China’s cities and the role of private actors are still unclear. Though the literature shows that the majority of previous studies have concentrated on economic rather than social impacts of hallmark events in the developed countries, there is little research on either economic or social impacts of sporting mega-events in China. As China is hosting various mega-events, we need to research more thought sustainable development in Chinese cities.

This research concluded that mega-event strategy is a product of government rather than including both local business leaders and city officials. However, private sector has played a key role in investment. The role of private sector in the process of making plan and decision is still unclear. There is a need to study the role of private sector in Chinese cities. In addition, as the review of Western urban entrepreneurialism has proposed that entrepreneurial policies are problematic and limited, there is a need to study further entrepreneurialism in China.

To sum up, this case study on Guangzhou provides one of the frameworks for understanding the nature and pattern of post-Mao China’s urban development. Sports events influence post-Mao China differently than developed countries. from the perspectives of main actor, initial intention, and city planning agenda. In China,
governments are the key actor in organizing sporting mega-events, while in developed countries private sector controls most of the resource and development. Organizing sporting mega-events is a top-down process in China. As city comprehensive planning is a blue print instead of a legislative regulation for the development, China’s government can adjust the plan agenda all the time. Hosting sporting mega-events has provided local government a chance to get more support from the national government. As a driver, sporting mega-events have brought the city more opportunities for land development, transportation improvement, and other infrastructure promotions. Both advantages and disadvantages exist. There is a need for the city government to cooperate with private sector, adopt public participation and to develop a cost-effective use of sports facilities after the sporting mega-events are over.
APPENDIX: Questions for Interview

I. Core Questions for Planners A and B
   1. How long have you lived in Guangzhou?
   2. How long have you been working as a planner in Guangzhou?
   3. Did you participate any urban planning projects or development strategies of Guangzhou?
   4. Is the planning project or development strategy related to the new stadiums or sports centers? What are they?
   5. How do you think about why the government planned for the mega-sports events?
   6. Why did Guangzhou host the National Games twice (the 6th and the 9th National Games) in China?
   7. What was the impact of the National Games on Guangzhou?
   8. How does the government plan for the National Games?
   9. Are you satisfied with the planning of the National Games in Guangzhou? Why?
  10. Why did Guangzhou bid for the Asian Games?
  11. How does the government plan for the Asian Games? Was the planning for the Asian Games different from the National Games? If so, how?
  12. Are you satisfied with the existing planning of the 16th Asian Games in Guangzhou? Why?
  13. What is the influence of the Asian Games on Guangzhou? Is the impact of the Asian Games different from that of the National Games? If so, how?
  14. Throughout your planning experience in China, have you noticed any changes in China’s cities by mega-sports events? If so, what are they?
  15. How important are mega-sports events to China’s cities? Do you feel mega-sports events are good for China’s cities?
  16. Do you find any differences of impacts of mega-sports events on cities between China and other developed countries, such as the U.S.A, the U.K. and Australia?
  17. What kinds of policies do you think are good for mega-sports events development in China’s cities?

II. Core Questions for Professor A
   1. How long have you lived in Guangzhou?
   2. How long have you been working as a professor in Guangzhou?
   3. Did you participate any urban planning projects or development strategies of Guangzhou?
   4. Is the planning project or development strategy related to the new stadiums or sports centers? What are they?
   5. How do you think about why the government planned for the mega-sports events?
6. Why did Guangzhou host the National Games twice (the 6th and the 9th National Games) in China?
7. What was the impact of the National Games on Guangzhou?
8. How does the government plan for the National Games?
9. Are you satisfied with the planning of the National Games in Guangzhou? Why?
10. Why did Guangzhou bid for the Asian Games?
11. How does the government plan for the Asian Games? Was the planning for the Asian Games different from the National Games? If so, how?
12. Are you satisfied with the existing planning of the 16th Asian Games in Guangzhou? Why?
13. What is the influence of the Asian Games on Guangzhou? Is the impact of the Asian Games different from that of the National Games? If so, how?
14. Throughout your experience in China, have you noticed any changes in China’s cities by mega-sports events? If so, what are they?
15. How important are mega-sports events to China’s cities? Do you feel mega-sports events are good for China’s cities?
16. Do you find any differences of impacts of mega-sports events on cities between China and other developed countries, such as the U.S.A, the U.K. and Australia?
17. What kinds of policies do you think are good for mega-sports events development in China’s cities?

III. Core Questions for Journalists A and B
1. How long have you lived in Guangzhou?
2. How long have you been working as a journalist in Guangzhou?
3. Did you do any interviews or report on mega-sports events in Guangzhou?
4. Do you know any planning projects or development strategies related to the new stadiums or sports centers? What are they?
5. How do you think about why the government planned for the National Games?
6. How does the government plan for the mega-sports events?
7. Are you satisfied with the planning of the mega-sports events in Guangzhou?
8. Why did Guangzhou host the National Games twice (the 6th and the 9th National Games) in China?
9. What was the impact of the National Games on Guangzhou?
10. Why did Guangzhou bid for the Asian Games?
11. How does the government plan for the Asian Games? Was the planning for the Asian Games different from the National Games? If so, how?
12. Are you satisfied with the existing planning of the 16th Asian Games in Guangzhou? Why?
13. What is the influence of the Asian Games on Guangzhou? Is the impact of the Asian Games different from that of the National Games? If so, how?
14. How important are mega-sports events to China’s cities? Do you feel
mega-sports events are good for China’s cities?
15. Do you find any differences of impacts of mega-sports events on cities between China and other developed countries, such as the U.S.A, the U.K. and Australia?
16. What kinds of policies do you think are good for mega-sports events development in China’s cities?

IV. Core Questions for Real Estate Agent and Consultant:
1. How long have you lived in Guangzhou?
2. How long have you been working as a developer in Guangzhou?
3. Are your development projects closed to any stadiums or sports centers?
4. Do you like to develop new projects near the new stadiums or sports centers? Why?
5. Throughout your experience in real estate, have you noticed any changes or influence on development projects by mega-sports events? If so, what are they?
6. Do you know any planning projects or development strategies related to the new stadiums or sports centers? What are they?
7. How does the government plan for the mega-sports events?
8. Are you satisfied with the planning of the mega-sports events in Guangzhou?
9. What do you think about why the government planned for the National Games?
10. Why did Guangzhou host the National Games twice (the 6th and the 9th National Games) in China?
11. What was the impact of the National Games on Guangzhou?
12. Why did Guangzhou bid for the Asian Games?
13. How does the government plan for the Asian Games? Was the planning for the Asian Games different from the National Games? If so, how?
14. What is the influence of the Asian Games on Guangzhou? Is the impact of the Asian Games different from that of the National Games? If so, how?
15. Throughout your experience in China, have you noticed any changes in China’s cities by mega-sports events? If so, what are they? How important are mega-sports events to China’s cities?


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