The Hong Kong Polytechnic University
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Government and Residents' Perceptions towards the impacts of a Mega Event: the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games

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CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

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_____(Signed)

(Joe) Yong ZHOU

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Abstract

Special events have constituted one of the most exciting and fastest growing forms of economic and tourism phenomena in many countries and destinations. Mega events such as the Olympic Games are accompanied with significant economic and social benefits, and extensive media coverage that attract more and more cities to become involved in them. As two of the major stakeholders involved in mega events, government and local residents play key roles in the planning and operation of such events and they are the ones most affected. Their perceptions towards the event, therefore, are essential to the success of the event and its sustainability.

Studies on government's motivations for involvement in mega events and their perceptions towards the impacts of event development are noticeably lacking. In addition, residents' perceptions have been observed as an important contributor to the success of mega events in several cases in developed countries, but little research has been conducted in a developing country context. This study attempts to address these issues with the main objectives: 1) To examine the Chinese governments': a) motivations for bidding and hosting the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games; and b) perceptions towards the impacts of the 2008 Olympic Games; and 2) To identify and examine local residents' perceptions towards the impacts of the Olympic Games.

It was found that the Chinese governments' primary motivations to host the Olympic Games were to showcase its reform achievements to the international community, as well as to unify its citizens, and boost national pride. The primary impacts of the 2008 Olympic Games that were identified included: improving the urban layout and infrastructure; increasing cultural exchange with other countries; more transparency in government performance; and decreasing uncivilised social behaviours. Besides tangible impacts such as traffic congestion and damage to the environment, the interviewee respondents did not report any further negative impacts.

The majority of local respondents perceived the impacts of the Olympic Games very positively with 96% indicating support for the games. A mega event impact scale based on residents' perceptions towards to the impacts of the 2008 Olympic Games was developed. The scale comprised 20 impact items with four factors, namely: social-psychological impacts; urban development impacts; economic development impacts; and social life impacts. Based on their different social representations (i.e. perceptions towards the impacts of the Olympic Games), residents were classified into two groups: "favourers" and "ambivalents". Residents' attitudes about government performance, their preference of more tourism development, and tourism industry work experience found to be the three most significant factors that influenced overall residents' perceptions towards the 2008 Olympics.

The above mentioned findings contribute to the existing body of knowledge in an attempt to understand different event stakeholders' perceptions towards a mega event and have provided a better understanding of the nature of government's event strategy and residents' reactions towards event development.

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

1.1 Background

During the past several decades, tourism has become a profoundly important industry throughout the world. With the beginning of the new millennium, more national governments and local businesses are capitalizing on this unprecedented economic opportunity.   Since the 1980s, event tourism has become a major and highly competitive economic phenomenon at the global level(Getz, 1997). Sporting events have been one of the fastest-growing segments of event tourism, with countries and cities vigorously competing to host such events for the enormous economic and infrastructure benefits that can accrue (Gelan, 2003).

Most of the literature on event tourism focuses on marketing/management skills and on the evaluation of economic benefits (Gelan, 2003; Kasimati, 2003). In contrast, the social, cultural and environmental impacts of such events, and local community

attitudes towards those impacts, have been relatively ignored. Waitt (2003) argued that emphasis of research on economic and skills benefits "may be misplaced on ethical and pragmatic grounds" (2003, p.195). It is urged that community perceptions and attitudes towards the impacts of event development must be understood and emphasised - a host community which is positively disposed towards the development will enhance the spectators' and tourists' experiences and contribute to the location's overall attractiveness as an event tourism destination (Madrigal, 1995).

Within the event tourism context, "mega event" is arguably the most common term used to refer to the largest global event that are targeted almost entirely at international markets. The Olympic Games are probably the world's largest peacetime event, with substantial economic, social, political, and other benefits for the host nation, region and city (Toohey & Veal, 2000). The various impacts of the Olympics have been studied extensively over the decades. Previous multi-disciplinary research concerning the Olympic Games has approached this mega event from a number of perspectives, including the local social-political perspective (Burbank, Andranovich, & Heying, 2001) and the historical perspective (Guttmann, 1992). Toohey and Veal's (2000) social research focused on media, women and the issues of "anti-drugs." Little research has been undertaken on community stakeholders' perceptions and attitudes towards the Olympic Games.

Although consultancy firms such as Economic Research Associates, Arthur Andersen and KPMG have conducted impact studies on several Olympic Games and other mega events, those studies were carried out largely by event-related

organisations and sponsored by government or event organisers, with emphasis on financial costs, economic benefits, and physical changes (Kasimati, 2003). Such studies may exaggerate the benefits to "gain political advantages" (Getz, 1991a, p.76). The perceptions and attitudes of residents towards the real outcome of the event are often ignored or taken for granted in such studies. Planners and entrepreneurs must take the views of the host residents and communities into consideration if the industry is to be sustainable (Getz & Timur, 2005).

At the policy level, mega events have been supported by governments and politicians throughout the world for purposes of posturing, propagandising, and stimulating cities and countries to large-scale development (Getz, 1997). Governments and politicians have various aims and motivations for promoting events, from image and ideology enhancement to personal career development (Richter, 1989). Research into the aims and motivations of government support for and involvement in a mega event has been grossly inadequate (Hall, 1992; Lapchick, 1996; Lenskyj, 2002). Additionally, little research has focused on the full range of the impacts of major tourism events, especially in terms of examining the similarities and differences between government/organiser's aims/motivations and residents' perceptions. However, such research is essential, for its outcomes can enhance the success of mega events by satisfying the host population, and by keeping government/organiser's aims/motivations and residents' perceptions in harmony with each other.

Tosun (2002) argued that tourism impacts are not universal. Host residents and communities differ in terms of development experiences, development stage,

carrying capacity, and problems in the socio-cultural, political, and economic realms. Indeed, it would be surprising if different host residents and communities did not have different perceptions of events and tourism. A number of research and impact studies of event perceptions have been undertaken in the context of a developed society. Such studies include a longitudinal study on the Calgary 1988 Winter Olympics in Canada by Ritchie and Aitken (1984, 1985) and Ritchie and Lyons (1990); studies on the 1986-87 and 1999-2000 America's Cup in Australia and New Zealand respectively by Soutar and McLeod (1993) and Barker, Page, and Meyer (2002); Atlanta 1996 Olympic Games studies by Mihalik (2004); the Melbourne Grand Prix Formula One study by Fredline (2000); the 1999 British Open golf tournament by Gelan (2003); and studies of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games by Hall (1996), Lenskyj (2002) and Waitt (2001; 2003). In sharp contrast, almost no research of this nature has been conducted in the context of a developing economy (Kasimati, 2003).

The reason why this situation has developed in research varies. On the one hand, event tourism in developing countries was a newly-emerging phenomenon during the past two decades; consumers' demands for leisure activities and travel had been stimulated by economic development during those decades (Getz, 1997). This situation may have led to a lack of event development data and inadequate academic resources, which would be expected to increase the difficulty of event research in such countries. On the other hand, developing countries are at a major competitive disadvantage in relation to developed countries when applying to host mega international events. One obvious reason for this disadvantage is the lack of sufficient infrastructure. It is essential that the imbalance of research be corrected in

terms of research discipline, location and time in order to increase knowledge concerning the sustainability of event destinations. Specifically, studies on host perceptions towards upcoming mega events will provide an opportunity to better understand the impacts of event development, and thereby assist government bodies, local residents, and other stakeholders to maximise benefits. Consequently, using the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games as a case study, host community perceptions towards mega events was selected as the topic of this thesis.

1.2 Statement of Problem

Several studies have examined the social impacts of mega events, but, as Fredline and Faulkner (2000) pointed out, most of them used secondary data such as court records and newspapers. Such secondary sources have obvious limitations in terms of insights into quality of life effects and variations in the impacts on various sectors of the host community. Existing studies of residents' perceptions toward mega events as an indicator of the impacts of events are not comprehensive. However, because in many respects mega events resemble general tourism in terms of their potential impacts on the hosts, the literature on general tourism provide a base for identifying the theoretical background (Getz, 1997).

It is well known that tourism development can have economic, social-cultural, political, and environmental effects on destinations (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Inskeep, 1991; Hall, 2000). Other impacts include accessibility (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997), plus crime and prostitution (Baker, Sage, & Mayer, 2002) and etc. However, it is observed that few studies have attempted to assess and evaluate tourism impacts simultaneously from several perspectives. An objective measurement approach, which aims to measure the impacts by embracing information from a variety of sources in a systematic, scientifically-verifiable manner, has to some degree been applied broadly to assess tourism impacts, but with obvious limitations (Fredline, 2000; Waitt, 2003). On the one hand, tourism has a vastly greater effect than is visible. Many impacts, particularly those of a social and psychological nature, are difficult to identify and quantify in an objective manner. On the other hand, even though objective measurement of tourism impacts can shed

light on some impacts in general, it provides no account of differential impacts on various subgroups within the community. In actual fact, some groups benefit more from tourism development than do others, while some sections or areas of the destination do not benefit at all, or may even be hurt (Hall, 1992).

An alternative to objective measurement of tourism impacts is to understand impacts through the perceptions of the local community. Fredline and Faulkner (2000) argue that although perceptions are subjective, they do provide an indication of the actual impact through people's reactions to the development. For example, Vanclay (2003) believes the improvement of social well-being of the wider community should be explicitly recognised as an objective of planned interventions, and thus could be an indicator considered by any form of social impact assessment. Unfortunately, few studies exist on perceived impacts of tourism either prior to a development or when it is not seen to be a significant economic area of activities for a region (Mason & Cheyne, 2000). Partly for that reason, the present study will focus on the local community's perception towards a specific event tourism development: the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games. It is expected that this study will result in a much better understanding of the real impacts of mega events / tourism development at the level of the community, and thereby provide practical strategies for managing and operating mega events / tourism development for maximum benefit to the local community.

China has been a major civilisation for thousands of years. However, since the Communist Party of China (CPC) began governing the country in 1949, China's connection with the outside world has been strictly controlled until the reform era

began in 1978. With rapid economic growth, increasing influence from abroad, and technological developments during the past two decades, Chinese society and residents' perceptions and attitudes towards new phenomena are changing swiftly. China is merging with the international community in an unprecedented manner, and a large number of people from other societies who are unfamiliar with the country are eager to know more about its culture, society, and people. The Beijing 2008 Olympic Games will provide the first opportunity for China to stage a mega event that will attract extensive and intensive attention both domestically and internationally. The upcoming Games is one of the most popular topics of discussion in China, and, not surprisingly, various perceptions and attitudes towards the Games have already emerged. The 2008 Olympic Games provides an unprecedented opportunity to study community perceptions and attitudes within China. Such a study will unquestionably provide a far more comprehensive understanding of and insight into contemporary Chinese society – especially people's attitudes towards rapid social development. Thus, the implications and benefits of the proposed study are immense.

For the Chinese Government, bidding and staging the Olympic Games in Beijing does not simply mean having a sporting event in China. Most analysts believe that the primary aims of the Chinese Government in hosting the Games are to set up and demonstrate its positive "open-up" image (Fu, 2002). Both the Chinese bid officials and the state media have suggested the significance of staging the Olympics lies in the fact that it would narrow the distance between China and the outside world: the successful staging of the Games would prove conclusively that China has come of age as a member of the international community (*BBC*, 2001). Like other mega

projects in China (e.g., the Three Gorges Dam on the Yangtze River, the Shenzhou Manned Spaceflight Project), the Games are expected to showcase socialist achievement and unite citizens in a number of significant ways (People's Daily, 2001a). From this perspective, the purpose of hosting the Games in Beijing is quite different from that of previous Olympics, in which the purpose focused variously on urban regeneration (in Athens and Barcelona), promoting international tourism (in Sydney), and boosting commercial opportunities and city redevelopment (in Atlanta and Los Angeles) (Andranovich, Burbank, & Heying, 2001).

Although the majority of residents in Beijing have expressed support for the Games (BOCOG[1], 2001a), there is a paucity of literature concerning consultation and involvement of residents before/during the Games bid and preparation phases. This situation could lead to misunderstandings between the government/organiser and the general public. For example, the general public may not understand the real purpose for hosting the Olympic Games, and how they as individuals will be affected. Indeed, the original support of the public can to some extent be regarded as an overly-enthusiastic initial response. On the other hand, the government/organiser may not know precisely what residents expect from, and are concerned about, the Games. Such a situation could result in blind planning and isolated actions. The chance of hosting the "Best-Ever Olympics" (BOCOG, 2003), not only for the sixteen-day Games period, but for its sustainability after the Games, would be reduced should that happen. Thus, research on the government/organiser's host motivations and perceptions towards the Games, and on the impacts of the Games, will provide

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[1] BOCOG, the Beijing Organisation Committee for the 29th Olympic Games - the Organiser of the 2008 Olympic Games

insights into government motivations and behaviours in bidding for and hosting the Games in Beijing. A comparison of residents' perceptions and government perceptions towards the same issue would provide a broader picture of social/psychological realities in contemporary China and determine whether there is a difference between the government's views and its citizens' views on the same object. It is expected that this study will help the two parties understand each other better and thereby reduce the gap between them. By planning and staging the Games in a transparent and interactive way, a successful Olympic Games and sustainable development of the event's legacy in Beijing could be expected.

As Madrigal (1995) insightfully pointed out, the fact that people live in the same geographical area does not mean they belong to the same "community." In any given city or region, there may be several intermingled communities with different goals and opinions. Thus, in order to achieve good balance and gain widest support from the local community, care must be taken to understand the goals, aspirations and opinions of various communities when planning and developing public projects. To gain a better understanding of community perceptions and attitudes, the following types of questions should be addressed: (1) What are the residents' perceptions and attitudes? (2) What factors affect their perceptions and attitudes? (3) What relationships exist among the various perceptions, attitudes and factors affecting them? Unfortunately, in practice most host residents are excluded from not only the planning, but also the decision-making and management process of local projects. In developing countries, with the common practice of the top-down planning and development culture, this is even more pronounced, especially when many tourism projects are externally initiated or implemented. The Beijing 2008

Olympic Games are obviously not merely a local project for Beijingers, but a national project for the entire country, with major involvement from the Central Government and other authorities. Considering the numerous influences of the event on the host city, an in-depth understanding of the local residents' perceptions towards the Olympic Games is crucial. Therefore, identifying and analysing local residents' perceptions of the 2008 Olympics is included in this study as well.

In the tourism literature, two frameworks dominate in explaining resident's perceptions towards tourism development: social exchange theory (Ap, 1990, 1992; Madrigal, 1993; Waitt, 2003) and social representations framework (Pearce, Moscrardo, & Ross, 1996; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000). These two frameworks stress different levels of perceptions: the individual level and the community level respectively (Pearce, Moscardo, & Ross, 1996), though both claim they are suitable at both levels. Social representations theory is potentially useful in studying the perceptions of a community towards tourism because it helps understand how people perceive and respond to tourism, and secondly it helps identify the various types and content of the social representations that various groups hold, particularly when the topic involves multiple social perspectives (Pearce, Moscardo, & Ross, 1996). For that reason, in this study the social representations theory is adopted to examine the most distinctive characteristics shared by local communities.

Previous research has clearly demonstrated that independent variables can influence perceptions and attitudes. For example, Lindberg and Howard (1994) summarised the relationships of 10 socio-demographic variables with resident perception toward tourism. Similarly, Faulkner and Tideswell (1997) summarised variables affecting

residents' response to tourism. They divided those variables into 2 dimensions: extrinsic and intrinsic. Based on the existing literature, this study will investigate the relationship between these variables (e.g., demographic factors, involvement, attachment, and proximity/distance) and the community's perceptions. It will also explore other variables (e.g., political self-identification) that have not commonly been addressed within a tourism and mega event context.

1.3 Aim and Objectives

Using the Beijing 2008 Olympics as a case study, the main purpose of this research is to identify local government/organiser's motivations/perceptions and residents' perceptions towards this imminent mega event. More specifically, the objectives of this study are to:

(1) Identify and examine: (a) the government/organisers' aims and motivations for bidding and hosting the Olympic Games; and (b) their perceptions towards the Games;

(2) Identify and analyze local residents' perceptions towards the impacts of the Olympic Games;

(3) Compare and contrast the government/organisers' motivations and perceptions towards the Games with local residents' perceptions;

(4) Examine sub-groups among residents that have different social representations of the Olympic Games;

(5) Examine the role and importance of: (a) political self-identification; (b) involvement; (c) attachment; (d) demographic factors; and (e) proximity in affecting residents' perceptions toward the impacts of the Olympic Games; and

(6) Profile the characteristics of those residents who support and those who do not support the Olympic Games, and determine whether differences exist between them based on the following hypotheses:

● H1: Nationalist self-identified residents tend to be more supportive of the Olympic Games than residents who are liberal self-identified.

● H2: Residents' support for the Olympic Games is positively related to their perceptions towards government performance.

● H3: Residents with a higher level of education support the Olympic Games more than those with a lower level of education.

● H4: Residents with a higher income level support the Olympic Games more than those with lower income level.

● H5: Residents whose own/family income is expected to increase due to the hosting the Olympic Games are more supportive of the Olympic Games than those whose income is not expected to increase.

● H6: Residents with longer length-of-residency in Beijing support the Olympic Games more than those with shorter residency.

● H7: Residents who have worked on Olympic-related projects/services are more supportive of the Olympic Games than those who have not.

● H8: Residents whose family/relatives or friends had been relocated because of the Olympic Games are more supportive of the Olympic Games than those who had no such experiences.

●H9: Residents who had been consulted about the Olympic Games are more supportive of the Games than those who had not been consulted.

● H10: Residents who live closer to Olympic Venues support the Olympic Games more than those live further away from the Olympic Venues.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The aims, motivations and factors that spurred the Chinese Government to bid and host the Olympic Games in Beijing can be identified through this research. The government/organiser' and local residents' perceptions towards the Olympic Games will be examined as well. This will provide an in-depth understanding of the similarities and differences of opinions towards event development within the community. Compared to previous research on perceived event impacts (e.g., Ritchie & Aitken, 1984; 1985; Ritchie & Lyons, 1987; 1990; Fredline, 2000; Waitt, 2003), which focused mainly on perceptions of one part of the community (mostly tourists' or residents') and in an *ex post facto* manner, this study will provide a broader picture of how various community groups perceive and understand the impacts of mega events prior to the actual event. This can improve the understanding of the original purposes of event tourism development, and will increase our understanding of the nature of governments' decision and policy. It can also enhance other stakeholders' understanding and coordination with government organisations. Through this study, a comprehensive and interconnected community perception towards the Olympic Games and its impacts will be identified.

By analysing the relationship between different social representations and perceptions towards the impacts of the Olympic Games, and examining how various elements (independent variables) affect resident's perceptions, a better understanding of how residents perceive the development of a mega event will be achieved. This will help planners, managers and scholars keep abreast with these various representations. Thus, appropriate event strategies and measures can be planned and implemented to gain

more understanding and support. In addition, several independent variables that have seldom been addressed in perceived tourism/event impact analysis are included in this study. It is expected that these variables will reinforce the existing understanding of this field.

This research is conducted in China - a developing, non-Western country. The unique research setting for this study will provide insights into the social/psychological status in present-day China.

Chapter 2

Literature Review:

Event Impacts and Event Development in China

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the literature on the nature of mega events and their wide range of impacts is reviewed. Reviews of the literature on China's event tourism development and the modern Olympic Games are included.

2.2 Events and Event Tourism

Events are phenomena that punctuate, mark and identify collective and individual social realities (Hall, 1992). Such events have long played important roles in human society. Beginning in the last quarter of the 20th century, events have taken on additional functions as sites of tourism spectacle. This occurred largely because of the perception that spectacles would attract tourists and thus generate income. According to Getz (1997), the avid pursuit of events is the result of increasingly fierce competition between destinations. It is also believed that cities and countries are using special events as unprecedented opportunities to serve a host of policy objectives – from delivering tourists, regenerating communities and celebrating moments in time to arousing civic pride, inspiring the arts, and stimulating regional/national economies (Bowdin, McDonnell, Allen, & O'Toole, 2001).

A special event recognises a unique moment in time with ceremony and ritual to satisfy specific needs (Goldblatt, 1997). Getz (1997) offered a definition of special events by commenting that they are activities that occur outside the regular routine of an organisation or community. He stated:

> "1). A special event is a one-time or infrequently occurring event outside the normal program or activities of the sponsoring or organising body. 2). To the customer or guest, a special event is an opportunity for a leisure, social, or cultural experience outside the normal range of choices or beyond everyday experience" (Getz, 1997, p.4).

Special events can be classified according to purpose and to the particular sector to which they belong (public, sporting, arts, festivals, etc.) (Bowdin *et al.*, 2001). However, other researchers categorise special events according to their size, scale

and complexity (Ritchie, 1984; 1988; 1993; Getz, 1991a; 1997; Hall, 1992; Wagen, 2001), which has the advantage of direct connections with event impacts. Shone (2001) provided a typology to explain the relative levels of complexity involved in various events, and highlighted both the organisational complexity and the uncertainty of events. Using this typology, it is possible to propose a classification of events in a way that enables one to understand the comparative demands that such events might place on organisers or researchers.

Figure 2-1 depicts a common classification of events based on the models mentioned above. This classification categorises events into local events, major events, hallmark events, and mega events. It must be noted that all definitions and classifications are imprecise, and the distinctions between them are sometimes blurred.
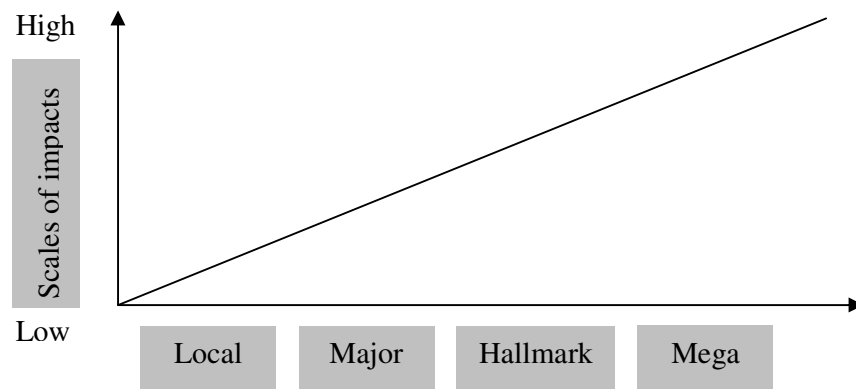
Figure 2-1. Categorisations of Events

Sources: after Shone (2001) and Bowdin et al. (2001)

"Mega" means large or huge, or, more precisely, 1 million in a metric system. Mega events are those events large enough to affect entire economies and reverberate

through the global media. Hall (1992) characterised mega events from a tourism perspective as:

> " … events which are expressly targeted at the international tourism market and might be suitably described as 'mega' by virtue of their size in terms of attendance, target market, level of public financial involvement, political effects, extent of television coverage, construction of facilities and impacts on economic and social fabric of the host community" (Hall, 1992, p.5).

Similarly, Getz (1997, p.6) defined mega events "by way of their size or significance, are those that yield extraordinarily high levels of tourism, media coverage, prestige, or economic impact for the host community or destination." With the advent of modern communication technology, some events might not draw large numbers of visitors, but nonetheless generate enormous exposure through media coverage and thereby attract world-wide publicity. Such an event, according to Getz (1997), could be a mega success if it generates exceptional levels of media coverage or fosters a strong positive image among target segments.

Definitions of mega events are to some degree subjective. It is really more a question of relative significance of an event rather than any absolute measure. However, most event researchers recognise that, because of their size in terms of expenditure, sponsorship, impacts and worldwide audience, the Olympic Games are unquestionably a mega event. For example, 6.7 million Olympic tickets were sold at the 16-day Olympic event in Sydney in 2000, with a television audience of 3.7 billion worldwide (IOC[2], 2001). The Athens 2004 Olympic Games were televised to 3.9 billion viewers in 220 countries and territories, with 90 percent of broadcast

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[2] IOC: the International Olympic Committee

coverage on channels available to the entire population of each country (IOC, 2006). Other mega event examples include the FIFA World Cup finals, World Fairs, and Formula-One Grand Prix races.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, there is a growing tendency to perceive events as tourism destinations that attract attention from communities worldwide. An increasing number of national and regional tourist organisations have formulated event tourism strategies and participated in events tourism. However, as Getz (1997) emphasised, not all festivals and events reach their goals. Reasons for failure are numerous, and several researchers (e.g., Keogh, 1990; Perdue, Long and Allen, 1990; Hall, 1992; Madrigal, 1995) have partly ascribed failure to an insufficient understanding of the host community's perceptions towards the development and the absence of local involvement in the planning process. Therefore, research into community perceptions, which can increase stakeholders' understanding and co-ordination among each other, is required to solve these problems.

2.3 Mega Event Impact Studies

Mega events have a wide range of impacts, both positive and negative, on host communities and stakeholders. These impacts must be accurately identified, predicted with a high degree of certainty, and managed equitably if all parties are to benefit. To achieve equitable results, all foreseeable positive impacts should be maximised, and negative impacts countered and mitigated (Bowdin *et al.,* 2001). Identification of impacts in advance will result in better decision-making concerning which interventions should proceed and how they should proceed (Vanclay, 2003). Usually negative impacts can be addressed and reduced through awareness and intervention; thorough pre-event planning, appropriate operation, and effective management are crucial if socially-equitable outcomes are to be achieved.

Ritchie (1984), Hall (1992), Goldblatt (1997) and other researchers have identified several impacts from economic/tourism, social cultural, political and physical, and environmental perspectives. Ritchie (1984) developed a classification of impacts that should be assessed prior to any given mega event. Six types of impacts were identified: economic, tourism/commercial, physical, socio-cultural, psychological and political - each of which can have both positive and negative manifestations. Many of these impacts are similar to those associated with general tourism. However, as Fredline (2000) noted, certain short-term event impacts are to some degree unique, inasmuch as a very high concentration of tourist activities occur in a small area over a short period of time. Thus, the entire range of impacts caused by events must be addressed. Impact items identified in previous studies are summarised in Table 2-1.

It can be noted from Table 2-1 that in contrast to research on the impacts of general tourism, only a limited number of impact studies concerning event tourism have been conducted, and the majority are largely economic in orientation (Hall, 1992; Barker, Sage, & Meyer, 2002; Kasimati, 2003). This is the case partly because of the need of the governments and organisers to meet budget goals and justify expenditure, and partly because economic impacts are most easily assessed. However, the full range of impacts resulting from events must be identified, described and managed. If one is to provide a systematic account of event tourism, then one must be aware of the widest possible implications of events for host communities. Moreover, one must attempt to answer the questions of why, for what, and for whom these events are held. It is equally important to realise that various types of impacts require various methods of assessment (Vanclay, 2003). For example, social and cultural benefits play vital roles in the overall impact of an event; however, describing those roles may require a set of methods quite different from those used for economic impacts assessment (Bowdin *et al.,* 2001; Sherwood, Jago & Deery, 2005).

Table 2-1: Impacts of Mega Events

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">*Economic Impacts - Positive aspects*</td></tr>
<tr><td>Generating tourist expenditure and tax revenue</td><td>Ritchie & Lyons (1990); Burgan & Mules (1992); Getz (1997); Humphrey & Plummer (1996); Preuss (2000); Chalip (2002); Daniels, Norman & Henry (2004); Mihalik (2004)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Additional employment</td><td>Humphrey & Plummer (1996); Haynes (2001);</td></tr>
<tr><td>Local business opportunities and economic growth</td><td>Ritchie & Aitken (1984); Hall (1992); Soutar & McLeod (1993); Fredline & Faulkner (2000); Kasimati (2003)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Increased attractions and accessibility</td><td>Hall (1992); Goldblatt (1997); Fayos-Solá (1998)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Image maker</td><td>Roche (2000); Gelan (2003); Mihalik (2004)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Attracting sponsorship fees and grants to host</td><td>Hall (1992); Getz (1997, 2003); Gelan (2003)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">*Economic Impacts - Negative aspects*</td></tr>
<tr><td>Unbalanced spatial distribution of economic impacts</td><td>Long & Perdue (1990); Hall (1992);</td></tr>
<tr><td>Increased burden on taxpayers</td><td>Burgan & Mules (1992); Fredline (2004)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Increased or inflated prices for locals</td><td>Hall (1992); Bowdin *et al.* (2001)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Opportunity costs and external costs</td><td>Getz (1997); Fredline (2004)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">*Social Impacts - Positive aspects*</td></tr>
<tr><td>International promotion and recognition</td><td>Ritchie & Lyons (1990); Burgan & Mules (1992); Erfurt & Johnsen (2003); Mihalik (2004); Hede (2006)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Increased enthusiasm and party atmosphere</td><td>Ritchie & Lyons (1990); Waitt (2001; 2003);</td></tr>
<tr><td>Urban rejuvenation and improved public facilities</td><td>Ritchie & Lyons (1990); Hall (1992); Soutar & McLeod (1993); Hiller (2000)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Increased social capital: greater sense of community belonging and sharing excitement, pride</td><td>Fredline (2004)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Enhanced tradition and image of the community</td><td>Besculides, Lee & McCormick (2002)</td></tr>
</table>

Social Impacts - Negative aspects	
Disruption of lifestyle of existing residents	Burgan & Mules (1992); Lenskyj (2002); Waitt (2003)
Crime and vandalism	Burgan & Mules (1992); Hall (1992); Getz (1997); Barker *et. al* (2002); Baker (2004)
Reduced access to public facilities for locals	Fredline (2004)
Traffic congestion	Burgan & Mules (1992); Mihalik (2004)
Social dislocation	Hall (1992); Toohey & Veal (2001)
Loss of community ownership and control	Krippendorf (1987); Hall (1992);

Political Impacts - Positive aspects	
Enhanced images and ideologies	Ritchie (1984); Hall (1992); Seen (1999); Roche (2000); Bowdin *et al.* (2001); Fredline (2004)
Career enhancement of political figures	Hall (1992); Fredline (2000; 2004)
Promotion for governments and political parties	Hall (1992); Roche (2000); Toohey & Veal (2001)

Political Impacts - Negative aspects	
Political propagandistic tool to influence citizen opinion	Hall (1992); Toohey & Veal (2001); Shone (2001)
Unbalanced benefits distribution	Hall (1992); Bowdin *et al.* (2001)
Loss of local autonomy	Krippendorf (1997) Fredline (2004)

Physical and Environmental Impacts - Positive aspects	
Added infrastructure and facilities	Ritchie (1984); Hall (1992); Getz (1997); Essex & Chalkley (1998)
Regeneration and beautification of host areas	Hall (2004); Essex & Chalkley (1998); Shone (2001)
Legacy as new landmark and attraction	Bowdin *et al.* (2001); Toohey & Veal (2001)
Raising public awareness on environmental issues and recycling	Getz (1997); UK Sport (1999)

Physical and Environmental Impacts - Negative aspects	
Possible local environment damage	Bowdin *et al.* (2001)
Architectural pollution	Fredline (2000)

2.4 Event Tourism in China

A number of large-scale events have regularly taken place in China, even before the founding of the People's Republic. Many of those events related to activities of the royal family. Enthronements and weddings of Emperors always entailed nation-wide celebrations and large-scale ceremonies. Religious sacrifices to the gods were also celebrated. Many famous buildings in China were built as venues for special events. For example, the Temple of Heaven in Beijing (a UN World Heritage site), with an area of 270 hectares, was constructed in 1420 AD, during the Ming Dynasty. It was used by dynastic rulers to worship Heaven annually until the beginning of the 20th century. After 1949, large-scale special events were often related to political activities and arranged by the government and the Communist Party of China (CPC). An example of a political gathering was the assembly of the Red Guards in Tiananmen Square during the Cultural Revolution in the 1960-70s. Event tourism emerged only after the country inaugurated its open-door and economic reform policy in 1978, at which time tourism was recognised as an industry.

Getz (1997) believed that increases in productivity and wealth lead to a large, diversified demand for consumer goods, leisure activities and travel. As world travel patterns began to shift toward rapidly-growing Asian economies in the 1990s, China and other Asian countries have begun to adopt "themed years" and to organise events as new tourist attractions and image-makers. Local governments realised that events could be a cost-effective way to develop tourism, and that their traditional events might be popular with tourists eager to discover new local cultures. Moreover, with increased leisure time and rapid growth of disposable income, events and festivals

have become an increasingly important part of China's domestic leisure and entertainment scene.

Modern China's tourism development began at the end of the 1970s. Infrastructure important to tourism, especially hotel rooms and transport, was grossly inadequate during the early 1980s (Wen & Tisdell, 2001). Consequently, much effort was put into the creation of infrastructure and basic tourist facilities during the early 1980s. For example, hotels and aviation logistics were included in the earliest foreign investment projects soon after foreign capital was permitted in China (Richter, 1983; Pomfret, 1991). During the period 1986-1991, the growth of inbound tourism to China diminished. In contrast, domestic tourism began to flourish because the nation's economic reform policy made it affordable for some Chinese to take domestic business and leisure trips. Initially China's focus was on the expansion of international tourism as a vehicle for its economic development, but subsequently, as the government's attitude towards the role of domestic tourism changed from negative to positive, attention was also given to the expansion of domestic tourism (Wen and Tisdell, 2001). Tourism in China grew explosively, to the degree that supply sectors were unable to keep pace with the rapid growth in demand, although more hotels and aircraft were provided during that period (Mak, 2003). Attractions such as nature-based sightseeing and viewing of historical heritage sites dominated tour routes, until a lack of new attractions hindered the development of the tourism industry and tarnished its reputation (Wen & Tisdell, 2001). At the same time, festivals and special events increasingly came to be regarded as tourist attractions and destination image-makers in other parts of the world (Getz, 1991). Probably under the influence of such global circumstances, event tourism, together with other relatively "new" types of

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attractions such as theme parks and MICE (Meeting, Incentive, Convention and Exhibition) began to emerge in China.

The first event projects began to appear in the 1980s. Many special events and festival celebrations emerged during the second half of the 1980s and the early 1990s. Table 2-2 lists some of the well-known special events and festivals that emerged and developed since the 1980s.

Table 2-2: *Selected Special Events in China*

Event /Festival	Since	Current Organiser (2005)	Features
National Games	*1979*[3]	National Administration of Sports & host provincial governments	Sports event, every 4 years
Beijing Marathon	1981	Chinese Athletic Association	Annual
Luoyang Peony Festival, Henan	1983	Luoyang City Government	Flower show every April
Weifang Kite-flying Festival, Shandong	1984	Weifang City Government; China Central Television	Annual
Harbin Ice & Snow Festival,	*1985*[4]	Harbin City Government	Annual
Wuqiao Circus Festival, Hebei	1987	Ministry of Culture; Hebei Provincial Government	Biennial
Dalian Garment Festival, Liaoning	1988	Dalian City Government	Annual fair/ exhibition
National Book Fair	*1989*[5]	host city governments	Annual fair
11th Asian Games, Beijing	1990	Beijing Municipality Government; Chinese Olympic Committee	One-time mega sports
Qingdao Beer Festival, Shandong	1991	Qingdao City Government	Annual arts event
Shaolin Martial Art Festival, Henan	1991	Chinese Wushu Association; Zhengzhou City Government	Annual
Shanghai Film Festival	1993	State Administration of Radio, TV and Film; Shanghai Municipality	Annual
Flower Expo '99 Kunming	1999	Chinese Central Government	One- time World Expo
F1 Grand Prix, Shanghai	2004	Shanghai Municipal Government	Annual mega sports event

Sources: Dewar, Meyer and Li (2001), COC (2003a), and various media sources.

Notes: [3] *There were three National Games of China held in Beijing in 1959, 1965 and 1975, respectively. Since the 4th games in 1979, it has been held every 4 years regularly in different provinces and cities.*
[4] *Harbin Ice & Snow Festival originated in 1963 but stopped temporarily after the 1966 festival because of the Cultural Revolution. The festival was revived in 1985 and has been held annually since then.*
[5] *The fist national book fair was held in 1980 in Beijing, but only since the 2nd fair in 1989 did the event become an annual one.*

Of the events listed in Table 2-2, probably the most renowned was the 1990 Asian Games in Beijing - the first international mega sports event held in China. Riordan (1991) believes that the motivating factor behind China's bid for the 1990 Asian Games in 1985 was the desire to abandon the previous "friendship through sport" policy and to achieve recognition and prestige through sporting victories at a high-profile event. In fact, the 1990 Beijing Asian Games were used by the Chinese Government primarily as a political device rather than as an economic or tourism event. In particular, it "was used by the Chinese to help improve its image after the Tiananmen Square massacre (incident)" (Hall, 1992, p.90). Mr. He Zhenliang, former International Olympic Committee (IOC) vice-president and honorary chairman of the Chinese Olympic Committee (COC), also acknowledged the Asian Games' role in bringing Chinese citizens' thoughts together and presenting China to the world, especially only a year after the Tiananmen Square Incident (Sanlian, 2003).

During the 16-day Games, the gathering of 6,000 athletes and officials from 36 Asian countries brought extensive media coverage and attention to China. The most obvious outcome of the Asian Games was that it fostered the country's confidence in its ability to host large-scale international events. At the closing ceremony, a huge banner appeared in the stands that read: "With the success of the Asian Games, we look forward to hosting the Olympic Games (COC, 2003b)." Across a street, in the Dongcheng District of Beijing, was strung another banner with the words: "We have successfully hosted the Asian Games and we can successfully host the Olympic Games" (COC, 2003b). The Beijing government and its citizens benefited from the 1990 Asian Games in terms of infrastructure and other urban redevelopment. Infrastructure (roads, airport, sewage systems, communications systems, etc.) was

improved, and the city's layout was altered in a much more effective way. The Asian Games extended Beijing's expansion to the north (Sanlian, 2003). The newly-built Olympic Centre and athletes' village, now known as Asian Games Village, became a well-developed residential community in the northern part of the city. On the other hand, the Asian Games also caused problems, such as the unbalanced development between the northern and southern areas of the metropolis, and the inefficient utilisation of venues after the Games. It is reported that the municipal government noted these problems and took them into consideration when Beijing bid and prepared for the 2008 Olympics Games (BOCOG, 2001).

One of the few English-language research articles about China's festival and special events is that of Dewar, Meyer and Li (2001). These researchers identified and analysed the motivations of those who visited the 1998 Harbin Ice & Snow Festival. According to Dewar *et al*. (2001, p. 524), the Festival "had grown substantially and is now among the largest of its kind and certainly one of the most spectacular." The 1998 Harbin Ice & Snow Festival included 5 major programmes in the arts, sports, culture, tourism and trade. It was viewed not only as a festival for raising residents' spirits and providing cultural and recreational opportunities, but also as a way to "bring much-needed currency and employment to the city" (Dewar *et al*., 2001, p. 524). With an estimated 16,000 international and 2.8 million domestic visitors during the month-long festival, the city raised US$4.8 million in foreign exchange and RMB360 million (approximately US$44 million) in domestic tourist receipts (Dewar *et al.*, 2001).

Evolution and Development of Special Events in China

In spite of the large number of special events organised in towns and cities, the development of special events in China is still at the stage of being spontaneous rather than pre-planned and well-managed. The following paragraphs summarise selected characteristics of China's festivals and special events development (including altered event purposes, changed organising/managing approach and varied geographical distribution).

From Celebration to Economics

In the 1980s, festivals and events were regarded mainly as opportunities for local celebration and recreation. In its early years, the previously-mentioned Harbin Ice & Snow Festival emphasised its function as a festival for raising residents' spirits and morale, and for providing cultural and recreational opportunities (Dewar *et al.,* 2001). The Luoyang Peony Festival, which was first held in 1983 in central Henan Province, is another example. According to the Organising Office for the Peony Festival (OOPF), the then-mayor of the city stated in his welcome speech at the 1st Festival that "…in order to re-strengthen the reputation of Peony City, to enrich residents everyday life, as well as to improve '*Double Civilisation*'^{6} progress, the City has avowed that a Peony Festival will be held from 15th to 25th every April in the future" (OOPF, 2003). In fact, most festivals and events prior to 1987, such as the Kite Festival in Weifang (first held in 1984) and the Circus Festival in Wuqiao, Shijiazhuang City (1987), were characterized by celebration and recreation. This phenomenon can be understood in an even broader context: China's reform began in

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^{6} *Double Civilisation is the official jargon in China with a meaning of progress from both an ethical aspect and physical aspect.*

the countryside in the late 1970s and early 1980s with the system of admeasuring land to individual households. This practice spread to urban areas in the second half of the 1980s (Nolan, 2004). As a result, productivity recovered rapidly and the quality of life in most parts of China reached an unprecedented level. Residents in the countryside particularly benefited from the reform policy. China's agricultural productivity revived dramatically. Between 1978 and 1984, output of the main crops increased at annual rates of 8%, compared to the average rate of 1.1% per year from 1952 to 1978 (National Bureau of Statistics, 1985). The fundamental problem of feeding the large population, which had been a great challenge in the country for centuries, was basically solved (Chen & Davis, 1998). Farmers and local governments need festivals and special events to celebrate rich harvests, enjoy life, and share happiness. When considering the geographical location of the festivals, it was found that almost all took place in small or medium-sized inland cities. These cities relied on agriculture, or were closely linked with the rural society. They were also rich in culture and tradition. Accordingly, themes chosen for these festivals had close connections with agricultural activities and traditional local features, such as the peony flower, kite-flying, and the circus.

After the success of pioneer festivals, more cities, particularly large cities in coastal areas, realised the potential of festivals and special events for image-making and business transactions, and began to launch their own festivals and events. Most themes of festivals and special events in these locations were industrially-based, and included such things as fashion and garments in Dalian, beer in Qingdao, and film in Shanghai (Table 2-2). These host cities were often located in coastal areas with increased economic importance. They were eager and enthusiastic for business and

trade. Consequently, their festivals and special events were always accompanied by government-backed industrial exhibitions and/or business conferences (People's Daily, 2002). This new event-exhibition model of the coastal cities, with their economic and political influences, progressively impacted upon other festivals, including the pioneering events mentioned above. When China embarked on its policy of a market economy in 1992, boosting local business and absorbing external investment have become to dominate most festival and event activities. Consequently, as People's Daily (2002) summarised, a typical festival in most cases consisted of a splendid but analogous opening ceremony, an exhibition aimed at attracting external investment, and street parades. Today, this description still applies for most festivals and special events in China.

After the turn of the 21st century, especially since Beijing was announced as the host of the 2008 Olympic Games, several mega events took place in China, and festival and event tourism began drawing increasingly more attention. Particularly in metropolises such as Beijing and Shanghai, rapid economic growth has facilitated the development of a growing middle class, which demands more leisure and entertainment events with international prestige. The most well-known events include the 1999 Flower Expo in Kunming[7], the 2001 World University Games (Universiade) in Beijing, the 2001 3-Tenors Concert in Beijing, tennis China Open (since 2004) in Beijing, the 2001 APEC summit in Shanghai, and Formula-one Grand Prix (since 2004) in Shanghai. Almost all these mega events were located in major metropolises or in cities with specific features (e.g., cold climate for winter sports). These mega events proved to be very influential, and encouraged more cities to involve

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[7] *Initially, the Flower Expo was scheduled to be host in Beijing. It was relocated to Kunming because of the climate and other technical reasons.*

themselves in hosting mega events. In addition to the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games, quite a number of hallmark or mega events have been confirmed to take place in cities such as Shenyang (2006 Horticultural Expo), Changchun (2007 Asian Winter Games), Harbin (2009 World University Winter Games), Shanghai (2010 World Expo), and Guangzhou (2010 Asian Games). Beijing's successful bid for the 2008 Olympic Games and the potential benefits that such events can bring to the host has unquestionably stimulated other cities to bid for and host international events (particularly mega sports events).

From Government-involved to Governmental-oriented

The majority of famous festivals and special events in China are run directly by government bodies (Table 2-2, in Page 28). In fact, in the case of many festivals and special events, government bodies have always acted as originators and were directly involved. For example, with the Harbin Ice & Snow Festival "thousands of ice lanterns were produced both by individuals and as displays organised by the government" (Dewar *et al*., 2001, p.524). Local governments tend to seek co-organisers from higher-level official bodies (such as national associations or the national media) to enhance the reputation and scale of the event. If the theme of an event is related to certain administrative organisations, such as government ministries and national associations, then these organisations are usually invited to be co-organisers. However, much of the preparation and management work of events is conducted by the locals. A temporary or permanent event-organising office or committee headed by the local mayor, and including officials from related sectors such as culture, public security, finance, transport, and tourism, would be established to coordinate and be responsible for the entire event. In some cases, local government

has been engaged in running events through direct financial injection and enforcing local business or individual donations (People's Daily, 2002). Gradually, because of the heavy government burden and little payback, some cities have begun to change the "largely government-involved" strategy to a government-oriented one. For example, the Weifang City Government stopped their financial support for its Kite Festival in 1998. Since then, many major festival events have been franchised to professional businesses through bidding and sponsoring (People's Daily, 2002). Similar transitions have characterized other events, such as the Nanning International Folk Song Art Festival that began in 1999 (Xinhua, 2002).

Event Strategies Following Local Strength and Advantages

A recent study conducted by Zhang (2004) examined events and MICE tourism development in 8 Chinese cities. Two types of event activities, namely (1) festivals and (2) cultural and sports events, were included in this study. Relevant data are summarised in Table 2-3. It was noted that:

Table 2-3 *Numbers of Festivals and Events in Selected Cities in 2002*

		Festivals	Cultural & Sport Events	Total
Eastern Coastal Cities	Beijing	166	183	349
	Shanghai	228	233	461
	Guangzhou	135	163	298
	Hangzhou	105	75	180
	Sub-total	*634 (49%)*	*654(51%)*	*1288(100%)*
Inland Cities	Xi'an	48	24	72
	Chengdu	101	38	139
	Guilin	121	33	154
	Kunming	117	36	153
	Sub-total	*387(75%)*	*131(25%)*	*518(100%)*

Source: Zhang (2004)

- The number of events varied between coastal and inland cities. Four coastal cities held 1,288 festivals and cultural and sports events, while the figure for the 4 inland cities was 518.

- Compared with the coastal cities, inland cities relied more on festivals than on cultural and sport events. The probable reasons for these differences relate to: (a) physical infrastructure - cultural and sport events require more specialised facilities such as stadiums and theatres, which are not as readily available in the inland cities; and (b) skills infrastructure - operation, management, and marketing related to cultural and sport events require more professionally-skilled staff than do festivals, and coastal cities had a staffing advantage over the inland cities.

- Festivals and events in inland cities are themed more on local culture and traditions such as food, fishing, martial arts, and native operas. The influence of such themes would be limited to a regional or national level. On the other hand, coastal cities hosted more national or international events (e.g., Beijing Marathon, Tennis Masters Cup Shanghai).

Challenges Facing Festivals and Special Events in China

There are no detailed statistics available on the number and size of festivals and special events held in China, even though festivals and special events are common in many cities. For example, in 2002, it was reported that there were 32 festivals held in the city of Qingdao in Shandong Province, which meant that, on average, a new festival would be staged every 12 days (Worker's Daily, 2003). The trend of hosting festivals to attract external attention and investment has also expanded to remote

small cities and towns. According to figures from the Tourism Administration of Gansu (GTA), one of the least-developed provinces located in Northwest China, 26 festivals were planned for 2004, of which 18 were directly organised by local government or administrative bodies (GTA, 2004).

Although a large number of festivals and special events are held, not many can be regarded as successful in terms of real outcomes and impacts. Thus far, few events have attracted international attention or have developed an international reputation (Wu, 2003). In addition to the short development history, reasons for this are summarised as follows:

Improper Organising Bodies with Misleading Aims and Objectives

As mentioned above, the majority of festivals and special events in China are directly organised by various levels of governments or with government support. Often, ideas for introducing new festivals and events come from senior officials rather than from market research (Workers' Daily, 2003). Before implementation, little or no market research is conducted about whom the event would be held for and what kinds of events audiences and tourists are expected. The primary aim is often to solicit and negotiate investment from external sources. An event with celebrities, who are often invited and paid by government bodies, may attract regional or even national media coverage. As a result, the hosting of festivals and events has become an instrument to gain political advantage at both the administration and officials' levels. However, external investment deals, which are sought during the event, often fail to materialise (Worker's Daily, 2003). Also, when events take place, local businesses are often forced to participate or pay sponsorship to the organising government bodies in order

to make the event look successful. This, in turn, leads to dissatisfaction and less local support (Wu, 2003). At the same time, with somewhat misleading grand spectacles and trade figures, the interests of local residents and tourists are ignored. High admission fees and lack of participant activities led to a decrease in interest and enthusiasm for such events. Fortunately, in some cities, organisers have recognised this situation, and consequently visitor-centred festivals with more celebration and leisure purposes have appeared. For example, the Beer Festival in Qingdao cancelled admission fees at some venues in 2003 (Xinhua, 2004). In other cities, market-oriented events have emerged. In 2002, the Folk Song Festival held in Nanning, Guangxi started to adopt a company-running model and succeeded in meeting its objectives (People's Daily, 2002).

Lack of Distinct Themes and Features

Festivals and events, especially those that are periodic, must take a long-term perspective on their themes and programmes, including consideration of the lifecycle of events and programme elements (Getz, 1997). However, inefficiency and similar themes have led to several festivals and events in China coming to a premature end (People's Daily, 2002; Wu, 2003). Wu (2003) noted there were many identical and indistinguishable events when he identified more than a dozen tea festivals throughout China.

In summary, modern China's festival and event industry has developed during the past two decades. Despite the rapid growth of festival and events tourism, it is still in its infancy. Festival and special events have been held primarily for image-making purposes and for political advantage rather than as a tourism attraction. Often, the

roles of different stakeholders are misplaced in many festivals and event activities. When compared with the hotel and tour operation sectors, there is more direct government involvement in the festival and events sector, but that involvement has tended to lack systematic planning and guidelines to manage their activities. In addition, local residents' and tourists' needs and reactions have not been paid adequate attention, while interests by organisers and government are more focused on issues such as a city's image and attracting external investment. The adoption of market-oriented event strategies will provide one option for developing sustainability of the event sector in China.

2.5 Olympic Games, China, and Beijing 2008

The Olympic Games began in ancient Greece nearly 3,000 years ago (Toohey & Veal, 2000). The earliest records of the Olympic Games indicate that they were held as early as 776 BC and celebrated once every four years, until AD 393, when the Roman Emperor Theodosius I, a Christian, abolished them because of their links to Zeus (Senn, 1999). In their ancient form, while they celebrated physical excellence, they served primarily a religious purpose. Today, while they are still ostensibly about physical excellence, the Games play a cultural and economic role, and often a political one too (Toohey & Veal, 2000).

Young (1996) noted that the history of the modern Olympic Games' emergence is a story of independent, but inter-connected, revivals, starting with the staging of the Athens Olympics in 1896. After a century of development, the Olympic Games have become the largest and most significant sporting event in the world. Moreover, the role of the Games is not limited just to the sporting field, but in various aspects of human activities, such as business and technological innovation (Toohey & Veal, 2000). They are also regarded as economic, cultural, and political phenomena. Various interests see them as a media event, a tourism attraction, a marketing opportunity, a catalyst for urban development and renewal, a local image creator and booster, an inspiration for youth, and a force for peace and international understanding. It is arguably these added non-sporting roles that make the Olympic Games unique. Indeed, their survival probably depends on the continued function of these roles (Toohey and Veal, 2000).

One of the most important concepts for the Olympic movement is "*Olympism,*" or the Olympic Spirit. It concerns culture and social improvement by cultivating a sports spirit. The IOC has defined Olympism as:

> *"…a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy found in effect, the education value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles" (IOC, 2004, p. 9).*

However, the main reasons that cities and nations, and their governments, bid for the Olympic Games concern the promise of positive impacts. Today the Olympic symbol (5 Olympic rings) is probably the most widely-recognised logo in the world. Meenaghan (1997) reported that a market research study conducted in 9 countries showed that even outside the Games period, about 80% of the general public identified the rings with the Olympic Games, ahead of commercial logos such as those of Shell and McDonald's. Clearly, such world-wide recognition has enormous commercial potential. It is always anticipated that the Games will bring increased incomes and jobs to the host city, region and country. Toohey and Veal (2000) indicated that this is the primary motive for many individuals and organisations involved with promotion of the Games. Kasimati (2003) has reviewed the Olympic Games' impacts since the 1984 Los Angeles Games from economic, tourism, and employment perspectives. Haynes (2001) studied the economic impact of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. Both of the studies highlighted the Olympic Games' significant roles in the promotion of the host economy with the impacts extending well beyond the actual period of the events.

In addition to the economic impact of the Games, there are considerable political (at both intra-national and international levels) and physical/environmental benefits that entice many cities and nations to bid for the Olympic Games. The 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul were expected by the Korean government and its organiser to be a means of improving Korea's international image after the country's political unrest in 1987 (Richter, 1989). Also, the Games were perceived as a means of overcoming the poor image of Korea in the international tourism market. To promote the Games' social and cultural functions, each Olympic Games has been required by the IOC to organise a cultural programme that promotes harmonious relations, mutual understanding and friendship among the participants and others attending the Olympic Games (IOC, 2004). Since the Barcelona Games in 1992, host cities have organised cultural programmes that span the four years of the Olympiad, rather than merely being focused on during the Games *per se*.

Although the Olympic Games have benefits, they also have definite detrimental effects. For a large part of their history, the Olympic Games have been marred by (sometimes violent) political controversy. While the Olympics have never been without a political dimension, it is nevertheless important to recognise that the use of such mega events to make political statements has gone hand-in-hand with the popularisation of the events and the growth of the media technology. The Olympic Games have become a medium for communication of political discontent. Table 2-4 shows the incidents of political conflicts at the Summer Olympics since 1968.

There have been cases where public opposition to a bid has caused it to be aborted, notably Berlin's bid for the 2000 and Toronto's bid for 1996 (see Toohey & Veal, 2000). Also, after a bid has been successful, continued political and community

support for the Games is not necessarily guaranteed. The question of the public's

rights in participating in decisions about preparations for the Games remains an

unresolved issue (Ritchie & Lyons, 1990).

Table 2-4: Political Protests/Conflicts and the Olympics

Summer Olympics	Political Protest/ Conflict
Berlin (1936)	Manoeuvred by German to promote Nazi fascism
Mexico City (1968)	Black Power salute. Substantial domestic unrest
Munich (1972)	Israeli team massacre by Palestinian terrorists
Montreal (1976)	Boycott by nations over South Africa
Moscow (1980)	Boycott by US & its allies over Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
Los Angeles (1984)	Boycott or partial boycott by some communist countries
Seoul (1988)	Boycott by several communist nations over relations between North and South Korea; substantial domestic unrest
Barcelona (1992)	Substantial domestic unrest (ETA rebellion)
Atlanta (1996)	Centennial Park bombing
Sydney (2000)	Aboriginal protest; environmental group protest
Athens (2004)	Protest against American invasion of Iraq
Beijing (2008)	Human right organisations protest; Tibet separatist protest

Sources: Hall (1992) and various news reports

The Chinese Olympic Committee (COC) recorded the history of China in the

Olympics and its two bids by Beijing for the Olympic Games (see Appendix A). Thus

far, China participated in two Olympic bids (for the 2000 and the 2008 Games).

Unlike other Olympic hosts, both of the bids were strongly backed by the Chinese

Government politically and financially. The total investment directly related to the

2008 Olympic Games amounts to more than US$16 billion (Figure 2-2). As much as

US$30billion could be invested in the city's reconstruction - not just in creating an

all-new Olympic zone, but in adding to basic infrastructure such as sewers, subway

lines and new roads (BBC, 2001). The Central Government provided a subsidy of

US$150million to the BOCOG (Gu *et al.,* 2002) and pledges to exempt BOCOG-related businesses from tax (State Administration of Taxation, 2003).
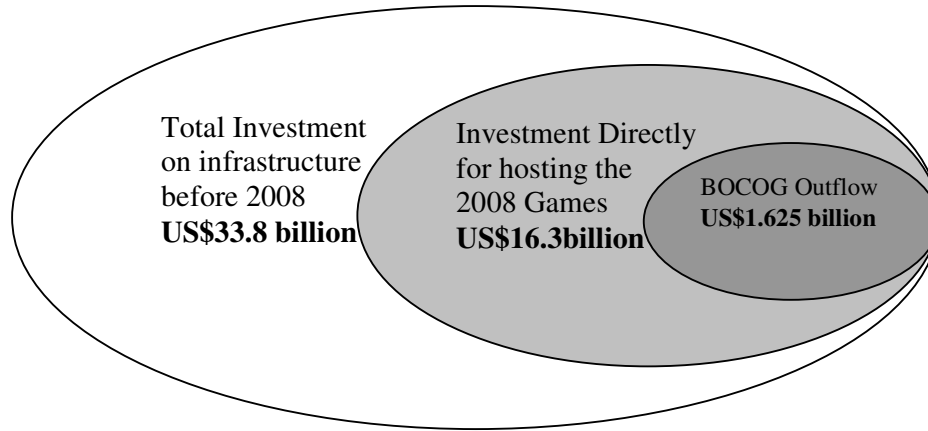
Figure 2-2: Total Investment in Beijing before 2008
Sources: after BOCOG (2001), Wei and Yan (2002) and Gu et al. (2002).

Most Chinese people view the Olympic Games as a landmark that illustrates the narrowing cultural distance between China and the outside world. Indeed, it has been suggested by state media that the success of bidding for and hosting the Games will demonstrate that China has come of age as a member of the international community (BBC, 2001). As a result, support to bid and host the Olympic Games by the general public in Beijing is particularly high - about 94% during the bid process (BOCOG, 2001a). After the success of bidding, Chinese citizens, especially residents of Beijing, have begun to experience impacts of the mega event directly. Consequently, their perceptions towards the impacts of the Games may change. For example, about 6,000 households must be relocated because of the Games (China Daily, 2004b). The everyday lives of these residents have changed in a negative way, and their perceptions toward the Games are likely to be different from those of most others. Therefore, understanding residents' feelings and attitudes towards the Olympic Games by identifying different residents' perceptions is essential, for it can greatly

improve the government's and the organiser's planning and preparation work for the Olympic Games.

In the next chapter, concepts related to perceptions and the theoretical framework of this study – the social representations theory – will be introduced.

Chapter 3

Literature Review:

Perception and Social Representations Theory

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the basic concept of perception and other similar terms (e.g., attitude, value). The theory of social representations is presented as the conceptual framework for studying residents' perceptions in this research. Existing and proposed independent variables affecting residents' perceptions are summarised, and several hypotheses for this study are formulated.

3.2 Social Impact Assessment

Social impact assessment, a major component of overall impact analysis, is essential for understanding the comprehensive impacts of any social development. Commonly, the objective of social impact assessment is to ensure that the development (or planned events) maximise the benefits and minimise the costs of those developments, especially those costs borne by the community (Vanclay, 2003). All-too-often these costs, termed "externalities" by Vanclay (2003), are not adequately addressed by decision makers, regulatory authorities and developers. This may be partly because the costs are not easily identifiable, quantifiable and measurable.

Social impact assessments focus on residents' lives. Both Mathieson and Wall (1982) and Hall (1992) affirmed that social impacts of tourism refer to the changes in the quality of life of destination residents. Hall (1992) pointed out that the social impact of tourism refers to the manner in which tourism and travel effect changes in collective and individual value systems, behaviour patterns, community structures, lifestyle and the quality of life. Moreover, the improvement of the social well-being of the wider community should also be explicitly recognised as an objective of planned tourism interventions, and as such should be an indicator considered by any form of assessment. However, awareness of the differential distribution of impacts among different groups in society, and particularly the impact burden experienced by vulnerable groups in the community, should be of prime concern.

Every social impact assessment is to some degree unique: in a given social development context, a social impact assessment must focus on the specific set of conditions characterising that context. Vanclay (2003) suggested that the role of

social impact analysis in a developed country context is to protect individual property rights, with clear statements of adverse impacts required to ensure that individual rights are not transgressed. In such situations, the assessment tends to concentrate on the negative impacts. However, in other contexts, particularly in developing countries, there should be less emphasis on the negative impacts on small groups of individuals or on individual property rights. Rather, concern should focus on maximising social utility and development potential, while at the same time ensuring that the development is generally accepted by the community as equitable and sustainable.

As already mentioned, there are no universally-accepted criteria for social impact assessment of a development, including mega events. Research on mega events can – and has tended to – follow established lines of general tourism development research. Some of the studies listed above, for example, apply the conceptual framework emphasised by Mathieson and Wall (1982), with objective measurement approaches. While these attempts could provide insights into several quantifiable impacts of events, few in-depth analyses related to residents' attitudes, behaviour, and quality of life could be accomplished that way. An alternative approach is to try to understand the social impact of tourism activities by studying residents' perceptions of tourism. This approach is often used in research into tourism impacts in general, and will be applied in this mega event impact study. The following section will introduce fundamental knowledge about human perception and relevant issues such as attitude, opinion and value.

3.3 Perception and Attitude

In psychology, perception refers to the process that organises various sensations into meaningful patterns. Perception involves activation of association areas in the cortex, thereby integrating prior knowledge with current sensation (Shiraev & Levy, 2004).

Perception formation

The detailed perception formation process is explained by Maclachlan (1989) in advanced psychological terms. In a less complex way, Jandt (2004) suggests human perception is usually thought of as a three-step process of selection, organisation, and interpretation (interpretation involves decoding, or attaching meaning to make sense of what is being perceived). Boone and Kurtz (2001) add that a person's perception of an object or event results from the interaction of two types of factors:

- Stimulus factors – characteristics of the physical object
- Individual factors – unique characteristics of the individual, including not only sensory processes but also experiences with similar inputs plus basic motivations and expectations

Shiraey & Levy (2004) also argue that perception is influenced by socialisation, and point out that the same situation can be perceived quite differently by different people. This view is accepted by several psychological studies, including Jones (1990), Eagly and Chaiken (1993), and Jandt (2004).

Figure 3-1 illustrates the process of human perception formation.   The roles of both the socialisation experience and the individual factor effect during the process are emphasised. These factors work during the entire process. Moreover, their influence fluctuates, revealing that perceptions can change dramatically in a short period of time,

but may return to the level held before the exogenous shock over the long term (Thurstone, 1967).

The process through which people try to understand themselves, other people and their surrounding is called social perception. In this research, the object to be studied is the community's perceptions towards future changes in their surroundings (a mega event that will take place years later). For the sake of convenience, the term "social perception" will be used interchangeably with perception, unless otherwise specified.
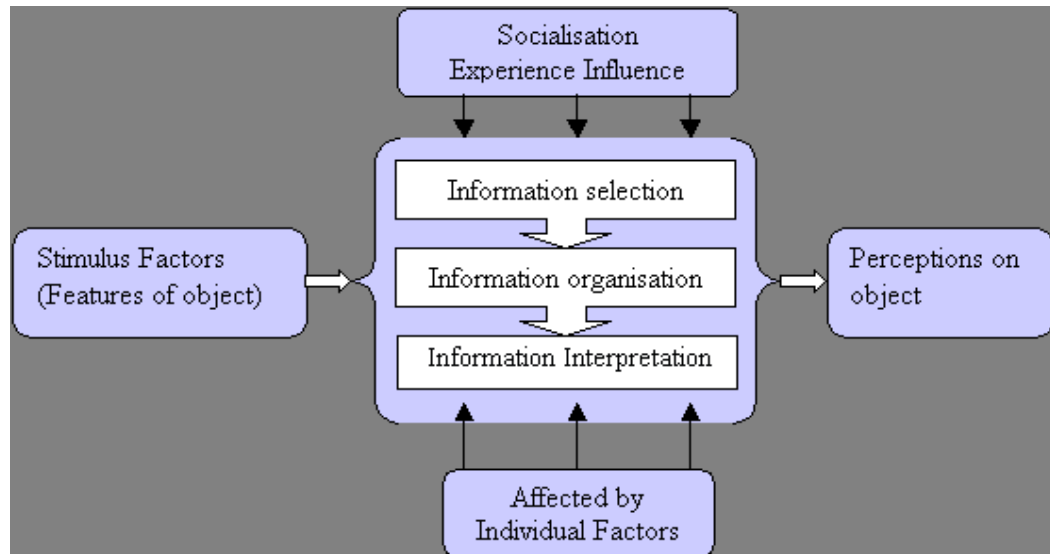
Figure 3-1: The Perception Formation Process
Sources: based on Shiraev & Levy (2004) and Jandt (2004).

A number of internal elements have a bearing on individual perceptions. For example, Bordens and Horowitz (2002) posited that first impressions can have powerful influences on our perceptions of other people, which in turn can bias the interpretation of information received at a later date. It is also known that different people have different thresholds for noticing effects, depending on their ability to hear or smell, or on their belief of what is "exceptional." Moreover, an individual's cultural

background can determine the meanings attached to perceptions. For example, people from different cultural backgrounds can perceive dogs either as food or as pets.

Another way that culture affects perceptions is whether the culture is high or low context. Low context culture refers to one in which little meaning is determined by the context because the message is encoded in an explicit code. High cultures are those in which less needs to be said or written because more of the meaning is in the physical environment or already shared by people (see examples in Table 3-1). Hall (1976, cited in Jandt, 2004) believed that high-context cultures make a greater distinction between insiders and outsiders than do low-context cultures. People raised in high-context systems expect more of others than do participants in low-context systems. That is, high-context cultures decrease the perception of self as separate from the group. For example, when talking about something he has in his mind, a high-context individual will expect his interlocutor to know what's bothering him, so that he does not have to be specific.

Table 3-1: High Context and Low Context Cultures

High Context	*Low Context*
China	Switzerland
Japan	Germany
Korea	North America, including the US
American Indian	Nordic states
Southern and Eastern Mediterranean cultures, such as Greece, Turkey, and Arab states	

Source: Jandt (2004, p.62).

Attitude and Value

When conducting a study on perception, certain similar terms such as attitude and value must be considered and examined to ensure that the understanding of concepts is clear.

Attitude is a psychological representation of various features of the social or physical world. In everyday conversation, attitude can be used to imply some personality characteristic or behaviour pattern that offends people (e.g., teachers may say a student has an "attitude problem"). People also speak of having an attitude about someone or something; in this usage, attitude usually implies feelings that may be either positive or negative (Bordens and Horowitz, 2002). In this study, attitude will in most cases refer to the latter meaning.

Eagly and Chaiken (1993, p.1) define attitude as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour… evaluating refers to all classes of evaluative responding, whether overt or covert, cognitive, affective, or behavioural." The entity referred to in the quotation means the attitude object; in this study, the entity is the current condition (level and type) of tourism/mega events. Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) classified attitude into a three-component model: the cognitive component, the affective component, and the behavioural component. Thus, attitudes can generally be viewed as the triggers of action. However, Pearce, Moscardo and Ross (1996) suggested that attitudes often do not appear to influence or determine actual behaviour. Moreover, Pearce (2000) explained that attitude clarifies three main components: the knowledge of or beliefs about an object or topic; a positive or negative evaluation of that object or topic; and a

direction or imperative on how to behave when the object or topic is encountered. According to this meaning, attitudes can be viewed as a person's enduring favourable or unfavourable evaluation, emotional feelings, or action tendencies towards some object or data. As attitudes form over time through individual experiences and group contacts, they tend to become highly resistant to change.

Value is a concept, closely related to attitude, which is a standard of what is desirable for one's actions. A value has been defined as an "enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end state of existence" (Rokeach, 1973, p.5). These modes of conduct and end states of existence are often referred to as goals and, for this study, outcomes. Similarly, Shiraev and Levy (2004) viewed values as attitudes that reflect a principle, standard, or quality considered by the individuals as the most desirable or appropriate. Generally speaking, values can be viewed as attitudes towards abstract objects, such as "world peace" and "democracy", and thus the distinction between them is largely semantic rather than substantive (Williams & Lawson, 2001). Value is more general than attitude, and can be seen as containing several interrelated attitudes, or summarising clusters of attitudes on a particular topic (Pearce, 2000). Value refers to abstract and all-encompassing objects, and thus influences a much wider range of other attitudes. In social psychology and consumer behaviour, values are usually assumed to be antecedents of attitudes in the sense of cognitions taking place in a hierarchical fashion. It seems intuitively obvious that the importance of higher-order principles (values) will be more of a determinant of attitudes than socio-demographic variables. Commonly, attitude about relatively general concepts affect attitude about more specific objects. That may be the reason

why some scholars do not differentiate between attitudes and values (Williams & Lawson, 2001). For example, Eagly and Chaiken (1993) assert value as attitude towards relatively abstract goals or end states of human existence (e.g., equality, freedom).

Perception and Attitude/Value in Tourism Research

Shiraev and Levy (2004) demonstrated that attitude is not directly observable. The word "attitude" is just a label that helps psychologists better understand social perception and cognition. Getz (1994) noted that attitudes are reinforced by perceptions and beliefs of reality. From a tourism perspective, Williams and Lawson (2001) commented that in the tourism literature the word "attitude" is often used in its colloquial sense. To a social psychologist, what is often viewed as an attitude in tourism would be better termed an opinion. For tourism research, although sometimes interchangeable, perception represents the meaning that each person attributes to incoming stimuli, whereas attitude represents a person's enduring favourable or unfavourable evaluations, emotional feelings, or pro/con action tendencies to some object or idea (Kurtz & Boone, 1987). That could be one reason why Ap (1990; 1992) preferred to use the term "perception" rather than "attitude." He argued that residents might attribute meaning to the impacts of tourism without necessarily having knowledge or enduring predispositions. Therefore, the term "perception" is adopted for use in this study. Actually, in most tourism literature, particularly in subjective impact studies, most authors use the two terms interchangeably (e.g., Keogh, 1990; Perdue, Long, & Allen, 1990; Smith & Krannich, 1998; Besculides, Lee, & McCormick, 2002; Lee & Back, 2003; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004).

3.4 Theoretical Frameworks of Resident Perceptions

Scholars have suggested that, although the social impacts of tourism development have been studied extensively, they should be investigated in more geographical locations, in order to develop a foundation for new hypotheses in the development of a theory of the social impacts of tourism (King, Pizam, & Milman, 1993). However, it is not easy to derive theory from individual tourism impact studies, since each individual case brings with it many idiosyncratic peculiarities (Tosun, 2002).

Several models have been developed to explain the impacts of tourism and their relationships with residents' perceptions and attitudes. Doxey explains host-guest interactions and relationships via the irritation index (also known as "Irridex"), which entails a four-stage process: euphoria, apathy, irritation, and antagonism – a progression that moves along as perceived costs outweigh the real or expected benefits (Tosun, 2002). Long, Perdue and Allen (1990) support this model and conclude that resident attitudes begin favourably, but later reach a threshold after which support for the development declines.

A similar model, TOV (time and outcome valuation), was originally developed by Mowen & Mowen (1991) from a marketing decision-making perspective. It was also applied to analyse residents' perception and attitude changes by several authors. This model tracks changes of human perception: when outcomes occur in the future, outcome optimism is predicted because of the relatively greater valuation of gains. When outcomes are expected to occur in the present or near future, losses loom greater than gains, leading to risk aversion. For this reason, this model is also called future optimism theory.

Butler (1980) developed a well-known stage-related model, called the destination lifestyle model, by differentiating tourism development among five stages: evolution; involvement; development and consolidation; stagnation; and decline or rejuvenation. Although it focuses on the more general issue of the evolution of tourism areas, the model considers residents and community's attitudes towards tourism as part of wider issues of development. This model claims that social impacts emerge in stages of consolidation and stagnation. As Butler (1980) mentioned, "the large number of visitors and the facilities provided for them can be expected to arouse some opposition and discontent among permanent residents" since at the stagnation stage "capacity levels for many variables will have been reached or exceeded with attendant environmental, social and economic problems" (1980, p.8). However, some evidence, such as King, Pizam, and Milman's (1993) case study in Fiji, suggests that in spite of very high levels of development and contact with tourists, residents still perceive the development to be positive. Moreover, this stage-related model is also argued to be very difficult to operationalise to measure residents' perceptions of social impacts because of the various destination characteristics involved (John, Snepenger, & Akis, 1994).

Social exchange theory described by Ap (1990; 1992) has been recognised as a significant contribution that can be applied to examine residents' reactions to tourism. It has been widely used to examine the relationships between and among the perception of benefits, costs, impacts, and support for tourism (Ap, 1990; Lindberg & Johnson, 1997; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004). The theory is appropriate for developing an understanding of these perceptions and attitudes, presenting a framework to explain the relationship between individual benefits and

perceptions of economic development (Perdue, Long, & Allen, 1990). Madrigal (1993) stated the theory provides:

> "… An economic-like analysis of interaction that focuses on the exchange and mutual dispensation of rewards and costs between actors. The underlying assumption of exchange is that actors behave in a way that maximises the rewards and minimises the costs they experience" (1993, p.338).

According to social exchange theory, as a social process, exchange is recognised to define the touring encounter (i.e., the social interactions of travel) between hosts and guests. Sutton (1967, cited in Ap, 1992) suggested the encounter is asymmetrical and unbalanced in character: it "may provide either an opportunity for rewarding and satisfying exchanges, or it may stimulate and reinforce impulses to exploitation on the part of host and to suspicion and resentment on the part of the visitors" (Ap, 1992, p. 667).

Social exchange theory is useful in understanding and predicting the behaviour of individuals in an interactive situation. This theory assumes that one's perception is affected by how he/she perceives the exchange he/she is making (Gursoy, Jurowski, & Uysal, 2002). As applied to residents' perceptions towards tourism development, social exchange theory stipulates that they seek benefits in exchange for something estimated as equal to the benefits they offer in return, such as resources provided to tourism developers, tour operators, and tourists. What residents offer additionally in this exchange includes their support for appropriate development, being hospitable, and tolerating inconveniences created by tourism such as pollution, traffic congestion and queuing for services. If locals perceive that the benefits are greater than the costs,

they are inclined to be involved in the exchange, and thus endorse future development in their community (Allen, Hafer, Long, & Perdue, 1993).

However, it can be argued that people may suffer difficulties when applying the social exchange theory to explain residents' perceptions. Pearce *et al.* (1996) summarised three problems characterising the theory: (1) This theory is based on an assumption that humans are "systematic information processors," whereas psychological research suggests that in some cases it is more likely that they are "cognitive misers" (Taylor, 1981, cited in Pearce *et al.* 1996); (2) Much of an individual's knowledge is socially acquired, rather than the result of direct experience emphasised by social exchange theory; and (3) People's perceptions are formed within a societal and historical context, not simply determined by provisional judgement. Obviously, these three problems imply that social exchange theory is somewhat idealistic and tends to place individuals into a social isolation continuum but ignores external influences. However, individuals in contemporary society do not live in a vacuum world, where little or no social influence exists. Influence from social interactions is virtually inescapable when assessing individuals' perceptions and attitudes towards social affairs such as event or tourism development.

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, although it has been asserted to be extendable and modifiable to group situations, the social exchange theory is mostly regarded as a mechanism which can operate at individual level, but is challenged to its applicability in connecting individual-level perception form process (which is grounded on individual's rewards-costs judgment) to community/collective level. In contrast, the Theory of Social Representations, which will be presented in the following sections, is specifically concerned with understanding everyday knowledge,

and how people apply this knowledge and common sense to understand the community in which they live and thereby to guide their actions and decisions. This process has been suggested to have a powerful influence on people's perceptions, beliefs, decisions and actions. Moreover, social representations theory has been proposed by researchers from several disciplines as particularly valuable for explaining social conflict or reactions to salient social issues (Pearce *et. al.,* 1996). Mostly for these reasons, the theory of social representations was applied in this thesis to assist with investigating the community-Olympics relationship, as well as to understand the social explanations and dynamics of the introduction of a mega event into a community.

3.5 Theory of Social Representations

The theory of social representations admittedly draws on Durkheim and has parallels to the work of several sociologists of the last century (Moscovici, 1984; Gaskell, 2001). According to Moscovici (1973, cited in Moscardo & Pearce, 2003), social representations are:

> "Cognitive systems with a logic and language of their own… They do not represent simply 'opinions about', 'images of' or 'attitudes towards' but 'theories' or 'branches' of knowledge in their own right, for the discovery and organisation of reality" (1973, p,xii).

Moscovici (1984:19) pointed out that in a classic sense, the theory is an explanatory device. "They refer to a general class of ideas and beliefs (science, myth, religion, etc.)…that need to be described and to be explained; they are specific phenomena which are related to a particular mode of understanding of any communicating - a mode which creates both reality and common sense." Essentially, the theory assumes that social phenomena do not occur as something outside the individual, but rather within a dynamic process of interaction and communication. Thus, a social phenomenon is not merely a backdrop against which individual processes are fore grounded. This social entity (whether society, culture, or group) and the individual are not conceived as opposite universes. On the contrary, just as the social phenomenon shapes the contents of individual minds, so too is the social phenomenon a product of communication and interaction between individual minds. The "thinking society" typified by interpersonal and mediated communication is the arena where reality is constructed and negotiated. Moreover, as Moscovici (1984) affirms, the

images, ideas and languages shared by a given group always appear to dictate the initial direction and expedient by which the group tries to come to terms with the unfamiliar. At the same time, social thinking owes more to convention and memory than to reason, more to traditional structures than to current intellectual or perceptive structures. Therefore, Moscovici (1983, 1984) defines social representations as systems of preconceptions, images and values that have their own cultural meanings and persist independently of individual experience.

Representation is basically a system of classification and denotation, of allotting categories and names. The purpose of representations is to make something unfamiliar, or unfamiliarity itself, familiar. That is to say, the act of re-presentations is a means of transferring what disturbs people, what threatens the universe, from the outside to the inside, from far off to near by. The transfer is affected by separating normally linked concepts and perceptions and setting them in a context where the unusual becomes usual, where the unknown can be included in an acknowledged category (Gaskell, 2001).

Moscovici (1983; 1984) holds that to make those unfamiliar words, ideas or beings usual, close and actual, it is necessary to set in motion two mechanisms of a thought process based on memory and foregone conclusions. The first mechanism strives to *anchor* strange ideas, to reduce them to ordinary categories and images, to set them in a familiar context. The purpose of the second mechanism is to *objectify* them, which is to turn something abstract into something almost concrete, to transfer what is in the mind to something existing in the physical world. These mechanisms make the unfamiliar familiar, the first by transferring it to people's own particular sphere where they are able to compare and interpret it, the second by reproducing it among the

things people can see and touch and thus control. The following section is about how these two mechanisms function.

To anchor is to classify and to name something. Classifying and naming are two aspects of the anchoring of representations. By classifying what is not classifiable, naming what is unnameable, one is able to imagine it, to represent it. To some degree, neutrality is forbidden by the very logic of a system where each object and being must have a positive or a negative value and assume a given place in a clearly graded hierarchy. Classifications are created by comparing individuals to a prototype generally considered to represent a certain class, and the former is defined by his approximation to, or coincidence with, the latter (Moscovici, 1984;1988).

Objectification is about taking abstract concepts or ideas and making them ordinary and concrete, and is concerned with building up images of the concept or idea. That is, objectification gives a *tangible* form to the abstract idea (Gaskell, 2001). It saturates the ideas of unfamiliarity with reality, turns it into the very essence of reality. Perceived at first in a purely intellectual, remote universe, it then appears before one's eyes, physical and accessible, and then perhaps becomes describable to others.

The interaction between individuals and their social or cultural world is central to social representations theory, and arguably it is this feature that gives the theory its power. Jaspars and Fraser (1984) affirm that by means of social representations, people can establish an order that enables individuals to orient themselves in their material and social world and to master it. Moreover, social representations enable communication to take place among members of a community by providing them

with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual's and group history.

Based on the above analysis, a theoretical model is developed for this study (Figure 3-2). The model provides a detailed explanation of the process whereby social representations are formed and of the relationship between social representations and behaviours (outcomes). It also reflects the links between the individual and the group. In this model it can be seen that cultures and groups can exert both direct control over actions (through such mechanisms as rules and regulations), and indirect control (through socialisation and the sharing of social representations) on an individual. Individual actions can also influence social representations through both a direct path (where groups must deal with the outcomes of the actions of its individual members) and an indirect path through changes to individual social representations and personal influence (Pearce *et al.,* 1996). Moreover, the model emphasises that social representations are formed and influenced under certain social and economic environments and they (Social Representations) feed back to the environment by individual or collective behaviours and outcomes. There are three main sources working together to shape people's social representations: (1) direct experiences in diverse locations, (2) integrated effects of the mass media in their multiple forms, and (3) conversation and social interaction in its various levels. These three processes constitute the sources of knowledge about the society. It is assumed that a series of elements (e.g., demographic factors, political self-identification, community attachment, involvement, proximity, etc.; see Section 3.7) are embraced in these sources and act mutually to shape people's social representations (as depicted by dashed arrows in Figure 3-2). Testing the relationship between different social

representations (i.e., perceptions) and these assumed elements (i.e., variables) will be one of the objectives of this study; hence, several related hypotheses will be proposed in the following section.
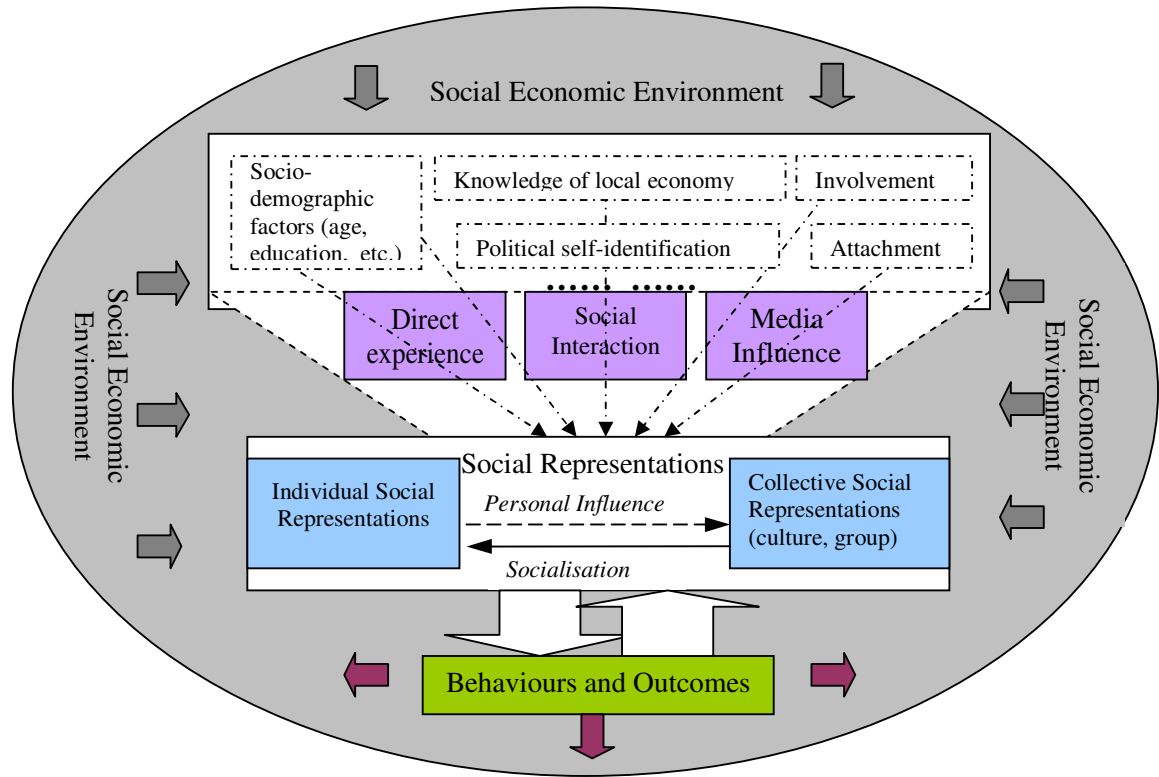
Figure 3-2: Social Representations Conceptual Framework

Sources: based on Dann (1992) and Pearce et al. (1996)

Direct experience provides more information under individual control than any other source. Existing representations have strong prescriptive powers, but Fredline and Faulkner (2000) found that direct experience of an event provides more information on which to base local residents' perceptions. It may be a catalyst for change, as people often question inconsistencies between prevailing social representations and actual experience or observations (Pearce *et al.,* 1996). Moreover, direct experience

will persist over time as an organiser of people's social representations. When direct experience with a phenomenon is inadequate, other sources of social representations will have more effect.

Social interaction here refers to conversations with family, friends, workmates, casual acquaintances and strangers. This is a powerful means of transmission of social representations, and is closely related to group membership. People are likely to follow ideas from groups that have similar social features, and consequently social representations tend to keep stable in this way. Within the group, not all members have the same exposure or contact with the object that is the basis of the representation. In this regard, the media, political figures, and other important individuals and groups are likely to be important references. Likewise, there may be a situation where people are to be members of various groups and where such groups may have different representations. Under such a circumstance, individuals may be forced to reconcile contradictory positions by leaving some groups or repositioning their own representations (Dougherty, Eisenhart, & Webley, 1992, cited in Fredline & Faulkner, 2000).

The media has the potential to influence people's perceptions through the actual content of stories, as well as through their selection of stories to report or not report. Moreover, as Pearce *et al.* (1996) observed, the media can provide residents with content of their social representations, including analogies, metaphors and visual images. That is, the media presents opposing interpretations of some public affairs or social issues so that different social representations can be displayed. In addition, presentations of public affairs or social issues in a content of conflict between various

groups can give salient groups identity and, through social identification, influence an individual's perceptions and attitudes.

3.6 Perception and Social Representations of Tourism

As discussed in the above sections, the framework of social representations is a theory that links individuals and groups, and operates on both individual and community levels. It can explain how various groups of people understand and respond to social affairs. It is particularly appropriate when the topic of study involves multiple social perspectives or accompanies conflicts because of potential change and uncertainty. For this reason, by identifying the different types and content of the social representations that different groups hold, local community perceptions of and reactions to an upcoming mega event (e.g., the Beijing 2008 Olympics) can be well understood.

There is a need to identify social representations of tourism in a variety of ways, to seek consensus and commonality in community responses and to distinguish group differences. Fredline and Faulkner (2000) suggested that the key to identifying social representations within a community is to identify commonality or consensus of residents' perceptions. More specifically, Pearce *et al.* (1996) list three criteria that can be applied to establish and identify social representations:

1. The commonality or consensus that exists among members of a community or subgroup;

2. The connection or network of links between the impacts and related ideas; and

3. The notion that there is a central cluster or core of images serving to portray the social representations.

From a tourism development perspective, there may be several social representations of tourism that co-exist in one destination. Similar response groups in relation to certain issues can be identified and clearly differentiated, and then the psycho-demographic profiles of various groups can be highlighted. In addition, some research verifies that residents respond differently to different tourists (e.g., Ross, 1992), while other studies confirm that residents have differing attitudes towards different types of tourism development. Ritchie's (1998) study about residents' support from two Canadian provinces for a range of types of tourism development showed residents' support diversified according to different types of tourism (Table 3-2).

Table 3-2: Residents Support for Types of Tourism Development

Type of Tourism Development	A: Strongly Support (%)	B: Support (%)	A+B (%)
Festivals	33.1	61.4	94.5
Historic sites/museums	41.3	53.1	94.4
Camping/hiking facilities	41.9	50.7	92.6
Cultural events	34.4	58.0	92.4
Major events	**44.9**	**45.2**	**90.1**
Adventure activities	29.5	57.9	87.4
Theme parks	22.7	52.7	75.4
Casinos	7.3	27.0	34.3

Source: Ritchie (1988: 207).

Following this logic of seeking patterns, researchers can cluster and measure a community's attitudes towards tourism. In this way, Davis *et al.* (1988) clustered five groups of responses that were labelled as haters (16%), cautious romantics (21%), "in-betweeners" (18%), love "em for a reason" (26%), and lovers (20%). The study also

examined differences between the clusters in terms of age, gender, education, occupation and so on. Concerning attitudes towards tourism, significant differences between clusters were found for the variables of respondent's knowledge of tourism and birthplace (locally born or not). Madrigal (1995) analysed data he collected from two different types of cities (the rural city Sedona in Arizona, United States, and the historic urban city York in England) in a similar manner. He labelled three clusters on the basis of residents' positive or negative perceptions of tourism development as haters (31%), realists (56%), and lovers (13%).

These notable cluster analyses, where the respondents were asked to rate the sets of perceptual statements, have been used as a basis for identifying groups with similar response patterns and therefore similar perceptions of tourism. In this manner, the different groups reflect incompatible social representations of tourism development. Meanwhile, the social representations approach also prompts people to consider how the recipients of the communication might filter the information according to their identity and the social group to which they belong (Moscardo & Pearce, 2003). Consequently, the approach can be employed to identify groups with relatively similar perceptions. Thus different social representations can be better understood and appropriate implementations conducted.

Although the social representations theory has been applied in a number of tourism studies, the majority were within the general tourism development context. In these cases, community members involve their lives in the development directly and consistently. A community's social representations towards a one-time mega event such as the Olympic Games (it is often treated as a one-time event for individual host cities) may have some distinctive features, for the event is limited to certain

time and location frames and its impacts may be terminable. This is another reason for applying social representations theory in an effort to understand a local community's perceptions of a mega event and its impacts.

3.7 Variables Affecting Perceptions of Tourism

Granberg (1993) raised an important question concerning the study of perception: Is the perceptual process determined by external conditions or by a perceiver's internal features? Specifically for the current study, are the qualities people ascribe to the impact of the 2008 Olympics determined by the Games' actual features or the image of the event transmitted by means of the mass media? Alternatively, are perceptions of the Games and its impacts determined more by the values, attitudes, beliefs and other properties inside the minds of the individual perceivers? To answer this question, both categories of stimuli will be examined.

As a step towards synthesising various perspectives that influence residents' perceptions of tourism, Faulkner and Tideswell (1997) introduced two broad dimensions of the tourism development/community interface:

1. The intrinsic dimension, which refers to characteristics of members of the host community that affect variation in perceptions of the impacts of tourism within the community; and

2. The extrinsic dimension, which refers to characteristics of the location with respect to its role as a tourist destination, including the nature and stage of tourism development and the types of tourists involved (Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997, p.6).

Faulkner and Tideswell (1997) also listed a number of variables associated with each dimension. Other scholars, including Um and Crompton (1987), Lankford

and Howard (1994), Ryan and Montgomery (1994), and Gursoy and Rutherford (2004) have added related variables, which are summarized in Table 3-3.

Table 3-3: Variables Related to Resident's Perception toward Tourism

Intrinsic variables	Extrinsic variable
Demographic factors	Stage of tourism development
Attachment	Type of tourists / type of attractions
Involvement	Seasonality
Political self-identification	
Proximity/distance	
Knowledge of tourism and local economy	

Sources: Faulkner & Tideswell (1997); Ryan & Montgomery (1994); Gursoy & Rutherford (2004)

The variables listed above are readily accessible through secondary sources. Additional factors may relate to residents' perception, but were not detected widely. For example, concerning the influence of residents' political standpoint towards tourism, the only systematic study was a 5-page research note by Snepenger and Johnson (1991). In their paper, political self-identification as an influential factor was introduced by judging resident's political position (liberal or conservative). Unfortunately, no follow-up research has been found. Actually, political influence on people's perception and behaviour is inevitable, and cannot be ignored. Hopefully, from a mega event perspective, variables that affect residents' perceptions of destination tourism development can be identified in this study. In the following sub-sections, a set of relevant variables' roles in previous tourism perception research are summarised and discussed, and hypothesises for this study are posed accordingly.

3.7.1 Political Standpoint (political self-identification)

As already mentioned, few systematic studies relating to political perspectives have been conducted in the field of perceived tourism impact analysis. Snepenger and

Johnson (1991) introduced the term "political self-identification" to examine the relationship between residents' political standpoints and their perception of tourism development. Originally, political self-identification was a frequently-employed variable in studies dealing with voting behaviour and the perceived role of government in society. Elsewhere, it has been adopted in the social sciences as a key indicator to assess citizens' lifestyles.

Political self-identification is often of particular value when studied in conjunction with a policy issue. Because tourism development is frequently closely related to government planning, regulation, and promotion, political self-identification could be correlated with one's perceptions of the outcomes of tourism development on the host community. Snepenger and Johnson (1991) have observed consistent relationships between political self-identification and perceived social impacts of tourism. The three most applied political groups (conservatives, moderates, and liberals) tend to differ on issues such as whether (1) meeting tourists is a valuable educational experience; (2) tourism encourages local cultural activities; and (3) tourism results in more cultural exchange between local residents and tourists. Similarly, certain environmental impact indicators also vary with political self-identification. Snepenger and Johnson (1991) concluded that liberals believe tourism enhances the quality of life and that they tend to support tourism development. In contrast, conservatives tend to favour either a *status quo* position or at least are less supportive of tourism development than liberals and attempt to retain the existing economy.

In the US context, Snepenger and Johnson (1991) also suggested that (1) voting patterns in tourism areas, (2) political activities (i.e., voter registration, active participation in political races, party membership) in tourism-dependent regions, (3)

the nature of residency turnover and activity, and (4) political culture are all promising areas in understanding residents' perceptions of tourism development. Unfortunately, no subsequent research in this field was found, except a recent study conducted by Fredline, Deery, and Jago (2005). This study reported that there was no significant difference in residents' impacts response existed among respondents from an Australian community who were identified with specific political parties.

The common categories for political self-identification are conservatives, moderates, and liberals. For example, the NES (National Elective Studies) of the United States, based at the University of Michigan, adopted a 7-point scale to measure electorate's self-identification during the past three decades (NES, 2003). However, as mentioned in Appendix B, most Chinese cannot correctly understand the original meaning of conservatism and liberalism. The conservative/moderate/liberal triad, originally formulated to categorise European thought in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, is not a close fit for twenty-first century China. There is major difference in meaning between the *actual* concept of liberalism and the literal sense of the term in Chinese. *"Ziyouzhuyi*,*"* the Chinese translation of liberalism, sounds morally suspect - it brings to mind the Taoist retreat from public affairs and antisocial self-interest rather than Western images of personal rights and responsibilities. The term has further been demonised in CPC's propaganda as essentially an anti-party personality defect in individuals that will lead to social chaos (Cheek & Lindau, 1998, p. 232).

Even for the minority of citizens who acknowledge that liberalism has meanings different from what Cheek and Lindau (1998) suggested, various understandings of liberalism exist as well. Compared to those in Western society, most Chinese liberals

are attracted to classical rather than modern liberalism. Economic freedom, constitutionalism, the rule of law and limited government (a minimal state), individualism, and an open society are of utmost importance to Chinese liberals now (Liu, 2000). Compared with modern liberalism, classical liberalism in the Chinese context has similarities to contemporary conservatism. Therefore, it is difficult and inefficient to judge Chinese political standpoints using the liberal-conservative categorisation.

Several sociologists (e.g., Liu, 2000; Wei & Liu, 2001; Finlayson, 2003; Guo, 2004) have suggested that the nationalism/liberalism categorisation has more significance and practicability in China. The author of this study consulted and was advised by several notable Chinese scholars (based in the China Research Centre at the Chinese University of Hong Kong) that the liberal-conservative classification is not well suited to the Chinese context. In contrast, they recommended nationalism-liberalism to differentiate Chinese citizens' political self-identification.

In this study, nationalism is defined as an ideological movement for retaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identify on behalf of the nation (Smith, 1991). Nationalism offers answers to why we should (or should not) feel obliged to others, advances a case for what makes the best form of legitimate government, and suggests something about citizens' relationship to the state. Its central function is to provide an incontestable answer to the question of why we should think of ourselves as living together in certain ways rather than separately, and offers one way in which we might do so. Finlayson (2003) asserted that nationalism answers these questions in ways that are often exclusive - hostile to some people in order to favour others. Wei and Liu (2001) believed that Chinese nationalism is changing from an affirmative call for

rallying around the positive "us" to an assertive defiance against the negative "them."

It is considered pragmatic, defensive, and introspective in orientation. Some scholars

take Chinese nationalism as an assertive and patriotic ideology promoted by the CPC

to legitimise its power and to justify China's military modernisation and territorial

expansion (Wei & Liu, 2001).

Most Chinese liberals are attracted to classical rather than modern liberalism. Thus, of

utmost importance to them now is advocating a limited government, a self-regulating

market and the rule of law, constitutionalism, individualism, and an open society (Liu,

2000; Guo, 2004). Interestingly, although nationalism-liberalism disputants know

well that large-scale democratisation is hardly possible within the current political

structure of the People's Republic of China, they regard liberalism or nationalism,

rather than authoritarianism, as the main obstacle to democratisation (Guo, 2004).

Guo (2004) believes that liberal-nationalist debate in China on nationalism,

democracy and national identity boils down to a dispute over the value of

individuality and collectivity. This dispute is compounded by two important

intervening factors: attitudes towards the CPC/government performance and attitudes

about the West, particularly the US. The nationalists who regard US "human rights

diplomacy" and its attempts to push China towards democratisation as a "peaceful

evolution" conspiracy are not likely to support democratisation wholeheartedly.

Peaceful evolution might be a simple pretext for rejecting democracy (Guo, 2004).

The following hypotheses were formulated based on the preceding discussion. The

operation of judging residents' political self-identification as nationalism or liberalism

follows Guo's (2004) arguments above – by asking residents' opinions about western

countries' rebukes on China's human right issues, and their satisfaction with government performance.

(a) Residents who hold nationalism political self-identification tend to be more supportive of the Olympic Games than self-identified liberalists;

Several scholars have highlighted the limitation of applying political self-identification as a perception indicator. For example, Husbands (1989) reported that social class, especially Marxist class, has proven very difficult to define in practice. He implied educational attainment may be a crucial indicator of social status and class distinctions, and together with age, an indicator of attitudes towards tourism. Similarly, with extensive research experience in China, Dickson (2003) suggested eliminating structural and contextual determinants of behaviour because it is easier to measure socio-economic factors such as education, age, race, and religion. Only after those tangible factors are found incapable of satisfactorily explaining variations in the dependent variable should more subjective variables (such as shared beliefs and values) be included. Therefore, the hypotheses that follow will focus on social-demographic factors

3.7.2 Socio-demographic Characteristics

Fredline and Faulkner (2000) affirmed that demographic characteristics have a bearing on resident perceptions, with those having similar demographic characteristics being more similarly disposed to the society and social changes. For example, Harvey, Hunt and Harris (1995) found that while tourism may provide employment for young people and women, men of the community may perceive that tourism provides them

with few viable, respectable and thus acceptable opportunities for economic livelihood. However, a number of studies have concluded there is no significant relationship between socio-demographic characteristics of a resident population and variation in perceptions of tourism (e.g., Lankford & Howard, 1994; Ryan & Montgomery, 1994; Perdue, Long, & King, 1999). For instance, based on the social exchange theory, Perdue *et al.* (1999) revealed that the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents were not related to the perceived impact of gambling tourism when controlling for personal benefits. Using cluster analysis, Davis *et al.* (1988) tested Florida residents' perceptions of tourism and found no statistically significant relationships between their perceptions and demographic variables including age, sex, length of residence, education, and occupation. Similar results were reported by Ryan and Montgomery (1994) in a UK study. For this reason, Faulkner and Tideswell (1997) excluded these factors when examining Gold Coast (Australia) residents' perceptions of tourism.

However, it must be kept in mind that both of the above studies were conducted in developed countries. Few such studies have been conducted in developing countries. Husbands (1989) reported significant relationships between (1) perception and (2) age and level of education in a developing country (Zambia). Both Husbands (1989) and Faulkner and Tideswell (1997) believed age and education level should be relevant features in the developing country context. In his study of Zambian residents' perceptions of tourism, Husbands (1989) asserted that the level of education attained and the respondent's age were the most important variables associated with perceptions of tourism's effects. This opinion was verified by another study conducted in Africa. Teye *et al.* (2002) observed that residents with higher levels of

education in two Ghanaian cities held more positive attitudes toward tourism development. It is conceivable that they were influenced by print and electronic media, and thus more aware of the potential benefits than were residents with less education.

Therefore, the following hypotheses are proposed:

> *(b) Residents with higher educational backgrounds tend to support the Olympic Games more than those with lower education backgrounds; and*

> *(c) Residents with a higher income level support the Olympic Games more than those with a lower income level.*

3.7.3 Attachment

Several research studies have suggested that attachment to the community is one of the factors that affect people's perceptions of tourism impacts and thus their level of support. However, conflicting findings have been reported on this issue. Generally speaking, residents with the strongest ties to an area - whether through long-term residency, or economic dependency - often have attitudes and perceptions of tourism and its development that are different from those who have weaker ties to an area (Besculides *et al.,* 2002).

McCool and Martin (1994) reported that a sense of belonging to a community is strongly correlated with ratings of both positive and negative impacts. They also found that residents who were strongly attached to their community viewed tourism impacts with more concern than did those who were less attached. Conversely, Um and Crompton (1987) suggested a negative relationship between community

attachment and the perceived impacts. In two more recent studies, Lankford and Howard (1994) and Gursoy *et al.* (2002) were unable to find a clear connection between attachment and perception of impacts.

Gursoy *et al.* (2002) argued the more attached people are to their community, the more likely they are to perceive that the local economy needs assistance. This may be an interpretation of their perception towards the costs and benefits. If people feel that new investments are needed in their region, they are likely to evaluate the benefits more positively and minimize the negative impacts. As a result, residents who express a high level of attachment to their communities are more likely to regard tourism as both economically and socially beneficial (Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004).

Economic dependence almost invariably has an influence on people's perceptions and attitudes. Madrigal (1993) and Lankford and Howard (1994) found that residents benefiting from tourism have a higher level of support for it and hence report more positive impacts. Both Allen *et al.* (1993) and King *et al.* (1993) affirmed a positive relationship between residents' acceptance of tourism and their economic reliance on it. Ap (1992) suggested the members of the host community who have business or employment interests in the tourism industry are generally more positively disposed to it because they trade resulting costs for benefits. In contrast, those who are not involved in tourism derive no substantial direct benefits but who may experience some costs, tend to hold negative perceptions. Similarly, Pizam (1978) found that residents with an economic reliance on tourism agreed more with positive statements about it than those without an economic benefit. Moreover, there was no difference between respondents in the rate of agreement with negative statements about the industry. Thus, residents who derive income from tourism were more enthusiastic

about it, but that does not mean they are unaware of the negative outcomes. It is believed that residents involved in the industry are more likely to encourage tourism than those who are not. However, as King, Pizam, and Milman (1993) pointed out, people who benefit personally from tourism are more likely than others to report negative impacts. For example, Teye *et al.* (2002) demonstrated that having a family member employed in the industry should not automatically be operationalised as a "benefit," as was done in numerous earlier studies that used social exchange theory as their theoretical framework. In addition, they posited that the nature of the employment and the context within which this employment takes place may be theoretically more important.

The following hypothesis was formulated based on the preceding discussion:

> (d) *Residents whose own/family income increased due to the hosting of the Olympic Games tended to be more supportive of the Olympic Games than those whose income was unaffected;*

Length of residence, another element of attachment, has been investigated to test its relationship with perceptions and attitudes of tourism. Brougham and Butler (1981) believed that length of residency in the area, as well as age, tourist pressure and language may be the major influential variables. Allen, Hafer, Long, and Perdue (1993) found that the length of residence in ten US rural towns did not have a significant effect on attitudes towards tourism development. However, Davis, Allen, and Cosenza (1988) found that new residents were more negative about tourism than the natives of the community. Conversely, other researchers reported newcomers are more enthusiastic about tourism (Ryan & Montgomery, 1994). Faulkner and Tideswell (1997) explained this relationship by identifying newcomers' immigration

purpose: people who immigrate to enjoy the seclusion and lifestyle tend to disfavour tourism, while those who come for employment reasons view tourism as an opportunity for careers, thus favouring its development.

 A similar hypothesis is proposed as follows:

> *(e) Residents with longer length-of-residency in Beijing tend to support the Olympic Games more than those with shorter length-of-residency.*

In established destinations, long-term residents have become adapted to tourism, whereas those in emerging destinations are less favourably disposed to the changes brought by tourism (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997). Lankford and Howard (1993) strongly believed that if residents, even long-term natives, feel they can exercise some control over the development process, much of their anxiety regarding tourism development may be dispelled. This leads to another variable related to residents' role in community: involvement.

3.7.4 Involvement

In contrast to the diverse and confused attachment issues influencing perceptions, it is generally believed that resident involvement with decision-making concerning local development influences their attitude toward tourism. Most research shows that when residents are involved with various community activities (self-assessed community involvement), they appear to be more favourably disposed towards community change and development. The level of perceived influence during decision-making processes affects residents' satisfaction with process outcomes (e.g., Madrigal, 1993; Lankford, 1994; Lankford and Howard, 1994). If people feel they have access to the

planning/public review process and that their concerns will be taken into consideration, their apprehension regarding tourism would be reduced and they would tend to be more favourable towards tourism development. Brunt and Courtney (1999) emphasised that, as an important general planning policy to reinforce positive and mitigate negative impacts, the involvement of communities should have its fundamental position in the planning process. That would enable residents to understand tourism, participate in decision-making, and receive benefits from the industry.

However, community involvement in many tourism development projects is not implemented properly. In practice, the acceptance of and emphasis on local participation and on a community approach to tourism development suggested by Murphy (1985) and other scholars is often ignored. Exclusion of community participation is common in developing countries with a top-down development culture, but it is more pronounced when the tourism projects are externally initiated or implemented.

From a political perspective, Granberg (1993) pointed out people can live with a certain amount of dissonance or cognitive imbalance. This is especially true if the issue under consideration is not regarded as highly salient or does not involve the individual's ego. At the same time, if the issue is at the top on the public agenda, and the person regards it personally as the most important issue at the time, then it is unlikely that the individuals would abide with a state of cognitive imbalance.

Sherif and Hovland (1961) developed a well-known theory that is usually applied in the social sciences: Social judgment theory. This theory describes the linkage between

ego-involvement and perception. According to Granberg (1993), ego-involvement is the extent to which the individual personally regards the issue under consideration as important. As ego-involvement increases, it is anticipated that normal tendencies toward assimilation or contrast will be enhanced. For example, residents directly affected by government policies (resident relocation, industry adjustment, etc.) would resist more strongly than those less affected.

Based on the above, a hypothesis related to involvement is formulated:

> **(f)** *Residents who have a greater level of involvement in the Olympic Games (by working for it, consultation, or own interests involvement) tend to be more supportive of the Games than those who do not.*

3.7.5 Distance/Proximity

Previous research noted that residents who live close to attractions have less positive perceptions and/or less favourable attitudes towards tourism and its impacts. For example, both Pizam (1978) and Madrigal (1993) reported that those living close to tourism areas are more negative towards the impacts. After investigating resident perceptions of tourism impacts on their communities in ten New Zealand towns, Williams and Lawson (2001) also concluded that those living close to attractions viewed tourism activities less favourably. Residents expressed a favourable attitude towards tourism growth on the whole, but were less favourable towards the location of specific facilities close to home, primarily because of the problems of traffic and litter (Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004).

Applying a theoretical model based on social exchange theory, Jurowski and Gursoy (2004) undertook a detailed analysis about the relationship between residents' (from 5 counties surrounding the Mt. Rogers National Recreation Area, Virginia, USA) proximity and their perceptions of tourism. They found that: (1) Recreation resource and facility users who lived furthest away from the area were more likely to view benefits more favourably and thus support tourism more than those who lived closest (negative relationship between use of the resource base and perceived benefits from tourism), and (2) Residents who were sensitive to environmental issues and lived closest to attractions appear to be more positive toward tourism than residents with similar environmental attitudes who lived further away. This suggests that a strong ego-centric value within the community close to attractions would not necessarily result in opposition to tourism development.

However, other research provides different evidence about residents' perceptions and attitudes toward tourism related to the issue of proximity. Sheldon and Var (1984) found that residents of North Wales living in high-density tourism areas have more favourable attitudes toward tourism than towards other industries. Perdue *et al.* (1990) found that perception of both positive and negative impacts increase as distance from tourist activity areas decrease. Furthermore, Brougham and Butler (1981) believed that, although some relationships were found between residents in zones of high tourist density, the nature of the relationships were related to different types of tourists.

Based on this discussion, a hypothesis is proposed:

> *(g) Residents who live close to Olympic Venues support the Olympic Games more than those who live far from Olympic Venues.*

Other variables

Variables such as knowledge of the local economy (Lankford & Howard, 1994), development stage (Butler, 1980; King, Pizam, & Milman, 1993) and seasonality (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Pearce, Moscardo, & Ross, 1996) have been studied extensively concerning their influences on residents' perceptions and attitudes toward tourism. However, those factors have little bearing in this case because the current study is examining a one-off event in the community. Consequently, those variables are not included in this research.

3.8 Summary

This chapter defined the concept of perception and several other relevant terms as well. Theoretical works that can help people understand the process of influence on an individual's or a community's perceptions are introduced. Because of its power to explain community perceptions, the Social Representations theory is adopted as the framework of this study, which is aimed at understanding local residents' perceptions towards the impacts of the Olympic Games. A detailed interpretation of the theory is provided. Previous research about people's perceptions of tourism development is reviewed. A number of factors (i.e., independent variables) are outlined. Hypotheses related to community perceptions and the above-mentioned independent variables are proposed based on the literature review. This chapter, together with Chapter 2, shapes the research's academic framework and provides the bases of the research. In the following chapter, the research methods applied in this study will be presented.

Chapter 4

Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Research methodology covers all aspects of data collection and interpretation. It includes the research design, the research instrument and the analysis of data (Poynter, 1993). The overall purpose of this study is to investigate how government and residents in Beijing perceive the impacts of the forthcoming 2008 Olympic Games. In this chapter, the author presents the methods used in gathering data from the relevant population and the methods used in analysing those data. Figure 4-1 provides a brief overview of the research process used.

Research Setting

This investigation uses the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games as a case study to identify and examine two stakeholders' (government/organiser and residents) perceptions

towards a mega event and its impacts. In order to provide a broad background to this research, a summary of China's economy, employment, wealth and assignment, political ideology and practice, and social psychology is provided in Appendix B. Considering that mega events can to some degree be viewed as a special tourism phenomenon, the tourism development in China is provided in Appendix C. This appended literature will provide background information and some understanding of the various perceptions, attitudes and behaviours towards the Olympic Games in China.
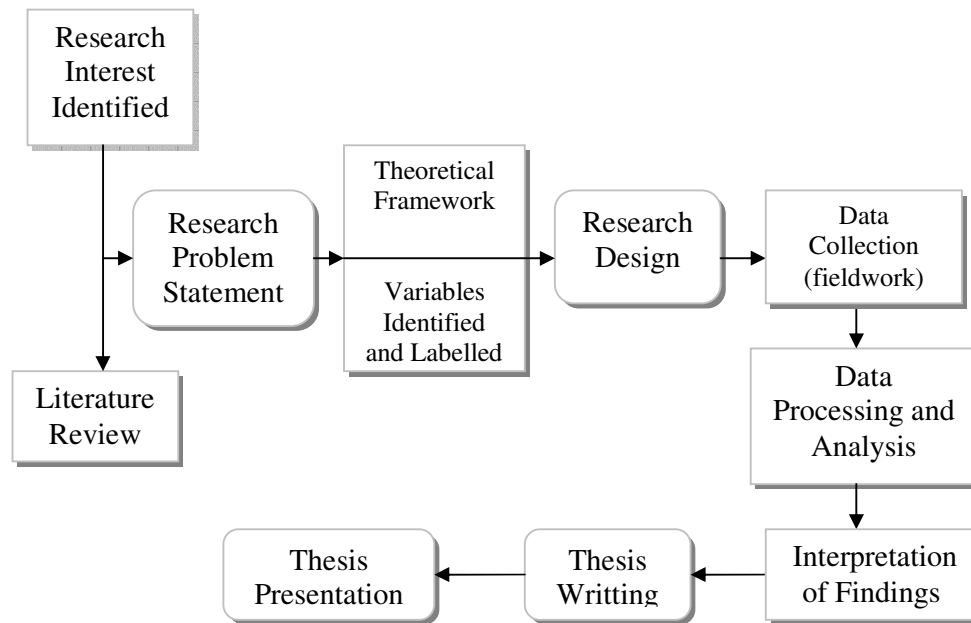
Figure 4-1: The Research Process

Based on Sekaran (2003) and Zikmund (2003)

4.2 Research Design

In this study, a descriptive research design is used which combines two approaches: a qualitative approach to investigate government and organiser's perceptions, and a quantitative approach to measure residents' perceptions towards the impacts of Olympic Games.

The overall purpose of this study is to elucidate government and residents' perceptions towards the impacts of an upcoming mega-event, using the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games as a study case. Yin (1984, 2003) defines a case study as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used. It involves in-depth, contextual analysis of matters relating to similar situations.

In the following paragraphs, the two approaches are described in detail.

Qualitative approach: individual in-depth interview

Individual in-depth interviews were used to obtain information about the official perceptions of the impacts of the Olympic Games. Zikmund (2003) termed this approach a *pilot study* that collects data from the ultimate subjects of the research project to serve as a guide for designing the larger study. Individual in-depth interview offers an opportunity for face-to-face interaction between interviewer and respondent, which helps researchers obtain precise and complete information. The official aims and motives of bidding/staging the Games in Beijing and governments'

perceptions towards the Games have been revealed repeatedly in various mass media. Most reports, including BBC (2001), CNN (2001), and documents from the Organiser (BOCOG, 2001a; 2001b), were released soon after the announcement of Beijing's successful bid. With the latest developments both locally (e.g., Olympic investment adjustment in 2004) and internationally (e.g., the September 11th attacks in the US; the Athens Olympics supplementary budget for expenditure in 2004), these secondary data sources may be dated. Moreover, obtaining primary data from officials and organisers could establish priorities among the research questions, and serve as a basis for the subsequent quantitative study (Aaker, Kumar, & Day, 2004; Zikmund, 2003). That is, through individual interviews with officials and event organisers in this field, some event impact items that had been identified in the literature could be verified; these items can then serve as the basis for the broader quantitative survey to be conducted with residents. Newly identified items of the perceived event impacts are expected to reinforce the instrument of event impact assessment.

In-depth interviews were conducted to explore the Chinese Government's motivations for bidding for and hosting the Olympic Games and their perceptions towards the impacts of the Games. Seven interviewees were invited– the interviewees either work for government bodies (formerly or currently), or had directly involved with the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games (see Table 4-1 in Page 90). At the first interview stage, interviewees were selected by what Guba and Linclon (1989) termed *the maximum variation sampling* approach, which can represent the entire range of variations. This involved defining and selecting the dimensions of variation in the population (government officials relevant to the 2008 Olympic Games). The first three interviewees were strategically selected: one Games organiser official; one

representative from tourism industry administration; and one senior planning official. A snow-balling approach was then adopted, asking the interviewees to introduce or refer more members who were knowledgeable about the topic. The interviewees' profiles are shown in Table 4-1.

Table 4-1: Interviewee Profile

	Interviewee	Interviewee position and characteristic
Maximum Variation sampling (1st stage)	A, male	Director of the Information Centre, Beijing Organisation Committee for the 29thOlympic Games (BOCOG)
	B, male	Ph.D. in Olympic Impacts Research(in Economic and Tourism), former IOC-Grant Researcher, former CNTA (China National Tourism Administration) Research fellow
	C, male	Vice-Director, Beijing Development & Reform Commission, responsible for the Olympic Games planning and Beijing's general development plan.
Snow-balling Sampling (2nd stage)	D, female	Professor, Beijing Sports University, member of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games Bid Committee (2008BOBICO)
	E, male	Retired, Former Vice-President, Secretary-General of COC, Secretary-General of the 2000BOBICO
	F, male	Professor, Executive Director, Olympic Studies Centre, China National Sports Administration
	G, male	Senior Advisor, Beijing Municipal Government (2008 Olympic Games Project)

Face-to-face interviews were conducted in Beijing in August of 2005. All interviews except one were conducted in Chinese Putonghua (the mother tongue of the interviewer and interviewees); the one exception was carried out in English (the interviewee is from Europe, but has worked for the Beijing Government and Olympics projects for decades). The duration of interviews ranged from 40 to 70 minutes. The interview began with the interviewer introducing the topic and asking about the interviewee's work experience with the Olympics. Interview questions focused mainly on respondents' opinions on Chinese governments' motivations of bidding for and hosting the Games, the governments' perceptions and attitudes

towards the impacts of the Olympic Games. They included: *What are the Chinese government's purposes in bidding for and hosting the Olympic Games in Beijing? Do you think these purposes can be achieved? What do you perceive as the benefits of the 2008 Olympic Games? What do you expect the negative impacts of the Games to be?* A semi-structured path was followed during the interview, and leading questions were carefully avoided. The interviews were recorded and transcribed literally, noting pauses, tones, and gestures, etc., as appropriate.

To avoid misinterpretation of the data, member checks (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) and a cross-coding analysis were conducted with the assistance from a Ph.D. student. Data collected by the in-depth interview were analysed through a combined deductive-inductive method (Chambliss & Schutt, 2003). Deductively, the data collected from the interviews were reviewed, coded, and placed into various categories according to the nature of each topic and previous relevant studies. Although several categories were drawn from the literature, a number of new categories were identified inductively during the analysis, which allowed new themes and topics to emerge from the data (Maxwell, 1996). After reviewing the transcripts and matching the topics with the literature, the topics that were reported repeatedly were organised systematically and added to the questionnaire to be used at the next stage of the research. In this way, new items that are rarely reported in previous event impact assessments could be identified to enrich the content of event impact analysis.

It is apparent that government officials (throughout the world) are traditionally reluctant or even unwilling to comment on government behaviour and politics. This unwillingness may be even more pronounced among Chinese government officials, who work under an authoritarian management regime. This is recognised as an

inherent study limitation (see more in Section 4.6), but it must be noted that this study is only exploratory in nature. The exploratory nature of using in-depth interviews is a trade-off for the breadth of information obtained from a small sample (Patton, 1990). In a qualitative study, sample size is not the critical issue, as the main purpose is to gain relevant rather than representative information (Carson, Gilmore, Perry, and Gronhang, 2001), to provide insights into the phenomenon of interest. As such, the findings cannot be generalised to the population at large.

As part of the preparatory work for the resident survey questionnaire, a draft questionnaire designed for the quantitative survey (see Section 4.3) was also provided to interviewees to seek comments and suggestions from them. Their comments and suggestions on the pilot test, together with the questionnaire pre-test outcomes, were used to modify the questionnaire and to ensure the survey's content validity and reliability.

Quantitative approach: Questionnaire survey

In order to identify Beijing residents' general perceptions towards the impacts of the 2008 Olympic Games, and to examine the relationship between residents' perceptions and several independent variables (e.g., attachment, involvement, political self-identification), a quantitative questionnaire survey approach was used.

The unit of analysis refers to the level of aggregation of the collected data during the subsequent data analysis stage (Sekaran, 2003). It is related to the defined research questions. The individual, dyad, group, division, industry, or county all can be the unit of research questions being studied. In this study, data were aggregated from each

individual resident. Based on information collected from representative individuals, community perceptions of the mega event were to be identified and analysed.

Another important issue is whether data are collected at one point in time - a cross-sectional design - or at two or more points in time: a longitudinal design. Although longitudinal studies could help identify cause-and-effect relationships and offer meaningful insights, they take more time, effort and cost than cross-sectional studies (Sekaran, 2003). Due to limited resources and time, this research project adopted a cross-sectional approach. A longitudinal study of this topic could be one of the future research choices for interested parties.

Information related to the quantitative questionnaire survey approach, including sampling design, collection of data, and data analysis, is provided in the following section.

4.3 Survey Instrument

A telephone survey questionnaire instrument consisting of three sections was developed (see Appendix F). The first section was designed to identify residents' perceptions of the impacts of the 2008 Olympic Games in terms of their economic, social, cultural, political and environmental impacts. These items are based on Fredline and Faulkner's (2000) 36-item event impact scale, Ap and Crompton's (1998) 35-item tourism impact scale, the Olympulse series conducted by Ritchie and his colleagues (1984; 1985; 1989; 1990), and Lankford and Howard's (1994) 27-item tourism impact attitude scale. Most of the items have been touched upon in the literature (see Section 2.3). A total of 26 questions was generated, 16 of which were derived from both Ap and Crompton (1998) and Fredline and Faulkner (2000). They include topics related to the Games' impacts on business opportunities, employment, tourism promotion, local service availability, prices, roads and other public facilities, crowding, traffic congestion, noise, community life, crime, opportunity to attend major events, community solidity, citizen pride, meet new people, and so on. One topic (cultural understanding) comes from both Ritchie (1990) and Ap and Crompton (1998). Three questions relating to physical appearance, international identity, and national/regional ethnocentrism are based on Fredline and Faulkner (2000). Following Ritchie (1990), four questions addressed general perceptions towards the Games' commercialisation, politicalisation, environmental influence, and the overall impacts. The two final questions related to the extent of support/satisfaction with the Olympic Games and the likelihood of having another Olympics or similar mega event in Beijing. All 26 items were classified into tourism impact domains that Ap and

Crompton (1998) had identified, namely (1) economic, (2) social and cultural, (3) environmental, (4) crowding/congestion, (5) services, and (6) community attitude. Other items listed in the literature were not included in this study because they were considered not applicable to the case in Beijing. Those items included "event will worsen the parking difficulty in the city"; "make the night life more exciting" (Fredline & Faulkner, 2000), and issues related to hazardous driving, wildlife, and tax collection (Ap & Crompton, 1998). In this section, all question items were formulated as statements. Respondents were required to indicate their degree of agreement with each statement on a 7-point Likert interval scale varying from "very strongly disagree (1)" to "very strongly agree (7)."

The second and the third sections of the questionnaire measured the independent variables that needed to be examined. Questions in the second section focused mainly on residents' attitudes towards several related issues. As mentioned in Chapter 3, residents' attachment to the community includes two aspects: economic reliance, and length of stay. Economic reliance was measured by asking how respondents' current household income will be affected by the Olympic Games. Length of residence in Beijing was asked in section three as part of personal information. The variable of involvement was operationalised with three nominal-scaled questions: (1) Does the respondent work or did he/she once work for any Olympic-related projects; (2) Has his/her family or friends been relocated because of the Olympic Games; and (3) Has s/he ever been consulted about issues in the bid or preparation for the Olympic Games. Knowledge of tourism and the local economy was addressed by asking the respondents' opinion of more tourists visiting Beijing (7-point Likert scale).

Based on the discussion in Section 3.7, respondents' political self-identification was measured by two variables that were operationalised by asking respondents' opinions about the CPC/government performance and their attitudes towards Western governments' rebuke on China's Human Rights issues.

The variable of distance between respondents' residence and Olympic venues, together with the respondents' demographic information (including gender, age, personal income, employment status, and education) were placed in the third section of the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was designed to ensure it was easy to understand for local Beijing residents. The questionnaire was pre-tested before the survey. The main reason for pre-testing was to ensure the intended meaning of the questions had the same meaning for respondents. The pre-test used a debriefing approach. That is, the questionnaire was answered by 20 pilot respondents without specific assistance. The interviewer observed and noted reactions of confusion, resistance, or uneasiness. After completing the questionnaire, respondents were asked whether there were any problems of understanding, and whether any aspects of the subject were not covered by the questions. Information collected from pre-testing, together with pilot suggestions obtained from experts who participated in the qualitative in-depth interview (see Section 4.2), was then used to review, modify, and finalise the questionnaire.

4.4 Sampling Design

Different sources of information and the manner in which data are collected may affect the research outcome (Sekaran, 2003). This study applied a quantitative questionnaire survey approach to collect data from local residents. A proportionate stratified random sampling design was used.

Population Frame

In research, population refers to the entire set of individuals or other entities to which study findings are to be generalised (Chambliss & Schutt, 2003). It is the entire group of people, events, or things of interest that the researcher wishes to investigate. An element is a single member of the population. The population frame is a listing of all the elements in the population from which the sample is drawn. Several studies have defined mega events, particularly the Olympic Games, as urban phenomena (Roche, 1994; Essex & Chalkley, 1998; Hiller, 2000; Andranovich, Burbank, & Heying, 2001). The majority of activities and impacts of the Olympic Games are distributed in the urban space of its host cities (see Chapter 2). For the 2008 Olympic Games, 30 of the 32 Olympic venues are located in Beijing's 8 urban administrative districts (BOCOG, 2001a). Moreover, occupying 8.2% of the Beijing Municipal's land area, the 8 urban districts (namely Dongcheng, Xicheng, Chongwen, Xuanwu, Chaoyang, Fengtai, Shijingshan, Haidian; see Figure 4-2) have a combined population of 9.5 million, about two-thirds of the total population of the municipality (Beijing Municipal Administration of Statistics, BMAS, 2005a). Obviously, residents in these 8 districts are likely to have more interaction with the Olympic Games and may have more

distinct perceptions than people from the hinterland. For these reasons, this study chose all the 9.5 million residents from the 8 urban districts as the study population.
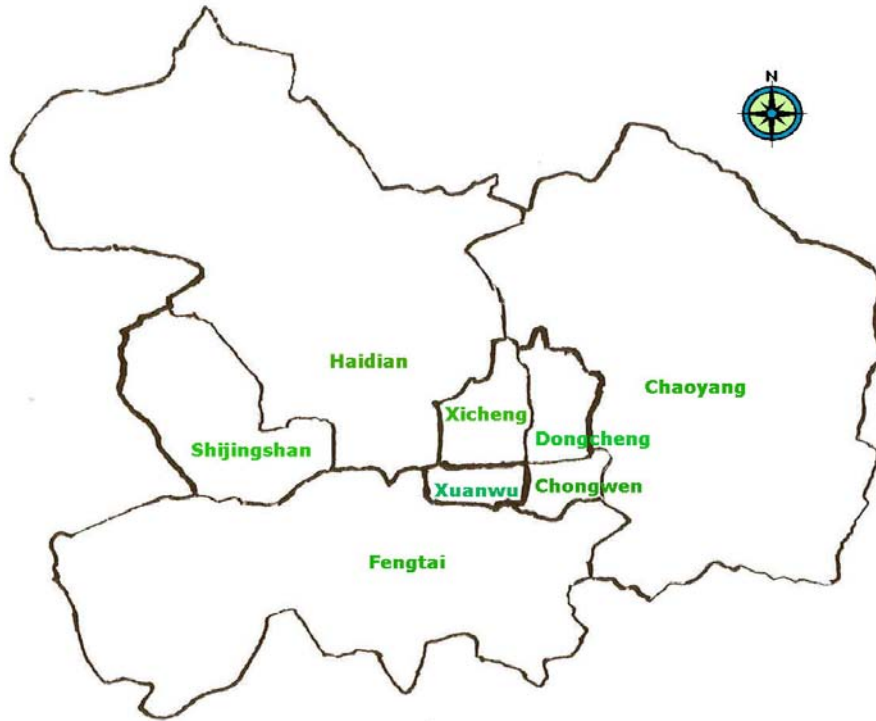
Figure 4-2: Urban District Map of Beijing

Source: based on BMAS (2005a)

Sampling Method

A sample is a subset of the population. It comprises members randomly selected from the population. In addition to the advantages of efficiency in terms of time, cost, and other resources, using samples rather than the entire population sometimes produce more reliable results, mostly because more errors occur when data are collected from a large number of elements. By studying a sample, a researcher should be able to draw conclusions that are generalisable to the population of interest, if the sample is

scientifically selected (Sekaran, 2003). Random sampling is the process of listing and selecting a sufficient number of elements from the population. In this study, proportionate stratified random sampling based on geographical area was adopted. The reason for taking a stratified sample was to have a more efficient sample than could be taken on the basis of simple random sampling with less sample error (Zikmund, 2003). Meanwhile, stratified sampling can ensure that the sample will accurately reflect the population on the basis of criteria (district in this study) used for stratification. Proportionate stratified sampling (stratified sampling in which elements are selected from strata in exact proportion to their representation in the population) is highly advantageous in that its results are self-weighted (Gebremedhin & Tweeten, 1994). It can also reduce standard errors and ensure that samples sizes for strata are of the magnitude planned.

A telephone interview was used to collect data from respondents. Telephone surveys are well suited for asking structured questions, where responses need to be obtained quickly from a sample that is geographically dispersed (Sekaran, 2003). The method is inexpensive and expeditious. However, the current survey-issue policy in China requires all social surveys (particularly street and household interviews) to be conducted by authorised organisations. Some of the questions in this survey involve residents' attitudes towards government and its policies. Consequently, such a survey could be sensitive and troublesome if it were conducted through on-site interviews. Moreover, the high telephone population coverage in Beijing makes the telephone interview feasible. Beijing has the most extensive telephone coverage in China. There were approximately 5.9 million telephone fixed residential subscribers in Beijing's urban districts in 2004, with an average of 1.6 residents having one fixed residential

telephone (China Communication World, 2004). Thus, the majority of the population can be accessed by telephone.

Sample Size

A decision about the size of the sample to be selected from the population must be made prior to sampling. Sample size is governed by the extent of precision, confidence desired, variance of the population, and costs in terms of time, labour, material, and other resources (Gebremedhin & Tweeten, 1994).

When dealing with group averages in an interval scale like perception or attitude scale measurement, the sample size need not be larger than a few hundred (Oppenheim, 1992). A level of confidence of 95% (±2.5%) is usually sought in social science research (Ryan, 1995; Chambliss & Schutt, 2003). Fowler (1998) stated that at a 95% confidence interval and the means of proportions of 0.5 (the most conservative proportions), a Margin of Error of ±3% would meet the needs of most social science studies. The required sample size under this criterion would be 1,067. In view of the number of questions in the questionnaire and the huge population base, this study required a sample size of about 1,140, which meets the requirements of most statistical techniques.

The telephone interview was conducted by the *Beijing Information Survey Co.*, a professional survey company based in Beijing. Both the questionnaire and interview language were Chinese Putonghua, the official language in China. A computer-assisted random dial sampling system was used in the sampling procedure. The detailed sampling process is presented in Appendix E. To maximise interviewees' time availability, the telephone interviews were arranged between 7 pm to 9 pm (both

weekdays and weekends) in January of 2006. After the phone was answered, a household member older than 15 who had the most recent birthday in the household was asked to participate in the survey. A total of 1,165 samples were obtained, with most respondents completing the survey in about 10-15 minutes. A response rate of 19.2% was reported. The sample distribution in each stratum is presented in Table 7-1 of Chapter 7. All data collected were transferred to a SPSS document for detailed analysis.

4.5 Quantitative Data Analysis

Employing SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, Version 11.5), survey data were analysed by various statistical techniques to ensure all research problems identified in Section 1.3 were appropriately addressed. In the following paragraphs, a brief introduction is provided to how each research question was analysed.

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistical analysis involves transformation of raw data into a form that provides information easy to understand and interpret. A frequency analysis is to be conducted for all questions in the questionnaire to examine the distribution of the responses. Central tendency, variability, or skewness (lack of symmetry) of the raw data are to be depicted in graphs or in frequency distributions. For example, respondents' perceptions and some opinion-related variables were described by arithmetic mean ratings.

Factor Analysis

Factor analysis reduces a vast number of variables to a meaningful, interpretable and manageable set of factors (Sekaran, 2003). For factor analysis, the assumption is that there are underlying patterns of relationships among a set of variables. In this study, factor analysis was used to explain the 21 perception-related interdependent variables and reduce them into a smaller number of factors (Zikmund, 2003). To achieve this, a correlation matrix between the variables was calculated; the matrix was then factor-analysed by the principal components method. Lastly, a rotation procedure was selected to clarify the factors and aid in interpretation. By factor analysis, residents'

perceptions towards the impacts of the Olympic Games can be described more succinctly because various perception items are categorised.

Cluster Analysis

Similar to factor analysis, cluster analysis is an interdependence technique that is used to classify objectives or individuals into mutually-exclusive and collectively-exhaustive groups, with high homogeneity within clusters and low homogeneity between clusters (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1998; Sekaran, 2003: 408). With cluster analysis, the relationships between objects and subjects are explored without identifying a dependent variable (Saunders, 1999). It identifies objects that are similar to one another, based on certain specified criteria. Solutions found via cluster analysis must not be seen as absolute truths, but rather only as one of a number of possibilities that could give one insight into the research phenomenon under study (Saunders, 1999). In this study, the key to identifying residents' social representations within a community was to identify a commonality or consensus of residents' perceptions (Pearce *et al.*, 1996). Therefore, cluster analysis was adopted to classify respondents into a small number of groups (social representations) on the basis of their similarity to other individuals (Zikmund, 2003), and thereby to identify groups with common perceptions by analysing clusters in residents' reactions to the impact of the Olympic Games.

There are two approaches to clustering: a hierarchical approach and a non-hierarchical approach. Hierarchical clustering can start "top-down," with all objects in one cluster, and then divide and subdivide them until all objectives are in their single-object cluster. Also, it can start "bottom-up," with a single object to cluster and

systematically combine clusters until all objects are in one cluster. A non-hierarchical clustering differs only in that it permits objects to leave one cluster and join another as clusters are being formed, if the clustering criterion will be improved by doing so (Aaker *et al.* 2004). That is, the number of clusters is decided with cluster centres initially selected in advance. All objects within a pre-specified threshold distance are contained in that cluster. Each approach has its advantages and disadvantages. However, as Aaker *et al.* (2004) suggest, it is possible to apply both approaches in sequence. The merits of both approaches can then be combined, and the results should yield more knowledge (an example of synergy). In this study, a hierarchical approach (using Ward's method) was used first to choose the number of clusters and to specify the cluster centres, which acted as seeds. A non-hierarchical approach then followed, with the input on the number of clusters and the cluster seeds obtained from the hierarchical analysis.

Independent Sample t-test and ANOVA

Independent sample t-test and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) were used to determine the probability that differences in means existed across two or several groups respectively (Hair *et al.,* 1998), and to examine the effects of different levels of an independent variable on a dependent variable (Aaker, Kumar, & Day, 2004). The fifth research objective of this study is to examine the differences of perceptions between groups based on independent variables. Therefore, t-test and ANOVA were applied to determine whether or not the effects of the various levels of the independent variable (political self-identification, age, education, proximity, length of residence, etc.) on different groups' support for the Olympic Games were different, and if so, how different they were.

Multiple Regression Analysis

As Hair *et al.* (1998) note, multiple regression is the appropriate method of analysis when the research problem involves a single metric dependent variable assumed to be related to two or more independent variables. It can provide both forecast and explanation. By means of multiple regression, the changes in the dependent variable are predicted and explained in response to changes in the independent variables. Therefore, multiple regression was applied to answer the fourth research objective: to identify the importance of different independent variables' (including political self-identification, age, gender, education level, length of residence, income, employment nature, etc.) in influencing a resident's perception towards the impacts of the Olympic Games.

4.6 Limitations of the Research

This research project has several limitations that must be acknowledged at this point. When examining government's motivations and perceptions towards the Olympic Games, this research adopted a qualitative approach by interviewing 2008 Olympics-related government officials in Beijing. Due to the sensitivity of the topic, government officials' unwillingness to participate was apparent (particularly for those currently work for the Government), which could reduce the accessibility of certain information. Alternatively, two academics who had Olympics-related work experience were interviewed. It was believed opinions from academics with intimate and working knowledge may provide more insights about the government perceptions. That would enhance the depth of the understanding about government motivations and perceptions of the hosting the Olympic Games. Although the exploratory nature of in-depth interview can trade-off some of the limitation involved, it is suggested that research with a wider range of methodologies (e.g., group interview, observation, questionnaire survey with government officials) could result in providing more insights into government motivations and perceptions. It would also cross-check the credibility of the specific data items identified in this study (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). In addition, this study integrates both the Central Government and Beijing local government into one to examine government perceptions. What needs to be borne in mind is the two levels of government may share some similarity of opinions as well as having diversified ones. This study, however, does not take specific government levels as the research unit, but considered them as one of the stake-holders of the Olympics (i.e. corresponding to other stake-holders such as residents, business sectors, etc.) in a general manner. Specific research focused on particular government levels

or sectors, and investigating the similarity and differences between them may contribute more in-depth understandings about governments' perceptions of mega event development and therefore is suggested for future study.

Another limitation that must be considered concerns the operationalisation of certain variables in the resident survey questionnaire. Resident's political self-identification, for example, was measured through two questions in this study. Although the two questions were carefully selected based on extensive support from previous studies, they may be inadequate to measure the variable comprehensively. Obviously, measuring Chinese residents' political self-identification accurately and scientifically is a complex task that extends far beyond the scope of this research project.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, the methods employed in sampling, data collection and data analysis are introduced. A brief research methods summary is provided in Table 4-2.

Table 4-2: Research Methods Summary

	In-depth Interview	*Survey Questionnaire*
Nature	Face-to-face, In-depth interview	Telephone survey
Targets	Government officials	Local residents
Sample size	7	1,165
Sampling design	Maximum Variation sampling; Snow ball sampling	Proportionate stratified random sampling
Questions	Open, semi-structured	Closed questions
Assistance tool	Tape recorder	CATI system,
Language	Chinese Putonghua	Chinese Putonghua
Analysis	Content analysis (content identification, categorisation, and classification) deductively and inductively	Descriptive statistics, factor analysis, cluster analysis, t-test, ANOVA, multiple regression analysis

Chapter 5

In-depth Interview Findings:

Government Motivations

for Bidding and Hosting the 2008 Olympic Games

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the interview findings of the Chinese governments' motivation factors for bidding for and hosting the Olympic Games in Beijing. Firstly, some theoretical literature about government motivations is provided to supplement the background information of the topic. The findings of governments' motivation factors are presented under the notion of "push-pull model". This chapter is ended with discussion about the characteristics the Chinese government had in deciding to bid for and host the Olympic Games.

5.2 Government Motivations

One of the key features that distinguishes event tourism from other forms of tourism is that government bodies often play a critical role in the formulation and development of special events. Governmental involvement (especially in hallmark or mega events) has been an important element in the entire process of event planning and operation in many destinations (Hall, 1992; Jeffries, 2001). Accordingly, as Hall (1992) argued, the importance of examining the political nature of events and the means by which they impinge on government processes at both the macro level (ideology and values) and the micro level (political careers and structures) should be recognised and addressed.

While much literature on event tourism emphasises marketing and management plus the evaluation of the economic, political, cultural and environmental consequences (see Section 2.3), relatively little attention has been paid to government involvement. The lack of research in this field may be due to methodological difficulties in government organisation behaviour evaluation. There is unquestionably government resistance to supporting research in itself, and "an apparent unwillingness by researchers and individuals and institutional actors … to acknowledge the significance of hallmark events at both the macro and micro political levels" (Hall, 1992, p.85). However, research on governments' roles in special events can improve the understanding of the original purposes of event tourism development, and can increase the understanding of governments' decision and policy-making processes. Moreover, such research can enhance other stakeholders' understanding and coordination with their government counterparts, and can be used to monitor the event process and to evaluate real outcomes of each event.

Theories about government organisation behaviours exist, but they are usually too abstract or general to explain much of significance (Wilson, 1989). Intriguing explanations have been offered, but they tend to be partial, place-bound and time-bound. Moreover, many government organisations not only fail to apply general rules to specific cases, but also strongly resist any effort to set forth their policies in the form of clear and general rules (Wilson, 1989). Numerous studies have examined how government organisations improve their performance in public administration, and how to measure the administrative performance of government (DiIulio, 1993; Ingraham, 2003), but there has been little research on what factors spur government to become actively involved in public administration. In his classic study, White (1926, 2004 reprinted) indicated that public administration is at the heart of the problem of modern government, and that it follows basic organisational management rules. Like business organisations, a government organisation needs adequate resources to maintain its position. However, unlike business organisations, resources for government organisations include appropriations, personnel, and, most importantly, political support (Wilson, 1989). Political support is garnered from the general public, and is at its highest level when the organisation's goals become popular in society. To obtain political support, government, its organisations and its officials must carefully conduct government business under the watchful and critical eyes of countless subcommittees, interest groups, journalists, and the public. Consequently, government and its leaders believe that the public will judge their performance on the basis of the appearance of success. In turn, an appearance of success can result in reputation, influence, achieving the organisation's goal, or the absence of criticism (Wilson, 1989).

Most political leaders and government officials believe their continued hold on power depends upon satisfying the needs and expectations of the people. According to Wilson (1996), governments need to satisfy societal needs such as (1) promoting a growing economy; (2) providing basic social services (e.g., education, retirement benefits, and public works); (3) respecting individual rights; (4) protection from external enemies; and (5) maintaining social order at home. In the tourism context, special events are widely acknowledged to benefit their host destinations by generating additional income, tax revenue and job opportunities (Ritchie & Lyons, 1990; Burgan & Mules, 1992; Humphrey & Plummer, 1996), improving urban infrastructure and public facilities (Ritchie & Lyons, 1990; Soutar & McLeod, 1993; Hiller, 2000), and promoting governments and political parties' image and ideology (Hall, 1992; Roche, 2000; Toohey & Veal; 2001). Special events can also enhance community pride and residents' feelings of well-being (Ritchie & Lyons, 1990; Getz, 1997), and attract external investment (Essex & Chalkley, 1998; Kasimati, 2003). Most of these positive impacts are what government organisations desire and seek, as they provide justification for hosting events. Special events, particularly hallmark or mega events with the promised large-scale benefits, are well-suited to be utilised as a means of creating a positive image for government organisations, and to thereby gain political support both domestically and internationally.

In 1991, Beijing started its bid for the 2000 Olympics, but ultimately lost to Sydney. It was China's first-ever Olympic Games bid. In 1998, Beijing announced its second bid, and was awarded the 2008 Olympics in July, 2001. There have been considerable discussions about the Chinese government's motivation for bidding and hosting the Olympic Games. Fu (2002) noted that for the Chinese Government, to bid and stage

the Olympic Games in Beijing did not simply mean having a sports event in China. Likewise, the BBC (2001) reported that most analysts believe that the main aims of the Chinese Government for hosting the Games were to set up and demonstrate its positive open image. Both the Chinese bid officials and state media have suggested the significance of the staging the Olympics was that it would narrow the gap between China and the outside world: holding a successful Olympics would demonstrate that China has come of age as a member of the international community (BBC, 2001). The People's Daily (2001a), the CPC's organ newspaper, also stated that, similar to other mega projects in China such as the Three Gorges Dam on the Yangtze River and the Shenzhou Manned Spaceflight Project, the Games are expected to be a showcase of socialist achievement and to unite Chinese citizens. From this point of view, the purpose of hosting the Games in Beijing is quite different from that of previous Olympics, such as urban regeneration (in Athens and Barcelona), promoting international tourism (in Sydney), and advancing commercial opportunities (in Atlanta and Los Angeles) (Andranovich, Burbank, & Heying, 2001).

5.3 Findings and Discussion: Government Motivations for Bidding and Hosting the Olympic Games in Beijing

The concept of "Push-Pull" has been associated with disciplines such as consumer behaviour, tourism, and immigration. Dann's (1977) seminal work on tourist motivations was used to explain the factors that dictate tourists' travel decisions. Generally, push factors are those that are described as internal, and are presented to satisfy assorted needs, while pull factors are those external elements that predispose a person to further behaviours (Dann, 1977; Brugha, 1998). By examining the human activity process, Brugha (1998) confirmed the connector role of push-pull factors in bridging original proposition and decision-making. Although little research using push-pull theory to classify factors of organisational motivation and decision-making has been found, the author applied the push-pull framework to present and analyse the study findings. This application follows the generally-accepted notion that organisational behaviour is based on the rules that work at the level of the individual (Kurtz & Boone, 1987; Kotler, 1998).
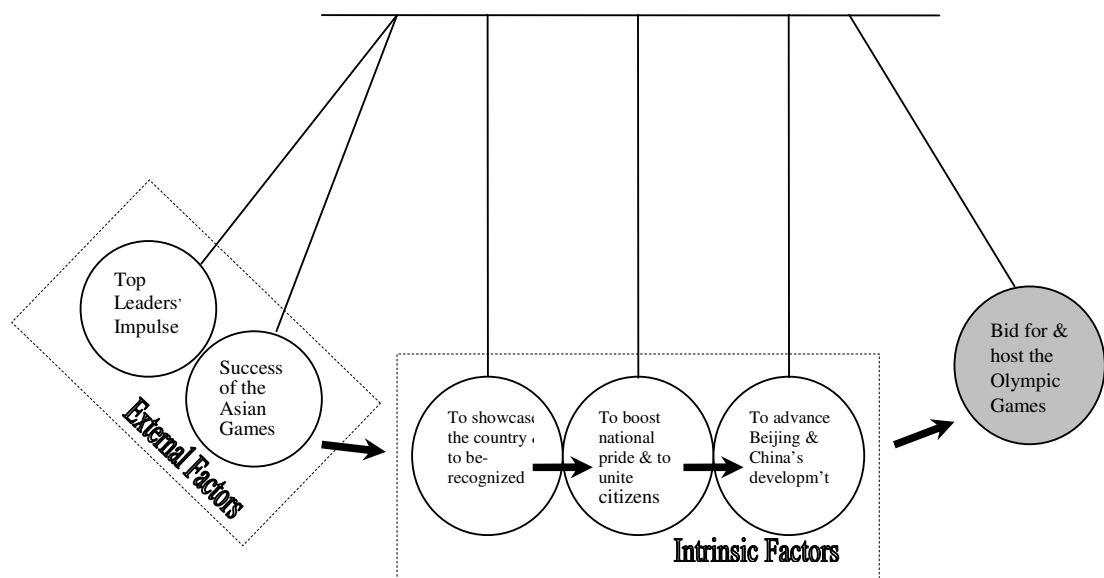
Figure5-1: Motivations for the Chinese Government to Host the Beijing 2008 Olympics

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Figure 5-1 summarises both the push (intrinsic) motivation factors and the pull (external) ones that were identified and examined in this study. The following sections discuss the two factors in details.

5.3.1 Pull (External) Motivation Factors

Top Leaders' Impulse and Success of the 1990 Asian Games

Two of the interviewees in this study emphasised the role of the top leaders in the decision to submit an Olympics bid. For example, one interviewee disclosed that:

> *…Deng Xiaoping first proposed the bid and mentioned using the Olympic Games to fully utilise the Asian Games' sports venues. The then IOC President, Juan Antonio Samaranch, also suggested that China should bid for the Olympic Games.* (Interviewee D)

Riordan (1991) pointed out that since China's open-door and reform policy in 1978 and the soon-after reinstatement in the IOC, China began to abandon the previous "Friendship Through Sport" policy and sought to achieve recognition and prestige through sporting victories and other high-profile events. During this transition period, senior leaders of the country and officials from the IOC played important roles. In 1959, Zhou Enlai, the then-Premier of the Chinese Central Government, and in 1979, Deng Xiaoping, the *de facto* leader of China for most of the 1980s and 1990s, expressed a willingness to host the Olympics in China (Yuan, 2001; Wu, 2004). Deng played a particularly important role in China's decision to bid for the Olympics, for he was very fond of sports. It has been reported that during his early years in France in the 1920s, he sold his jacket for a ticket to a soccer match in the Paris 1924 Olympics.

At the age of 86, he watched all the 1990 FIFA World Cup games, mostly at the midnight live broadcasting time. He was also an avid swimmer.

With his personal charisma and leadership position, Deng's encouragement and comments on the Olympic bid directly spurred government officials to act. During an inspection tour of a newly-built venue for the 1990 Asian Games in Beijing in July 1990, Deng Xiaoping initiated the bid for the Olympic Games in a straightforward manner by saying to the accompanying officials:

> *We should have the Olympics after the Asian Games. Hosting the Olympics can be beneficial both for inspiring national spirit and boosting the economy. Have you made up your mind of hosting Olympics (in Beijing)? Why not dare to consider doing so? Now we build such sporting facilities (for the Asian Games - It will be a waste if we do not hold the Olympics* (Liu & Liu, 1997, p.378; Xinhua, 2001).

Another influential person was Juan Antonio Samaranch, the then-President of IOC, who encouraged the Chinese Government to host the Olympic Games. In the 1980s, he had suggested to Chinese leaders a number of times that China should play a more active role in the Olympic movement and host the Olympic Games at an appropriate time (Liu & Liu, 1997). At the opening ceremony of the Beijing 1990 Asian Games, Yang Shangkun, the then-President of China, directly stated to the visiting IOC President Samaranch that China wished to host the 2000 Olympics in Beijing (Liu & Liu, 1997).

The success of the 1990 Asian Games stimulated the Central Chinese Government to bid for and host the Olympic Games. One interviewee identified this as the critical propelling factor that spurred the government to consider making an Olympics bid:

It was the success of the 1990 Beijing Asian Games that motivated the Central Government to make the final decision to bid for the Olympics. (Interviewee A)

It is evident that, with the successful hosting of the 1990 Beijing Asian Games, Chinese citizens' minds were unified with the Party and Government's sentiments that a positive image of the nation had been presented to the international community. For the Chinese Government, these benefits were particularly valuable and significant given the early 1990s global political situation, when Communist regimes were collapsing in Russia and Eastern Europe, and China was isolated by Western powers as a result of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. The success of 1990 Asian Games in Beijing had a dramatic effect on the Chinese Government's confidence in its abilities to host large-scale international events. Four months after the Asian Games, the Chinese Central Government gave approval for Beijing to bid for the 2000 Summer Olympics. It was the first-ever Olympic Games bid in China's history but was ultimately lost to Sydney by a small margin in 1993. In 1998, Beijing announced that it would make a second bid for the Olympic Games, and the city was awarded the 2008 Olympics in July, 2001.

5.3.2 Push (Intrinsic) Motivation Factors

In addition to the above external elements that impelled the Chinese government to bid for and host the Olympics, there were intrinsic elements involved as well.

Show-casing and To-be-Recognised & Understood

Special events have been supported and used by many government bodies for multiple purposes. The "showcasing" and "to-be-recognised and understood" motivations were frequently mentioned by interviewees.

The "show-casing" element here is based on the purpose of "*demonstrating China's national strength and reform achievements to the world*" (Interviewee C), or, as Interviewee A put it, to be "a *showcase of the nation's renaissance.*" With these show-casing and demonstration functions, the Chinese Government sought to upgrade its international image, and to gain more exposure through world media coverage. All 7 interviewees mentioned this as a motivational factor. For example, Interviewee G stated:

It is a very high prestige matter for the Chinese Government. It's not just Beijing. [It is a] spectacular challenge and important for the image of the country. It's very much also a showcase for China - we want to show the country, to show its development, and to show that it is opening-up.

Similar responses included:

[It will] showcase *the new image of China by hosting the Olympic Games in Beijing. That's the purpose behind the Central Government.* (Interviewee E)

Hosting the Olympic Games can be a prestige to show the strength and power of the county. (Interviewee F)

The demonstration or showcase motivation is closely associated with "To-be-Recognised and Understood". Getz (1997) pointed out that with the powerful and concentrated show-casing effect, special events offer irresistible opportunities for a host to promote and convey its political message. One interviewee expressed such a view:

[The government intends] to showcase/demonstrate China to the world in order to get more attention and understanding from the outside world. (Interviewee A)

Interestingly, 2 of the 7 interviewees provided a similar explanation of this point from a cultural exchange perspective:

The Olympic Games stand for typical Western culture. Chinese culture is the major component of the Oriental tradition. Hosting the Olympic Games in an Oriental country will be very helpful for cultural exchange and cultural merging. It will promote Chinese culture to the West [and it will] benefit the outside world by providing a fair, objective understanding of China. (Interviewee A)

After the Cold War, a lot of conflict in the world can be viewed as a kind of cultural conflict. The cultural gap between China and major Western countries is huge. China has a very rich and unique culture but is always being misunderstood. Few fair, unbiased reports about China can be found in the coverage of the major Western media. Besides political reasons, other reasons from a cultural perspective are also significant…a misunderstanding of China seriously exists in Western countries. We know more about the West than the West knows about China… Hopefully, hosting the Olympic Games in Beijing can improve the cultural exchange in a non-governmental way. (Interviewee F)

With China's rapidly-expanding economic capacity, during the past decade a "China Threat" theory has become increasingly popular in the developed world and in

China's neighbours (Gertz, 2000). The Chinese Government has expended a great deal of effort to dispel the notion of "The China Threat." Related to this broad background, it is readily understood how the desire "to-be-recognised and understood" motivated the Chinese Government to bid for and host the Olympic Games. It is conceivable that the Chinese Government tended to adopt a gentle, peaceful strategy (the so-called *Peaceful Rise Strategy*) to placate the world's concern about China's rapid rise. Hosting the Olympics in Beijing became an excellent instrument for the Chinese Government to earn more recognition, prestige, respect and understanding in the international community.

Boosting National Pride & Uniting Citizens

Special events, especially mega events such as the Olympic Games, can boost civic and national pride significantly (Hall, 1992; Waitt, 2001). From the perspective of political economics, Lash (1990) pointed out that for citizens, instability and transition result in a concern for loss of self-identity, and economic restructuring can lead to the loss of spatial identity. Many governments have hosted special events as a method of allaying or moderating these concerns and feelings of loss (Waitt, 2001). It is possible that, as it goes through the transition from a planned economy to a market-based economy, China and its government need a mega event like the Olympic Games to generate feelings of national, city and community pride. Engulfed by the celebratory, joyous and even euphoric atmosphere created by such an event, citizens would forget their oppression and differences. Anyone criticising the event can be placed in a social position of doomsayer, or even worse, be seen as unpatriotic (Getz, 1997).

It was reported that national and local governments (e.g., Korea, the Philippines and Australia) had applied for major events as a propaganda exercise to unite increasingly diversified populations (Hall, 1992; Waitt, 2001), though some governments implemented it quite directly while others actualised it in a subtle manner. For example, the Chinese Government (and the CPC) accomplished its objectives of boosting its citizens' national pride after the successful hosting and sporting victories in the 1990 Asian Games (Sanlian, 2003), which stimulated the government to embark on the Olympic bid campaign. The then Chinese President Jiang Zeming stated that "the bid was made for further domestic stability and economic prosperity; the quest for the Olympics was to raise national morale and strengthen the cohesion of the Chinese people both in the mainland and overseas" (Dong, 2003, p.122).

Several interviewees emphasised the governments' purpose of boosting national pride and uniting its citizens' minds in bidding for and hosting the Olympics. One interviewee quoted a Chinese political slogan as:

> *We hope that by bidding for and hosting the Olympics, we can boost Chinese people's pride; enhance the cohesive force toward the Party, [which we call] domestically, to bind citizens' thoughts…* (Interviewee A)

Another interviewee gave an explanation of the necessity to boost national pride and unite citizens as follows:

> *Currently China is in an important transition period since its Open-Door and Reform Policy was introduced. The country is now making a transition from a planned economy to a market economy, to globalisation. Interest patterns are changing, and interest conflicts are*

emerging. Social conflicts exist during the transition period. The government now needs something that will bring citizens' ideas and thoughts together. (Interviewee F)

<u>*To Advance Beijing and China's Development*</u>

Developmental issues are a critical consideration for all levels of government when hosting a mega event. Governments should not only maintain macro-economic balance and supply public goods and services, but also take direct responsibility for augmenting the economy's resources and establishing a mechanism for converting those resources into productive investments (Wade, 1992). Beyond economic development, governments also have a facilitative responsibility in developing social welfare and maintaining public order through infrastructure development and education, which cannot be supplied adequately by the private sector.

Special events have been supported by many governments because of the role such events play in major developmental schemes. Research has conceived the roles of special events, particularly mega events, as a catalyst for urban renewal with improvements of infrastructure for sports, housing, communications, transport, tourism, and other sectors (Hall, 1992; Toohey & Veal, 1997; Preuss, 2000; Carlsen & Taylor, 2003). Special events can also act as a stimulus for local economies by generating substantial external investment and tourist arrivals (Hall, 1994a; Kasimati, 2003). Moreover, they can be used to strengthen traditions and values, promote greater participation in sports, arts, and other activities related to the event themes, and assimilate new social patterns and cultural forms brought to the event by visitors

(Getz, 1997). These advantages have led governments to treat special events as a policy tool for their development strategies.

Dickson and Chao (2001) believe that, as one of the motivations, the Open-Door and Reform policy in China centred on the theme of creating a more modern country with a higher standard of living. The goals of the Open-Door and Reform policy in China have changed gradually from enhancing socialism and the communist system to facilitating economic reform and opening-up to the world – and sustaining the momentum thereof (Dickson & Chao, 2001). Economic reform and development are no longer a means to an end, but the end in itself. A mega project is a public affair dominated by several levels of government. Thus the significance of the Olympic Games goes far beyond sports competition and tourism. Chinese governments, particularly the Beijing Municipal Government, expect to achieve a number of developmental goals by hosting the Olympic Games. In this study, interviewees offered several developmental factors as motivators for the Central and Beijing Governments to bid for and host the Olympic Games. They include:

(a) Urban Development and Infrastructure Improvement

According to Getz (1997), mega events are perceived as catalysts for urban renewal through physical redevelopment, and leave a legacy of vastly improved infrastructure. In the name of mega events, government can easily acquire support for urban renewal policies while the rational planning and consultation process might be over-looked. This was the case in Beijing, a city now experiencing rapid development. One interviewee stated:

By hosting the Olympics in Beijing, [we hope we can achieve] improvement and expansion of the Capital Airport, Beijing Metro, and other public transportation systems, as well as sports venues construction and sewage system upgrade, and environmental beautification. We have these plans even without the Olympic Games. However, with the time pressure of the Olympic Games, these works will be taken into operation before 2008, instead of the governments' initial plans that might be completed in 2010, or 2015. (Interviewee C)

Another interviewee emphasised the unique role of the Olympics in accelerating the city's modernisation as follows:

As a short-term goal of the host city, hosting the Olympics can accelerate the host city's modernisation process. This could be true for each Olympic Games bidder…. [The government] can solve some problems that cannot be solved during the ordinary urban development process, but under the big "umbrella" of the Olympic Games, it is much easier to get consensus. (Interviewee E)

(b) Boosting Economic Development

The function of special events as economic boosters has been widely recognised and studied (Long & Perdue, 1990; Getz, 1991a; Burgan & Mules, 1992; Gelan, 2003). The economic impacts that result from hosting the Olympic Games have received particular and extensive attention (Preuss, 2000; Haynes, 2001; Humphrey & Plummer, 2001; Kamisati, 2003). With the national and international media exposure, hosts of events experience more business transactions, external investments and

tourist arrivals. Employment and government revenue increase significantly. With the economies of scale, hallmark or mega events such as the Olympics have been eagerly sought by national and regional governments. The economic benefits that accompany the Olympic Games are unquestionably one driving factor in the Chinese Government's bid for the event. This is hardly surprising in view of the fact that attracting foreign investment has been one of the major goals of the country's Open-Door policy. One interviewee viewed the Olympic Games as a *guarantee certificate* or a *reassurance card* for foreign investment when he observed that:

> *The Olympics can boost the country's economic development…. To some extent, the successful bid can be viewed as a guarantee certificate or a reassurance card for Beijing. It will make international investors more confident of investing in Beijing. The foreign investment statistic figures in Beijing have confirmed this. Many foreign investments did [come and stay] because of the Olympic Games.* (Interviewee A)

Other interviewees mentioned:

> *It's also, of course, a way to attract more investment and accelerate at least the development of Beijing City.* (Interviewee B)

> *Naturally, hosting the Olympics will be beneficial to the hosts' economic development.* (Interviewee D)

> *For the Beijing Municipal Government, it is the economic development that drives them to be eager to host the Games.* (Interviewee E)

(c) Improving Management and Service Quality

In addition to the expectation of improved urban "hardware" (mentioned above), several respondents suggested that by taking the Olympics as a model, governments can upgrade management and service levels in all government organisations and enterprises in China. For example, several interviewees stated:

The Olympic Games will bring a lot of new ideas; the preparation [of the Games] process itself is a process of gearing [our practices] to international standards, a process of learning from others, to serve [China's] economic, social development. So, by hosting the Olympic Games, we should improve in various aspects such as immigration management, inspection & quarantine management, media service, etc. All these services will have adjustments and improvement because of the Olympics. Also, more intellectual, technological international co-operation has been exercised in many Olympic-related projects. (Interviewee A)

[In order to serve the Olympics,] training classes for police have been arranged. …Also, there are classes available for taxi drivers to educate them [how to properly serve passengers]. (Interviewee G)

The idea of improving management and service quality by hosting mega events has seldom been reported in previous research. This lack of attention might be explained by the fact that previous event impact research was conducted largely in the context of developed countries, where advanced management skills are already in place. Few mega events hosted by developing countries or cities have been previously studied. In China, however, acquiring advanced management skills from developed countries has

been deemed as important as attracting direct foreign investment and acquiring new technology (Pomfret, 1991). It is therefore quite reasonable for the Chinese Government to view the Olympic Games as an opportunity to improve management and service quality, particularly of governmental organisations (which had been widely criticised for their bureaucratic management style). As one interviewee explained:

> *Now our country is practising market economy, one feature of which is internationally-standardised management and operation. The Olympics are a kind of public affair that is organised within the modern market economy frame; most of its practices are at the highest international standard. We can benefit a lot from the Games preparation.* (Interviewee A)

(d) Enhancing Civic Virtues

The purpose of enhancing Chinese citizens' civic virtues by hosting the Olympic Games was also proposed by interviewees. The concept of civic virtue is generally accepted in Western culture with its classic Roman definition of putting the common good above individual need. Here, the author uses the word *virtue* for the Chinese word "*suzhi,*" which stands for the intrinsic, stable characteristics that individuals acquire from education, training and other environmental influences. In China, the Communist Party of China (CPC), government bodies, and official media often ascribe failure of policy implementation to citizens' lack of civic virtue, which in turn is attributed to the undeveloped social situation and the poor education of its citizens. This lack of civic virtue also happens to be one of the most common excuses provided

by the CPC for rejecting the introduction of democratic practices in China. In fact, this opinion is widely accepted by the general public under the Party's continual propaganda. The Chinese Government has often emphasised improving civic virtues as one of their ultimate goals. Understandably, several respondents indicated that the Olympic Games will partly contribute to the achievement of this goal. One interviewee said:

The government has realised the importance and necessity of improving citizens' virtue and quality to develop productivity further. It is realised that enhanced civic virtues will increase the achievability of the country's economic goals. Hosting the Olympics will, to some extent, upgrade general civic virtues in China. (Interviewee F)

Another mentioned:

In China, particularly in Beijing, we have excellent hardware, but the software, civic virtues, work efficiency, social cooperation are not satisfactory. This is a big issue… By hosting the Olympic Games, the situation can be improved. (Interviewee D)

(e) Promoting Sports Development and a Healthy Lifestyle

The role of sports in socialisation, education and cultural development has been studied extensively (Roche, 1993; Leonard II, 1998). However, little research has examined the function of mega events in promoting sports and a healthy lifestyle. In China, sports development has served multiple purposes, including health, productivity, cultivation of a spirit of national identity and unity, and national defence (Leonard II, 1998). In early 1979, the previous "Friendship First-Competition

Second" Sports Policy was abandoned and the government began to view competitive sport and sport victories as instruments to strengthen the cohesion of the nation, and to demonstrate a new, confident face of the country to the world (Dong, 2003). Since the country rejoined the Olympic Games in 1984, Chinese athletes have won dozens of gold medals, and China has become one of the best-performing countries in the Games. This achievement astonished the Chinese, and greatly encouraged both the government and its people. The following assertion rings true for most Chinese: "Apart from war, no other form of bonding serves to unite a nation better than representational sports and nowhere is the sport-place bond more graphically illustrated than in the Olympic Games" (Dong, 2003:104). In order to promote and enhance Olympic success, the Chinese Government advocated an Olympics Strategy in 1985. The strategy emphasised the development of Olympic-related sports, and involved a policy wherein all available sport resources in the country should be concentrated on a few key sports in which Chinese athletes have the best opportunities to win medals (Dong, 2003). Olympic performance has become the foremost focus of state sports officials. Hosting the Olympic Games in Beijing will certainly enhance the country's sports development for athletes, who usually perform better in home venues. Indeed, it was the National Sports Commission, together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, and the Beijing Municipal Government that submitted the 2000 Olympics bid proposal to the Central Government. The Bid Committee also included officials from the National Sports Commission, the COC and the Beijing Municipal Government (Sports Online, 2005). By having the Olympic Games at home, it was therefore reasonable for Chinese sports officials to expect more medals and much-improved sports development.

As interviewee A stated:

> *As a sports competition, hosting the Olympic Games in China can directly promote the country's sports development.*

This interviewee also believed that by staging the Olympic Games, more healthy sports activities can be introduced to China, which will encourage residents to adopt healthier lifestyles and leisure habits.

5.4 Summary

This chapter has identified a range of motivational factors that have propelled the Chinese Government to bid for and host the Beijing Olympic Games. It represents an initial attempt to explore governments' motivations for having a mega event/public project.

When examining the motivational factors related to the Chinese Governments' Olympic Games' bid, three general points are noteworthy. Firstly, emphasis must be placed on the broad historic background of the Olympic bid. Since the introduction of the Open-Door and Reform Policy, China has undergone a period of unprecedented economic growth. During the same period, the leading political ideology and government's primary task has also changed from class struggle to economic development. With higher personal income and improved quality of life, Chinese residents have gained substantial benefits from this policy. Consequently, the Chinese Government expects to keep the Open-Door Reform Policy in place for the long term. Deng Xiaoping coined the slogan that expressed the Government's expectation that "We should adhere to the basic line for a hundred years, with no vacillation" (Deng, 1993, p.370). However, the rapid changes that occurred in China over the past few decades have resulted in two negative images of China for the rest of the world. One is that in many foreigners' minds, China is often preoccupied with the 1950-1970s era of Communist fanaticism. The second is based on the widespread "The China Threat" theory that has created an obsession with China's development and the heralding of its emergence as a 21st century economic power. These negative images are obviously not what the Chinese Government wants. In the early 1990s, China was isolated by the international community through the sanctions imposed by Western nations

following the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. With the success of the 1990 Asian Games, the government began to realise that mega events can play a significant role in show-casing the country to the world, promoting positive images, and improving diplomatic relations. That success stimulated the Central Chinese Government, in a very direct way, to start its Olympics bid process in 1991. It is reasonable to assume that the most important and direct motivation for the bid was to showcase China to the world, and to gain recognition and understanding from the international community. The fact that all seven interview respondents mentioned and emphasised this motivational factor is highly significance.

Secondly, top political leaders have a significant influence on an Olympics bid. Under the bureaucratic system, the role of China's top leaders in policy-making is paramount in terms of their influence in initiating and advancing a decision that is significant (Lieberthal and Oksenberg, 1988). In China, any suggestion from top leaders will be followed up. Thus, it is no surprise that Deng's suggestion concerning an Olympics bid was immediately followed up by officials from the National Sports Commission and Beijing Municipal Government. Later, the bid proposal was supported by other top Chinese leaders of the time, including President Jiang Zemin and Premiers Li Peng and Zhu Rongji. For example, Jiang stated in a letter to the International Olympic Committee that "… together with my colleagues, we support Beijing's Olympics bid proposal without reservation" (Xinhua, 2001b). Since China started its Olympics bid in 1991, statements like "fully-supporting the bids and the hosting of the Olympic Games" can be found in all Central Government Work Reports, which are presented annually by the Premier to the National People's Congress, China's highest legislative body.

Lastly, the Chinese Governments' motivations for hosting the Olympics have gradually expanded over time as officials develop awareness and come to realise the benefits to be derived from hosting the Games. As mentioned above, the call to bid for the Olympics came as a result of Deng Xiaoping's comment that the sports venues built for the 1990 Asian Games should be fully utilised. The Asian Games brought many benefits to China, particularly in improving China's image and in uniting its citizenry with government ideology. The Asian Games greatly advanced government officials' comprehension of the roles of mega events, which led to a desire to host the Olympic Games in order to derive even more advantages from a mega event. After the bidding process started and detailed plans for the bid were formulated, the Games' potential in terms of economic development, urban development, improvement of management and service quality, and enhancement of civic virtues were increasingly recognised by officials. Several interviewees indicated that there was a "gradually-increased understanding of the role of the Olympics Games". One interviewee stated:

> *It is really a process of understanding: the initial motivation can be expressed by a slogan we used during the 2000 bid – "An open China looks forward to the Olympic Games". [At that time] we hope that the Olympic Games can help us fully utilise the sports venues, let the world pay more attention to China, and to showcase China. It was the very first idea… Later on, more objectives were attributed to the Games.* (Interviewee C)

Essentially, governments' motivations for becoming involved in mega events reflect their expectations and perceptions of the benefits of such events. The motivations that spurred the Chinese Government to bid for and host the Olympic Games were, to a large extent, beyond the realm of previous mega events research. Several motivational

factors identified in this study (e.g., uniting citizenry and enhancing civic virtues) have seldom been reported in the literature. This suggests that governments and organisers from developing countries have somewhat different motivations for hosting mega events than do their counterparts from developed countries. Governments in developing countries tend to apply for mega events not only to boost the economy, promote urban development, and promote city or national image, but more importantly, to promote ideology and facilitate civic education. For example, stimulating tourism development has been one of the major aims of other Olympics or mega events hosts, but surprisingly in this study no respondent mentioned this as a key motivation of the Beijing Olympics' bid. Sports events such as the Olympics are also expected to enhance hosts' sports performance in international competitions, which can ultimately be used as a showcase of the sporting strength and prowess of the host nation.

Chapter 6

In-depth Interview Findings:

Government Perceptions

of the Impacts of the 2008 Olympic Games

6.1 Introduction

The results of interviews with government officials indicate that, compared with the tangible/physical impacts (e.g., infrastructure improvement), the Chinese Government favours the intangible benefits of mega events (e.g., improvement on residents' civic virtues and behaviours). Their perceptions towards the negative impacts focused mainly on physical damage created by the event.

6.2 Government Perceptions towards the Impacts of the 2008 Olympic Games

To identify the government's perceptions towards the impacts of the Olympic Games, interviewees in this study were asked to express their opinions on both the positive impacts (benefits) and negative impacts that could result from hosting the Olympic Games. Two categories of perceived positive impacts were evident in the interview data: tangible benefits and intangible benefits. Not every impact item addressed in previous research was covered, while several new items were identified.

6.2.1 Perceived Tangible Benefits

From the urban planning perspective, sports competition has long been used as an urban regeneration mechanism (Hall, 1992, 2004). A number of studies have documented the physical changes brought about by sport events (Ritchie, 1984; Hall, 1992; Essex & Chalkley, 1998). Improvement of urban infrastructure and public facilities, regeneration and beautification of the host areas, and legacies left after events are widely viewed as benefits for the host destinations. Compared with other event impacts, these physical changes are tangible and more likely to be measurable and understood. In this study, interviewees acknowledged visible benefits as follows.

Enhancement of Urban Layout

Several cities have used mega events as an urban development mechanism. For instance, the 2000 Olympic Games transformed Sydney's western suburb of Homebush Bay, formerly an industrial area, into a residential area (Lenskyj, 2002). Although ultimately losing its bid for the 2004 Olympics, the city of Cape Town in

South Africa to some degree redesigned the city by creating event venues and relevant facilities in less developed areas (Hiller, 2002). In the current study, one interviewee (Interviewee C, who works for Beijing's city planning authority and is involved in preparing Beijing's urban development master plan) noted that Beijing's urban layout will be enhanced by the Olympic Games – a new *apex* (the Olympic Green) will be formed and will complete the city's golden triangle. He explained:

> *The Olympic Green was laid out in the northern part of the city. This area has been a key point for city development. Together with the CBD in the southeast area and the Zhongguancun Hi-tech Zone in the northwest area, a three-apex city development structure will be established.*

Figure 6-1: Beijing's three-apex urban development plan for 2004-2020
Source: BMCUP (2005)

Indeed, the idea of developing a three-apex city structure in the urban area of Beijing was approved by the State Council (China's Central government body) as one component of the city's 2004-2020 master plan (Beijing Municipal Commission of Urban Planning, BMCUP, 2005). A city plan map (Figure 6-1) from BMCUP displays the three-apex structure, where the three apexes are marked as three small circles.

According to Interviewee C, much of the work on the master plan had the direct purpose of serving the 2008 Olympics and "*the three-apex structure will play significant roles in Beijing's future urban development.*"

Improved Infrastructure in the Form of Roads, Metro, and Airport

Improved infrastructure was the benefit most frequently mentioned by interviewees. When commenting on visible benefits, nearly all interviewees highlighted infrastructure improvements in Beijing's transportation systems such as roads, the metro extension, and airport rejuvenation. Interviewee C emphasised:

> *The whole [road] system will bring Beijing's development to a new stage … the road system in Beijing has required improvement for a long time, but with the Olympic Games, it will be done before 2008, instead of in 2010, or even in 2020. … It really speeds up the city's development and, of course, the general public benefits most from it.* (Interviewee C)

Similarly, Interviewee D stated:

> *Without the Olympics, Beijing's transport system will have its own race to develop, but the Olympics does speed up its development race…such as the*

metro system in Beijing, the total length of Beijing metro will be more than

300km in 2008, doubled the figure of Year2000.… (Interviewee D)

Improvement in Beijing's transportation system has been widely acknowledged as a major benefit of the 2008 Olympic Games. A series of numerical figures released from various sources have traced the changes that the Olympics will bring to the city. Table 6-1 lists some of those numbers.

Table 6-1: Beijing's Transportation System in 2001 and 2008

	In 2001	In 2008
Metro and Light Rails (km, urban area Only)	54	249.5
Bus Routes in service	487	650
Airport Annual Passenger Capacity	24.1 million	48 million

Sources: BMAS (2002); BMCDR (Beijing Municipal Commission of Development & Reform) (2005)

Increased Sports Venues, Public Facilities, and Urban Beautification

Sports venues and public facilities constitute important contributions to the infrastructure of communities, providing a social focus and improving people's perception of their neighbourhood as well as contributing to the quality of life. Together with the planned urban beautification works for the Olympic Games, increased sports venues and public facilities were viewed by interviewees as the major benefits that the Olympic Games will bring to Beijing. Two interviewees (Interviewee C and D) provided detailed information on the 19 new Olympic venues and other public cultural facilities such as the National Theatre, China Central Television Tower, and New Capital Museum. Beautification and other improvements of the city's appearance were emphasised by Interviewee D and G.

 For example, Interviewee G noted:

The city beautification work [for the Olympic Games] will bring more grass land, as well as better air quality to Beijing residents. (Interviewee G)

6.2.2 Perceived Intangible Benefits

Previous studies have identified a range of intangible benefits that a mega event can contribute to its host community. These include an increased a sense of belonging, the sharing of excitement, spectacle, and pride, plus promotion of socio-cultural norms (Ritchie, 1984; Besculides, Lee & McCormick, 2002; Waitt, 2003; Fredline, 2004). A number of intangible benefits were identified in this study as well. Compared with the above-mentioned visible and tangible benefits, interviewees believed that the invisible benefits are more important than physical changes brought by the Olympics. Particularly, the improvement of Chinese citizens' civic virtues and behaviours was emphasised by the majority of the interviewees. Generally, interviewees perceived that an improvement of civic virtues can be achieved in three ways:

(1) Cultural Exchange Brought by the Olympics: To enhance local residents' sense of fair play and equality

Interviewee A explained:

…from a long-term, indirect point of view, the function of cultural exchange brought by the Olympic Games will play a more significant and persistent role in society. The Olympic Spirit emphasises concepts of "Citius, Altius, Fortius (Swifter, Higher, Stronger); participation rather than victory; fair play". These concepts will be particularly significant for China and its people. China is a

country that experienced dozens of centuries of feudal governance and hierarchical ideas are still very influential in many residents' minds. … Particularly, the youth generation is still influenced by these obsolete ideas, who are high on comparing whose father is more powerful, whose family is richer…while the Olympic Spirit emphasises equality, every one is equal with each other, no matter of race, colour, or ideology. It emphasises fair play, everyone facing the same criterions, no external force (e.g. doping) is allowed…all these concepts will impinge and inosculate with the Chinese culture.

(Interviewee A)

Interviewee E emphasised the importance of what he called the *spiritual legacy* left by the Olympic Games as:

We cannot view the most important Olympics benefits from physical aspects, but from the civic virtue aspect. Physical legacy will be outdated soon after, but the impacts from spiritual legacy will be incrementally remained in a longer term. (Interviewee E)

(2) <u>More Transparency in Government Performance in the Olympics Preparation and Hosting: To enhance China's democratic and political reform</u>

The role of the Olympic Games in China's political reform is a disputable and sensitive topic with diverse opinions both within China and elsewhere. Interviewee F believed that, although the full scale of the impacts of the Olympics can be evaluated only after decades, its impacts on citizens' consciousness will be significant. He explained:

…Things have started to change since the Olympic bids. For example, in the past, many public issues were decided by government with little public participation. Now many issues, including the Games emblem, slogan, mascot, are decided after public participations both nationally and globally. The phenomenon of resident consultation meeting has been emerged in many cities. It can be viewed as a kind of democratic development. I believe it is related to the Olympics …In the past, negative news such as coalmine disasters was not allowed to be publicly reported. Now it is OK.… I mean it is a process of political transparency. It could speed up the political reform process. (Interviewee F)

Interviewee E affirmed the impacts on China's political reform in a roundabout way:

I am not sure how it (the Olympic Games) works on political reform, but I believed that reform in the political and government sector will be accordingly improved with the improved civic virtues, for that is the vital point. (Interviewee E)

(3) <u>Deterring Unsociable Behaviours through Event Education Programmes.</u>

In China, there has been wide concern about the decline of social morality since the transition from the planned economy to market economy in the 1990s, a transition that focuses citizens' attention on economic interests while losing sight of morality. Examples include improper behaviour in public spaces (e.g., littering, spitting, jaywalking, queue-jumping) and inefficiency in the government and public service sectors (e.g., bus, bank, taxi, hotel service). Some interviewees believed that social morality can be improved in the fields of citizens' behaviours, and that service quality

can be achieved by several Olympic education programmes before the Olympic Games.

Interviewee D stated:

A large number of educational programmes have been arranged in various Olympic related sectors. The 2008 Games emphasises the concept of "Human Olympics", it proposes to improve morality for both the residents and government by cultural and educational activities affiliated with the Olympic Games. Its impact will be substantial for the whole society... it is not enough to view the Olympic Games impacts from physical aspects. The most important benefit should be its educational function. (Interviewee D)

Mr. He Zhenliang, the Chinese IOC member and former Vice-President of the IOC, held a similar opinion about the Olympic Games' role in improving public manners. He was quoted as saying:

People are talking about showcasing our culture and the country's economic power through the extravaganza, but I think good manners should be put at the top of our agenda (*Associated Press*, 2006).

6.2.3 Perceived Negative Impacts

In addition to benefits, events bring negative impacts and costs to host communities. For mega events such as the Olympics, the possibility of negative outcomes occurring is large owing to their magnitude. Negative impacts such as inflated prices, disruption of lifestyle of residents, traffic congestion, and imbalanced benefit

distribution associated with hosting large-scale events have been identified (Hall, 1992; Burgan & Mules, 1992; Mihalik, 2004). However, because of their unique role in the decision-making process, government officials' perceptions towards possible negative impacts or costs may be very different from that of other stakeholders. In this study, some interviewees' perceptions towards the negative impacts were similar to those identified in previous studies, while some were quite different and even somewhat controversial.

Interviewees' perceptions towards negative impacts and costs focused mainly on the physical and environmental destruction that will result from Olympic-related projects. Three interviewees expressed concerns about the diminishing *hutong* (alleys), *siheyuan* (courtyards), and other features of the original urban layout of Beijing. For centuries, hutongs and siheyuans provided ordinary Beijingers with shelter, a community, and symbols of Beijing traditions. With rapid economic development and population expansion, a large number of *hutongs* and *siheyuans* have been replaced with skyscrapers. Approximately 2400 *hutongs* were demolished during the period 2000-2004 as part of the preparation for hosting the Olympic Games (BBC, 2004). Numerous disputes related to the "preservation-redevelopment" of Old Beijing were raised. One interviewee expressed his concerns as follows:

> *I am really worried about the environmental problems, not only the natural environment, but more importantly the human environment in Beijing. The cultural heritage issue is a real anxiety for me these days. We can see that Beijing is currently New, Very New, Why? All [old] things were pulled down; these things are not reborn, never. Beijing is losing its features and uniqueness. …Have a look at these new-built skyscrapers with glass walls*

along the Chang'an Street--- they are so discordant, so discordant to their surrounding areas…. I worry about it, it has been too late to preserve them, too late… Hutongs, Siheyuans, Ancient city walls, all were pulled down… we need to answer for the historic responsibility… (Interviewee F)

Interviewee A stated similar concerns about the natural environment:

Because of the Olympic Games, a large number of sports venues and city infrastructure were built in Beijing. Also a series of events for the Olympics are to stage. This could disturb the natural balance in Beijing. It will make the fragile environment worse. With more and more buildings, the city has become cement blocks these days. (Interviewee A)

Other perceived negative impacts mentioned by interviewees included: *the risk of a bubble economy – unemployment and decreased economic development after the Games* (Interviewees A, D, and F); *the opportunity cost that investment on the Olympics could potentially be channelled elsewhere to achieve more benefits* (Interviewees A and B); *inefficient facility usage after the Games* (Interviewees D and E); *crowds, traffic congestion and inefficient public facilities access* (Interviewee A). These impacts are not new, and have been widely identified and discussed in the literature (Burgan & Mules, 1992; Mihalik, 2004; Bowdin *et al.*, 2001; Fredline, 2000, 2004). Interviewees' comments on possible negative impacts indicated that these government officials learned from the experiences of other mega events and had kept them in mind. However, most of the above-mentioned interviewees had some academic and/or professional background. Two interviewed officials (Interviewees C and G), both of whom worked directly for the Beijing Municipal Government, held a

divergent opinion. They believed there will be little or no negative impact deriving from the Olympic Games. For example, Interviewee C stated:

Generally speaking, I have not found any possible negative impacts, no. … I would say, the Olympic Games bring new challenges to our work… We have learnt from other cities' experiences to avoid these so-called "negative impacts". For example, to the issue of "inefficient usage of venues after the Games", we had noticed this problem and had taken it into account during the initial planning stage—we attributed some of the event venues to university campuses, so they can be fully utilised even after the Games. …That is to say, we had fully evaluated the lessons learnt from other Olympic hosts. Although I cannot say I will guarantee no problems exist, I feel we have done a lot preparation works for that. (Interviewee C)

Similarly, Interviewee G argued:

I don't see honestly for the moment anything like that, of negative impact. … Beijing has planned the Games [in a way of] to avoid a lot of potential negative impacts. … Some journalists claimed that Beijing was destroying the Hutongs because of the Olympics. It was completely nonsense.… Where are all the Olympic venues located, all the Olympic activities going to be, there are no hutongs, even no events are close to hutongs…. It has nothing to do with the Olympic Games. It is pure real estate greed under the name of the Olympics… nothing to do with the Olympics. (Interviewee G)

It is easy to understand why they were so confident the Olympics will be free of negative impacts: both the interviewees' work relates to general urban planning. They

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believed systematic planning can avoid negative impacts. Although their belief concerning the lack of negative impacts is debatable, it reflected the position of the government, which is certain that most of the possible negative outcomes can be avoided by systematic planning. However, they did acknowledge that that there was some disruption (e.g., construction noise, street closure, traffic restriction) caused by preparation work for the Games. These disruptions were viewed as "*problems in progress*" (Interviewee A). Interviewee G used a Western phrase to express this idea: "*You cannot make an omelette without breaking eggs*."

A wide range of benefits and negative impacts were perceived by the interviewees. Perceived tangible benefits included enhanced urban layout, improved urban infrastructure, more sports venues, and enhanced city appearance. The intangible changes of improved residents' consciousness and social morality, as well as acceleration of the government/political reform process, were also identified. Most interviewees regarded these intangible aspects as the most significant benefits brought about by the Olympic Games, despite the fact that the tangible changes are very large-scale. Nearly all the perceived benefits identified by the interviewees were consistent with the governments' developmental motivations, which included urban and economic development, management/service improvement and civic virtues enhancement. This situation reflected the government's confidence in the achievability of their Olympic plans. It also suggested that the Chinese Government expected to achieve some real outcomes by hosting a mega event, in addition to showcasing and improving China's image worldwide and boosting national pride.

On the negative side, concerns about damage to the natural environment and to historical/cultural heritage resources were raised by most interviewees. Economic

decline after the event was also a concern, as well as the disturbance of peace and tranquillity in Beijing. Most negative impacts identified by interviewees can be traced in previous event impact literature. It is noteworthy that the majority of negative impacts identified above are tangible. Compared with the perceived most important benefits from the Olympic Games (intangible impacts such as enhanced residents' civic virtues), no negative impacts on citizens' spiritual aspects were mentioned. It is unclear whether the officials were intentionally evasive about these points or were genuinely unaware of negative impacts in this field.

6.3 Government Perceptions of the Residents' Relocation

In addition to identifying government officials' perceptions towards the general impacts of the event, this study investigated government officials' perceptions towards specific impacts such as residential relocation. Hosting mega sports events in urban areas inevitably causes involuntary displacement and relocation of residents. In the literature, resident relocation is generally regarded as a negative impact because it disrupts residents' lives (Hall, 1992; Getz, 1997; Lenskyj, 2002). Economic losses, social trauma, and psychological pain are often experienced by the relocated people (Cernea, 1993). However, most previous research in this field was based on academic deductions and within a developed-country context. Little social science research concerning resident relocation has been conducted in developing countries (Cernea, 1993). Studies on government perceptions of event-related relocations have not been conducted, despite the fact that such studies could provide explanations of a government's innermost policies and decisions concerning event relocation issues.

According to a senior official from the Beijing Municipal Administration of State, Resources and Housing, nearly 100,000 households (amounting to about 300,000 residents) have been relocated. Approximately 6,000 of the households were relocated directly because of the construction of Olympic venues (China Daily, 2004b). Several international media reports claimed that a large number of residents were evicted from their homes or suffered from relocation. However, the Chinese government countered such reports with evidence that relocated residents were provided with improved housing (China, Daily, 2004b). The relocation issue has been one obvious outcome of hosting the Olympic Games. Therefore, investigations of

government officials' perceptions towards the impacts of the Olympic-related relocations of families were included in this study, in the hope of drawing more academic attention to this social issue.

Interviewees' perceptions of Olympics-related relocation focused mainly on two opinions: (a) real benefits residents obtained from relocation; and (b) few relocations were caused directly by the Olympic Games, and thus few negative impacts should be attributed to the Games. The following provides a more detailed explanation of these issues.

(a) *Residents Benefit from Relocation*

Four of the seven interviewees believed that relocation brought benefits to the residents affected. They claimed that, for relocated residents, the benefits mainly came in the form of larger houses, improved living environments, and financial compensation. Interviewee C argued:

> *If relocation can be viewed as a kind of impact of the Olympics, I would regard it rather more a kind of positive than negative impact. By relocation, residents' living conditions were improved. A large amount of residents lived in the downtown area "thirsted" for involving in the relocation. Why? Previously their houses were in the messy, old-town areas with very crowded and bad living conditions. …Now they can move to the new satellite towns in the suburbs, which is the trend of modern society. They have the same or even better quality of life there. It is really not a kind of negative impact at all.* (Interviewee C)

Interviewee D held a similar opinion, and indicated that:

Several foreign friends, including some officials from the IOC asked this question – why those relocated families were happy with moving their home to somewhere else. For most residents in Beijing who live in the old inner city, they do not have the financial capability to move their family from the old, poor houses. For those who need be relocated because of the Olympic Games, they can get a mount of compensation money which is far more than its house value. With the compensation, they can buy a larger house in the new-developed suburb areas.   So most of them were happy with the relocation, they relocated their family quickly after being compensated. (Interviewee D)

Although complaints and conflicts arise in the relocation process, Interviewee E asserted that, from a long-term point of view, relocated residents experienced more benefits than losses. He claimed:

Maybe they (relocated families) can tell you a hundred pieces of excuses that their interests were damaged, they will never tell you anything how they benefited from it.   (Interviewee E)

The opinion of "beneficial relocation" is generally based on residents being compensated adequately with new and well-developed residential housing. According to the relocation compensation regulations issued by the Beijing Municipal Government in 2001, relocated residents are entitled to a certain amount of relocation compensation plus a subsidy. The amount of compensation for each relocated family varies, depending on the size and location of their original house. In the Olympic Green area, all 2,745 original households left the area within 3 months in mid-2003 without serious dissension (Beijing Daily, 2003). Government officials, particularly senior officials, apparently believe residents can obtain adequate compensation to pay

for new apartments with better living conditions. Government officials did not mention, or perhaps failed to realise, the ineffective manner in which relocation practices were implemented. For example, the compensation price was decided by a government ordinance issued in 2001, but due to rapid urban development in Beijing, the average housing price had increased from RMB4,557 per square meter in 2001 to RMB6,754 in 2005 (BMAS, 2001, 2005b). Complaints about the low compensation rates have been reported in several non-official media (BBC, 2002). Also, there were reports that, in some cases, compensation or governmental subsidies were intercepted by local officials or agent organisations due to lack of transparency in implementation.

(b) Negative Impacts not Created by the Olympics

Two of the 7 interviewees support the opinion that the Olympic Games will not cause negative impacts on residents' relocations. Their opinion was based on the fact that few newly-built Olympic venues required relocation of residents. Interviewee G stated that:

> There was not many [cases that residents] being relocated for the Games. When I tell people, show me where these relocations [projects] are. … If you look at the map, look where the Olympics are to be held. There is few relocation happened due to Olympic projects directly. The most relocation, as these happened within the Second and the Third Ring Roads, is simply because of the real estate projects…. One example, if you look at the Olympic Green which is a vast area of six km long and one km wide. Beijing already locked this whole area [for Olympic purpose] since the 1960s. (Interviewee G)

Interviewee A supported the above argument relating to the Olympic Green relocation. He said:

The amount of resident relocation resulting directly for the Olympic Games is not too many in Beijing's urban area. One site is the area of Wali *village (the location of the Olympic Green--author note), and the other is the* Wukesong *Coliseum area. The* Wali *village area has been reserved for hosting the Olympics for decades, most of the village houses were built by villagers without any government permission. They were illegal from the very beginning. The* Wukesong *area's relocation have completed before the Olympic Games were awarded to Beijing.* (Interviewee A)

The two interviewees also believed that there may be some unhappy things happened during relocation process, but there are few excuses that can attribute it to the Olympic Games. For example, Interviewee G argued:

Unfortunately, we know that in some cases, the way that relocation being done was not always one hundred percent OK, but all these issues have nothing to deal with the Olympic Games. (Interviewee G)

Interviewee A also acknowledged that "unpleasant cases existed in the relocation work," but he emphasised that for the illegally-settled families in the *Wali* area, "although the government paid compensation to them, but still some residents bargained with the government. … They tried to blackmail the government with a lot of unreasonable requests."

Apparently, "*the real situation is very complicated*" (Interviewee A). The Beijing Daily (2004) reported that, on the suggestion of Premier Zhou Enlai, in the 1950s the

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Central Government reserved 750 hectares of land for future Olympic Games. A 2008 Olympics venue location map (Figure 6-2) reveals that the majority of the newly-built sports venues were not located in residential areas. Based on this map, the opinion that "few relocation cases were caused by the Olympic Games" appears to be valid and acceptable.

Figure 6-2: Sports Venues for the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games

At a macro level of urban or regional development, one of the most apparent and desired outcomes of hosting mega events is their indirect roles as catalysts or stimulants. It is widely recognised that mega events have been supported by host

governments largely because of their role as a catalyst or stimulant for development schemes (Getz, 1997). This argument has been presented as a major motivating factor and a perceived benefit for the Chinese Government to support the bid and host the Beijing Olympic Games (see Section 5.3). It is certainly controversial that the government viewed the indirect benefits as Olympic-related achievements, while it ignored the indirect negative outcomes (e.g., relocation of households).

In summary, government officials' perceptions towards impacts on relocated residents can be categorised into two types: beneficial relocation, and "loss-free" relocation. This might reflect the political nature of the government and its officials. As might be expected, they are more likely to stress their contributions and avoid any reference to the negative outcomes.

6.4 Summary

This chapter presented the host governments' perceptions towards the impacts of an upcoming mega sports event: the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games. It attempted to provide, from a government perspective, new insights into a mega event's impacts on destination development. Compared to previous studies on the impacts of mega events, several new perceived impacts were identified. Most of these newly-identified impacts fall into the social or political spheres, which are generally intangible and difficult to measure (such as improving of residents' consciousness and social morality, and accelerating the government/political reform process). In contrast to previous research, government officials' perceptions towards the negative impacts are somewhat preconceived and incomplete. For instance, they may have failed to notice the negative influence of event-related residential relocations on the affected families. The reasons that these results were seldom mentioned in previous research might relate to the dominant status of economic impact assessment in event evaluation research. Also, previous research on event impacts was mostly conducted in a developed country's context, where the social and political development is different from that in a developing country such as China. As discussed in Chapter 3, under different social development conditions, the impacts of social events (here a mega event) may be presented from different perspectives.

Chapter 7

Residents' Perceptions
of the Impacts of the 2008 Olympic Games

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the random telephone questionnaire survey undertaken with Beijing residents. To provide a general profile of the responses, descriptive statistics of the respondents' biographical features and their general perceptions towards the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games are presented. In the following sections, the perceived impacts of the Olympic Games were summarised into four categories. Respondents were clustered into two groups according to their perceptions towards these impacts, and features of the two groups are identified. Also, hypotheses proposed in Chapter 3 are tested in this chapter. The role of different variables in affecting the respondents' degree of support for the Olympic Games was examined as well. The results presented in this chapter fulfil all the research objectives that were posed earlier. This chapter provides a general picture of residents' reactions towards the Olympic Games.

7.2 Background to the Respondents

This study adopted a proportional stratified random sampling design based on respondents' geographical location (district). The sample was drawn from each of the eight strata (i.e., districts) according to their original population proportions. The sample size and weightings are shown in Table 7-1 below.

Table 7-1: Population and Respondents' Distribution

Stratum (District)	Beijing Population		Sample	
	Amount (in thousands)	%	Sample size	%
Dongcheng	776	8.21	96	8.2
Xicheng	921	9.75	113	9.7
Chongwen	476	5.04	58	5.0
Xuanwu	686	7.26	85	7.3
Chaoyang	2,546	26.95	318	27.3
Fengtai	1,207	12.78	150	12.9
Shijingshan	472	5.00	59	5.1
Haidian	2,364	25.02	286	24.5
Total	**9,448**	**100.0**	**1165**	**100.0**

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (2005)

General Profile of Respondents

Table 7-2 provides the general profile of the survey respondents from the eight districts. To ensure the sample is truly representative, comparisons were made with Beijing's basic demographic data (age, gender) collected by the National Bureau of Statistics of China (NBS, 2006), which was from the total 18 districts/counties compose the municipality.

Compared with the NBS (2006) Beijing data, slightly more female residents were included in this survey. Also, respondents with higher educational background were somewhat highly represented, while those with less education were under represented.

This situation is understandable given the feature of telephone surveys: females, young adults and well-educated residents may be more likely to answer telephones than other family members. Another (probably the main one) reason for a greater representation of respondents with higher education may be: compared with in

Table 7-2: General Respondents' Profile (n=1165)

Variable	Category	Sample %	NBS (2006) %
Gender	Male	47.0	50.6
	Female	53.0	49.4
Age	15-24	25.6	18.3
	25-34	27.6	17.0
	35-44	16.9	19.0
	45-54	13.1	16.0
	55-64	8.8	8.7
	65 or above	8.1	11.1
Educational background	Primary school or below	2.7	18.2
	Junior high school	10.7	32.2
	Senior high school or technical school	39.4	25.1
	Undergraduate	42.5	24.5
	Graduate or above	4.5	
Monthly Income (RMB)	Less than 800	18.9	
	800-1999	31.0	
	2000-3999	29.6	
	4000-5999	6.8	
	6000-9999	1.8	
	10000 or more	1.0	
	Don't want to tell	10.9	
Employment status	Full-time	35.7	
	Retired	18.9	
	Short-tern contract	17.3	
	Self-employed	6.8	
	Unemployed	4.5	
	Student	0.5	
	Others	16.1	
Perceived home-venue distance	within 1km	5.4	
	1--3.99km	17.8	
	4--9.99km	19.1	
	10-14.99 km	12.2	
	15 km or more	11.1	
	I don't know	34.5	

Note: Residents with age under 15 were not comprised in the survey. NBS's(2006) figures sourced from the 2005 National 1% Population Survey. The Age group figures were from BMAS (2005a).

Beijing's suburban counties / districts, more residents with higher education background are more likely to inhabit the urban districts (where the survey was targeted), as the quality of life there is better and as more career opportunities exist.

General Perceptions towards the Olympic Games and its Impacts

As discussed in Chapter 3, 26 perceived impact items were included in the survey instrument, with respondents providing their extent of agreement on each perceived impact statement using a 7-point *Likert* interval scale varying from "very strongly disagree: (1)" to "very strongly agree: (7)". Respondents' perceptions towards these impact items are summarised in Table 7-3. Among the 26 items, 17 scored means of more than 5.8 based on a 7-point scale, indicating that respondents' agreement with these items was high. Four items had a mean score of less than 4.00, which implies disagreement. Five items had mean scores between 4.3 and 4.8, which represent a slight tendency toward agreement. Numbers in Table 7-3 also show that the standard deviations of all 26 variables ranged between 0.89 and 1.77, a relatively narrow response distribution. Respondents' opinions towards the overall impacts brought about by the Olympic Games were positive (Table 7-3). A large majority (about 92%) of respondents believed that the Olympic Games will bring more positive impacts than negative ones; more than 80% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. It demonstrated that residents have an initial enthusiasm for the Olympic Games. They appeared, to some extent, ready to accept the impacts of the event, notwithstanding the fact that similar impacts from other tourism development projects would normally evoke a more concerted negative host reaction.

In addition to the demographic variables listed in Table 7-2, other independent variables were collected and examined in the questionnaire. These variables included residents' community attachment (economic reliance, length of residence), event involvement (working with the Olympics, with the tourism industry, plus a Games-consultation situation), knowledge of tourism and local economy (opinions on more

Table 7-3: Perceptions towards the Impacts of the Olympic Games   (n=1,165)

Statement of the Beijing 2008 Olympics	Respondents Frequencies (%)			Mean	Std. Dev.
	Disagree[8]	*Neutral*	*Agree*[9]		
I support the 2008 Olympics	3.0	.8	96.0	6.5	0.98
Beijing should apply another mega event like the Olympics	4.0	1.8	92.5	6.3	1.16
Overall, the positive impacts outweigh its negative impacts	4.2	7.8	92.1	6.2	1.13
The Games are too commercialised	22.7	4.1	54.9	4.7	1.56
The Games are too politicalised	32.1	16.2	46.3	4.3	1.65
Bring the community closer	5.4	1.4	89.3	5.9	1.25
Give Beijing a chance to show what are capable of doing	4.4	5.3	92.4	6.1	1.14
Increase the pride of local residents	4.5	3.9	93.2	6.1	1.16
Promote Beijing as a tourism destination	3.5	3.6	93.3	6.1	1.08
Provide locals opportunity to attend an international event	4.9	8.7	93.9	6.1	1.14
Understand different people& cultures	3.9	5.7	93.2	6.1	1.10
Meet new people	4.6	4.1	91.1	5.9	1.17
Enhance Beijing's international identity through world media exposure.	2.4	2.4	95.5	6.3	0.99
Improved city appearance	2.7	1.5	95.6	6.2	1.02
Improved public facilities	4.8	7.5	90.6	5.9	1.15
Improved road condition in Beijing	7.3	1.0	88.4	5.8	1.28
Increase business opportunities	1.3	3.4	96.3	6.3	0.89
Increase employment opportunities	4.3	5.2	91.7	6.0	1.15
Higher price levels in Beijing	25.7	2.8	64	4.8	1.68
Overcrowding of the use of local facilities during the Games	32.4	2.1	57.8	4.5	1.62
Inconvenience for local due to increased traffic congestion	42.0	3.9	51.2	4.3	1.74
More noise	61.1	15.5	32.6	3.5	1.76
Damage the natural environment	69.0	2.6	24.5	3.1	1.71
Disrupt residents' peace & tranquillity	72.6	.8	22.9	3.0	1.73
Higher levels of crime in Beijing	68.5	2.8	22.2	2.9	1.77
Higher levels of local service	4.4	2.1	91.2	5.9	1.11

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[8]Disagree includes: 1=strongly disagree   2=disagree   3=somewhat disagree
[9] Agree includes: 5=somewhat agree   6=agree   7=strongly agree.

tourists visit Beijing, and preference to various tourist attractions), and political self-identification (opinions towards government performance and Western countries' rebuke of China's human rights policies). Detailed discussion related to these variables is provided in Sections 3.7 and 4.3. Descriptive statistics for these variables are presented in Tables 7-4, 7-5, 7-6, and 7-7.

Table 7-4: Respondents' General Perceptions of the Impacts of the Olympics   (n=1,165)

| | Respondents Frequencies (%) | | | | Mean | Std. Dev. |
	Disagree[10]	*Neutral*	*Agree*[11]	*Don't Know*		
The industry that I current work in will benefit from the hosting of the Games.	24.5	11.2	56.7	7.6	4.8	1.80
The Games will increase my personal/ family income	36.3	13.7	44.6	5.2	4.2	1.80

Table 7-5: Respondents' Perceptions towards Tourism and Government (n=1,165)

| | Respondents Frequencies (%) | | | | Mean | Std. Dev. |
	Disagree	*Neutral*	*Agree*	*Don't Know*		
In general, I am glad to see more tourists visiting Beijing	5.4	2.9	90.9	.7	6.1	1.23
Generally, I am satisfied with the governments' performance	3.8	5.7	86.4	4.0	5.7	1.14

Table 7-6: Respondents' Personal Experience with the Olympics and Tourism (n=1,165)

Question	**Option**	*Frequency*	*%*
Consulted during the bid/ preparation of the Olympic Games?	yes	77	6.6
	no	1088	93.4
Working or used to work for an Olympic-related project?	Yes	29	2.5
	No	1136	97.5
Working or used to work for tourism industry?	yes	56	4.8
	no	1109	95.2

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[10]Disagree includes 1=strongly disagree   2=disagree   3=somewhat disagree;
[11] Agree includes   5=somewhat agree   6=agree   7=strongly agree.

Table7-7: Respondents' Opinions on Western Countries' Rebuke on China's Human Right Issues (n=1,165)

Question	Option	*Frequency*	*%*
What do you think Western countries' rebuke towards China's Human Rights Issues?	It is with goodwill & is necessary for China	86	7.4
	Somewhat with goodwill & perhaps needed for China	339	29.1
	Neutral	345	29.6
	It is for own interests, no much goodwill accompanied	214	18.4
	It is hostile and a kind of anti-China policy	109	9.4
	I don't know	72	6.2

7.3 Factors of Perceived Impacts of the Olympic Games

As mentioned above, 26 items were included in the survey questionnaire. Of those, 5 were used to measure overall perceptions and 21 were related to specific impacts of the Games.

Exploratory factor analysis is an analytical technique that has been applied extensively to summarise information on a large number of variables into a small number of factors. It can function to reduce the number of variables to make them more meaningful and to identify underlying constructs in the data (Aaker, Kumar & Day, 2004). In this study, principal component analysis with varimax rotation was applied to group variables that measure Beijing residents' perceptions towards the 21 specific impact items.

Factor analysis was started by calculating the variable-by-variable (bivariate) correlation matrix. The correlation analysis results show that, despite the fact that some variables have low correlations with others; the majority of variables were significantly correlated. Hair, Anderson, Tatham and Black (1998) and De Vaus (2002) suggested that Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) Measure of Sampling Adequacy (MSA) values can provide a more formal way of assessing whether the set of variables overall, and each item in particular, is appropriate for factor analysis. The KMO MSA values for each variable are presented in Appendix G. All KMO MSA values were greater than 0.80, which reveals that these variables were highly suitable for factor analysis.

The principal components method with Varimax rotation was used to extract the underlying perceived impact factors. The communality (i.e., the amount of variance in a variable that is explained by the extracted factors, which ranges from 0 to 1)

statistics were calculated and the number of factors was controlled with an *eigenvalue* greater than 1. To determine whether any item should be included in a certain factor, a factor cut-off score of 0.4 was used. The Total Variance Explained information and the Rotated Components Matrix are presented in Appendix H, which indicated that the 21 perceived impact items yielded 4 factors with *eigenvalues* greater than 1, with cumulative variance of 53%.

Because the main purpose of factor analysis is to summarise perceived impact items into a smaller number of factors, the process of generating factors should stop when the generated factors are no longer significative. In this study, after measuring internal consistency through reliability analysis (Cronbach's coefficient α) of each of the four initial factors, it was noted that each factor identified is characterised by clear underlying factor themes (Table 7-8). One item (higher level of services offered by local businesses) did not fit into any of the 4 factors. Also, the internal consistency reliability of each factor would decrease if that one item was included. The communality for this variable was very low (approximately 0.28), which means that no satisfactory explanation can be drawn from it. Consequently, this variable was deleted. Thus, 4 factors, explaining 53% of the variance, were obtained. Each factor contained 2 to 7 items. With Cronbach's α coefficients ranging from 0.67 to 0.85, the factors can be regarded as stable and internally consistent.

Factor 1 contained 7 items with the greatest individual variance (28% and 18% of the variance before and after rotation, respectively) and the highest eigenvalue (5.8). The perceived event impact items included in this factor were: "bring the community closer together"; "give the city a chance to show what we are capable of doing"; "provide residents opportunity to meet new people"; "increase the pride of local

residents in the city"; "provide local residents opportunity to attend international event"; "promote the city as a tourism destination"; and "help people to understand

Table 7-8: Factor Analysis Results of Residents' Perceptions towards the Impacts of the Olympic Games   (n=1165)

Dimensions (Factors)	1	2	3	4	Mean	Communality
Factor 1 Social-Psychological Impacts						
bring the community closer together	.816				5.9	.687
give the city a chance to show the world what we are capable of doing	.776				6.1	.657
provide residents opportunity to meet new people	.747				5.9	.602
increase the pride of local residents in the city	.667				6.1	.530
provide local residents opportunity to attend international event	.622				6.1	.532
promote the city as a tourism destination	.484				6.1	.394
help people to understand different people and cultures	.483				6.1	.508
Factor 2: Social Life Impacts						
more noise which will annoy local residents		.803			3.5	.650
damage the natural environment		.776			3.1	.662
inconvenience for local residents due to increased traffic congestion		.737			4.3	.592
disrupt residents' peace and tranquillity		.703			3.0	.618
overcrowding of the use of local facilities during the event		.682			4.5	.550
higher levels of crime in the city		.515			2.9	.418
Higher price levels		.427			4.8	.247
Factor 3: Urban Development Impacts						
improved city appearance			.678		6.2	.548
development of new public facilities which can be used by locals			.708		5.9	.572
enhance the city's international identity by world media exposal.			.454		6.3	.436
improved city road condition			.568		5.8	.421
Factor 4:Economic Impacts						
increase business opportunities				.686	6.3	.637
increase employment opportunities				.685	6.0	.593
Eigenvalue	5.81	3.14	1.12	1.07		
Variance explained (%)	18.26	15.38	10.58	8.8		Total 53.02
Cronbach alpha (α)	0.85	0.79	0.67	0.67		

different people and cultures." These seven items' were related to impacts of a social psychological nature, and therefore were labelled "Social-Psychological Impacts."

Factor 2 was named "Social Life Impacts." Seven items were included in this factor: "damage the natural environment"; "disrupt residents' peace and tranquillity"; "more noise which will annoy local residents"; "inconvenience for local residents due to increased traffic congestion"; "higher levels of crime in the city"; "higher price levels"; and "overcrowding of the use of local facilities during the event". The items in this factor differ from those in Factor 1 inasmuch as they constitute impacts that directly affect residents' everyday social life. This factor explained approximately 15.4% of the variance, with an eigenvalue of 3.14.

Factor 3 comprised four items and accounted for 10.6% of the variance, with an eigenvalue of 1.12. The four perceived impact items were: "improved city appearance"; "development of new public facilities which can be used by local residents"; "enhance the city's international identity by world media exposal"; and "improved city road condition." Items in this factor concentrated on the event impacts on the host city's development, and therefore were labelled "Urban Development Impacts."

The last factor generated was the "Economic Impacts" factor, which included two items: "increase business opportunities," and "increase employment opportunities." This factor accounted for 8.8% of the variance, with an eigenvalue of 1.1. It represented respondents' perceptions of the economic roles of mega events.

7.4 Groups of Respondents' Perceptions towards the Impacts of the Olympic Games

Cluster analysis is a technique that is used to group and classify objects or individuals such that each object or individual within a given group (cluster) is very similar to the others. The resulting clusters should exhibit high internal (within-cluster) homogeneity and high external (between-cluster) heterogeneity (Zikmund, 2003). Through cluster analysis, groups of residents who possess similar perceptions towards the impacts of the 2008 Olympic Games can be identified, and the characteristics of each group of residents can be outlined. The results can provide a more detailed picture of residents' perceptions towards the Olympics Games. Meanwhile, marketing or public relationship strategies that aim specifically at particular cluster groups of residents can be formulated and implemented accordingly.

The cluster analysis in this study followed the procedure adopted by Singh (1990) in his seminal customer satisfaction study. Figure 7-1 provides a brief description of the analysis process.

Rather than using individual impact items, the impact factors generated by the previous factor analysis were used as inputs for the cluster analysis. This is because the individual variables contain interdependencies (which reflect the number of variables in each factor and their inter-correlations) that are likely to bias the cluster analysis results. The use of factors eliminates such interdependencies by representing the raw data by a relatively independent and parsimonious set of factors (Singh, 1990). Observations of outlying data were conducted before the analysis because cluster analysis is very sensitive to outliers (outliers are objects that are very different from all others) (Hair et al., 1998). Upon observation, it was believed that no outliers were

present in the data set (the factor scores used were also standardised variables, which was based on Likert 7-point scaled data).

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        │  Assess the Range of the Cluster Numbers n  │
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            │  Randomly Split Data into D1 & D2  │
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        │  Cross Validate Solution in D1 and D2 (K-means) to  │
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          └────────────────────────────────────┘
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                            ▼
            ┌──────────────────────────────────┐
            │  Assign Cluster Membership to each case  │
            └──────────────────────────────────┘
                            │
                            ▼
              ┌──────────────────────────────┐
              │  Describe and Analyse Cluster  │
              └──────────────────────────────┘
                            │
                            ▼
                 ┌──────────────────────┐
                 │  Discriminant Analysis  │
                 └──────────────────────┘
                            │
                            ▼
        ┌──────────────────────────────────────────┐
        │  Evaluate the Result & Develop Cluster Profiles  │
        └──────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

Figure 7-1: Cluster Analysis Process

To obtain an initial estimate of the range of the number of clusters, hierarchical cluster analysis was administered using Ward's method (with the Squared Euclidean Distance applied). The hierarchical cluster analysis results suggested the number of clusters ranged from 2 to 7. Next, the raw data consisting of 1,040 cases (cases with

missing values were excluded) was randomly spilt into two data sets, D1 and D2, each containing 520 cases. With the possible cluster solution *n (n=2,…,7)*, D1 was utilised to generate the distances between initial clusters by the K-means procedure. D2 was computed by K-means analysis both in an unconstrained (same as the procedure with D1) and constrained manner (with the cluster distances acquired D1). This procedure essentially provides a cross-validation for the D2 data set. For a given *n*, the constrained solution clustered the cases in D2 based on the D1 cluster solution, while the unconstrained solution was free of restrictions. For each *n*, the chance corrected coefficient of agreement, Kappa, was calculated for the 2 solutions of D2 cases. The optional *n* with the maximal Kappa was, accordingly, chosen as candidate N for the entire cluster analysis. It was then submitted to K-means cluster analysis, again with the entire combined D1 and D2 data. This split-combine approach ensured the validity of the analysis, and is recommended by several researchers (including Hair *et al.,* 1998).

The analysis initially resulted in 2 to 7 cluster solutions with Kappa co-efficiencies (the chance corrected coefficient of agreement) ranging from 0.926 to -0.106. Repeated attempts to randomly split the entire data into D1 and D2 produced similar Kappa results. Therefore, the two-cluster solution was selected as the most appropriate representation of the data. A two-cluster solution on the basis of all 1,040 cases was then developed, with 919 cases in Cluster One and 121 cases in Cluster Two. Based on the cluster sizes and means, the clusters were labelled and described as follows. Cluster one was labelled as **Favourers** of the Olympic Games, and Cluster Two as **Ambivalents**. As shown in Table 7-9, *favourers* constituted the majority (88%) of the total sample, while respondents who were ambivalent about the Olympic

Games and its impacts were a minority (12%). The majority of Beijing residents

perceived the impacts of the Olympic Games very positively, and expressed a high

Table 7-9: Mean Score Difference between Favourers & Ambivalent Clusters

		Cluster One Favourers (n=919, 88.4% of N)		Cluster Two Ambivalents (n=121, 11.6% of N)	
		Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
General Perceptions	I support the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing.	**6.7**	0.69	5.5	2.01
	Beijing should apply to host another major event like the Olympic Games.	**6.5**	0.91	5.2	1.98
	Overall the positive impacts of the 2008 Olympics outweigh its negative impacts.	**6.3**	1.00	5.2	1.6
	The Games are too commercialised	**4.7**	1.53	4.4	1.66
	The Games are too politicalised*	4.2	1.65	4.3	1.67
Urban Develop-ment Impacts	Enhance Beijing's international identity by world media exposure	**6.5**	0.74	5.3	1.59
	Improved city appearance	**6.3**	0.79	5.2	1.74
	The development of new public facilities which can be used by local residents	**6.1**	0.93	4.7	1.58
	Improved road condition in Beijing	**5.9**	1.16	4.7	1.69
Social-Psychol-ogical Impacts	Provide local residents opportunity to attend international event	**6.3**	0.75	4.6	1.82
	Help people understand different people& cultures	**6.3**	0.8	4.6	1.73
	Promote Beijing as a tourism destination	**6.3**	0.81	4.8	1.73
	Give Beijing a chance to show the world what we are capable of doing	**6.3**	0.81	4.7	1.80
	Increase the pride of local residents in the city	**6.3**	0.9	5.0	1.81
	Bring the community closer together	**6.1**	1.00	4.6	1.89
	Give residents opportunity to meet new people	**6.1**	0.93	4.6	1.76
Economic Impacts	Increase business opportunities in Beijing	**6.4**	0.63	5.0	1.35
	Increase employment opportunities in Beijing	**6.3**	0.79	4.0	1.52
Social Life Impacts	Higher price levels in Beijing	**4.9**	1.59	4.0	1.93
	Overcrowding in use of local facilities during the Games	**4.6**	1.6	4.0	1.78
	Disrupt Beijing residents' peace and tranquillity	2.9	1.72	**3.4**	1.99
	Higher levels of crime in Beijing	2.8	1.73	**3.6**	1.88
	Inconvenience for local residents due to increased traffic congestion*	4.3	1.74	4.0	1.77
	More noise which will annoy local residents*	3.5	1.76	3.4	1.77
	Damage the natural environment*	3.1	1.71	3.3	1.85

Note: The higher means were underlined and in bold. Items that respondents did not show significant difference between the two clusters were marked with *.

degree of favourable perceptions towards the Games. The ambivalent cluster also had most mean scores larger than 4 (based on the 7-point scale), which indicated an overall positive, but lower degree of favourable opinions towards the event.

In the case of most items, Cluster One (*favourers*) displayed significant differences from Cluster Two (*ambivalents*). Favourers viewed the overall impacts of the Olympic Games more positively and tended to be more supportive for the Games than the ambivalents. Favourers also perceived the Olympic Games' social-psychological impacts, urban development impacts, and economic impacts more positively. In contrast, ambivalent respondents had several concerns about the Games' impacts on social life. Concerns about the Games' disruption of residents' tranquillity and about potential increase in crime distinguished ambivalent respondents from favourers. As shown in Table 7-9, 4 items showed no statistical difference between the 2 clusters: inconvenience due to increased traffic congestion; Games too politicalised; more noise; and damage on the natural environment. Three of the 4 items belonged to the Games' social life impacts.

Considering the large size of Cluster One (favourers), a further clustering was undertaken with its 919 cases. This second process attempted to disclose sub-groups among the favourers. Two sub-clusters were identified, with 574 cases in sub-cluster A and 345 in sub-cluster B. The mean scores of the two sub-clusters are presented in Table 7-10. Based on their differences for the impact items, sub-cluster A was labelled *Optimistic Favourers* while sub-cluster B was labelled *Favourers with Reservations*. As shown in Table 7-10, *Optimistic Favourers* differed from *Favourers with Reservations* in their opinions concerning the Games' economic and social life impacts. No statistical differences were found between their perceptions towards the

Games' impacts on residents' social-psychological and urban development aspects. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that both O*ptimistic Favourers* and *Favourers with Reservations* maintained highly positive images of the Games' social-psychological and urban development impacts. In contrast, *Favourers with*

Table 7-10: Mean Score Difference between Optimistic Favourers & Favourers with Reservations

		Sub-Cluster A **Optimistic Favourers** (n=574, 55.2% of N)		Sub-Cluster B **Favourers** with **Reservations** (n=345, 33.2% of N)	
		Mean	S. D.	Mean	S. D.
General Perceptions	I support the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing	**6.7**	0.62	6.5	0.78
	The Games are too commercialised	4.5	1.57	**5.1**	1.37
	The Games are too politicalised	3.9	1.67	**4.7**	1.52
	Beijing should apply to host another major event like the Olympic Games*	6.5	0.94	6.4	0.87
	Overall the positive impacts of the 2008 Olympics will outweigh its negative impacts *	6.4	1.01	6.2	0.98
Economic Impacts	Increase business opportunities in Beijing	**6.5**	0.59	6.3	0.66
	Increase employment opportunities in Beijing	**6.3**	0.78	6.1	0.80
Social Life Impacts	Overcrowding of using facilities during the Games	4.0	1.57	**5.6**	1.08
	Inconvenience for local residents due to increased traffic congestion	3.6	1.57	**5.6**	1.21
	Higher price levels in Beijing	4.6	1.62	**5.5**	1.39
	More noise which will annoy local residents	2.6	1.24	**5.1**	1.40
	Damage the natural environment	2.2	1.05	**4.6**	1.57
	Disrupt Beijing residents' peace and tranquillity	2.1	1.06	**4.4**	1.71
	Higher levels of crime in Beijing	2.2	1.33	**3.8**	1.87
Urban Development Impacts	Enhance Beijing's international identity by world media exposure*	6.5	0.72	6.4	0.79
	Improved city appearance*	6.3	0.81	6.3	0.74
	The development of new public facilities which can be used by local residents*	6.1	0.95	6.2	0.89
	Improved road condition in Beijing*	5.9	1.17	6.0	1.14
Social-Psychological Impacts	Bring the community closer together*	6.1	0.98	6.1	1.02
	Provide local residents an opportunity to attend an international event*	6.3	0.73	6.3	0.77
	Increase the pride of local residents in the city*	6.3	0.92	6.3	0.86
	Promote Beijing as a tourism destination*	6.3	0.83	6.2	0.78
	Give Beijing a chance to show the world what we are capable of doing*	6.3	0.79	6.2	0.83
	Help people understand different people&cultures*	6.3	0.73	6.2	0.90
	Give residents an opportunity to meet new people*	6.1	0.94	6.2	0.91

Note: The higher Means were underlined and in bold. Items that did not show significant differences between the two sub-clusters were marked with *.

Reservations recognised to a greater degree the possible negative social life impacts caused by the Olympic Games and valued the economic impacts less than did *Optimistic Favourers*. Consequently, their overall degree of support for the Games was slightly lower than that of Optimistic Favourers.

Profiles of Cluster Membership

In the following paragraphs, the profile information of respondents in different clusters is examined with the discriminant analysis technique. By knowing respondents' profile information, one can understand the member characteristics in each cluster.

Table 7-11: Independent Variables and Measures for Discriminant and Multiple Regression Analysis

Variable	*Measurement*
Age	Six age groups for ages of 15 or above
Gender	1=male, 0=female
Education background	Five education categories
Personal Income	Six income categories
Employment status	Six employment categories
Length of residency in Beijing	Five length of residency categories
Perceived home-venue distance	Six distance categories
Work experience with Olympic project	1=Yes, 0=No
Work experience with tourism industry	1=Yes,0=No
Olympic consultation experience	1=Yes, 0=No
Satisfaction with government performance	7-point scales (1= strongly dissatisfied, 7=strongly satisfied)
Attitude about western countries' rebuke on China's human right issues	Five attitude categories
Family /relatives residential relocation experience	1=Yes, 0=No
Opinions about more tourists visiting Beijing	7-point scales (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly disagree)
Increased own /family income because of the Olympic Games	7-point scales (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly disagree)

Discriminant analysis, which has been commonly used by researchers to identify groups to which an object belongs, was performed to profile the characteristics of two different clusters. In this study, the dependent variable was residents' cluster category (1=favourers, 2=ambivalents). Fifteen independent variables (presented in Table 7-11) were utilised to profile category membership. All items were based on the literature (see Section 3.7), and were assumed to provide the source of residents' social representations that determine their perceptions towards the Olympics and its impacts.

A stepwise operation with Wilks' lambda was adopted in the discriminant analysis procedure. The result reported one discriminant function [overall Wilks' lambda Λ=.788, χ^2(3, N=714)=168.9, ρ<.001], with an eigenvalue of .27, a canonical correlation of .46, and 21.2% (.46²=.212) of the variance. Discriminant loadings were chosen to determine the relative importance of each independent variable in discriminating between groups. With the stepwise procedure, only 3 independent variables (namely satisfaction with government performance, opinions about more tourists visiting Beijing, and work experience in tourism industry) were significant, with correlations of .785, .773 and .248 in the discriminant function respectively. The un-standardised canonical discriminant function coefficients results in a discriminant equation as follows:

$$RCA = -8.180 + .538*SatisfGP + .546*OpinMTVB + .918*TourWE$$

Where   *RCA* is Respondent Cluster Attachment;

OpinMTVB is Opinion about More Tourists Visiting Beijing;

SatisfGP is response of Satisfaction with Government Performance; and

TourWE is Work Experience in tourism industry.

The standardised discriminant function coefficients results were: *OpinMTVB*: .624; *SatisfG*P: .593; and *TourWE*: .210. These function coefficients can be applied to assess the importance of each variable in determining each case's cluster belonging. Accordingly, respondents' opinions on more tourists visiting Beijing and their satisfaction with government performance contributed considerably to determining their cluster membership, while the role of work experience was somewhat less important. The results correctly classified 83% of original grouped cases.

It was therefore concluded that the membership of the two clusters (favourers and ambivalents) can be distinguished by their satisfaction with government performance, their attitudes on more tourists visiting Beijing, and work experience in the tourism industry. Other independent variables, such as basic demographic variables (age, gender, education level, employment status), had little or no effect in determining respondents' general perceptions of the Olympic Games and its impacts. Compared with members in the *Favourers* cluster, *Ambivalents* tend to be less satisfied with government performance, less willing to see more tourists visiting Beijing, and had a higher probability of tourism industry work experience. Independent sample *t*-tests confirmed this conclusion. *Favourers* had a higher degree of satisfaction (5.85 mean score, compared with 4.61 for ambivalents) with governments' performance (*t*=7.66, *df* =121.3, *ρ<.001).* Favourers were also significantly more willing to see more tourists visiting Beijing (*t*=7.32, *df* =131.6, *ρ<.001)* than were ambivalents (6.28 mean score, compared with 5.07 for ambivalents). Independent sample's *t*-tests with opinions about Western countries' rebuke on China's human rights policies also reported significant difference between the two clusters (see Table 7-12-1). In addition, results of the Chi-square test with work experience with tourism industry

shows that tourism industry work experience had significant influences on respondents' cluster attachment. About 27% of respondents with tourism work experience were ambivalent, while ambivalence characterised only 11% of those who did not have tourism work experience. Similar chi-square tests with other independent variables (e.g., gender, age, education background, income level, length of residency, or employment status) did not reveal significant differences between the two clusters. The features of the two clusters are summarised in Tables 7-12-1 and 7-12-2.

Table 7-12-1: Cluster Profile Differences of Favours and Ambivalents (I)

	Cluster	Mean	t-value	df	ρ
Satisfaction with government performance (7-point scale)	Favourers	5.9	7.66	121.3	<.001*
	Ambivalents	4.6			
Opinions of Western Countries' rebuke on China's human right issues(3-point scale)	Favourers	1.9	2.46	160.1	.015*
	Ambivalents	1.7			
Opinions on more tourists visiting Beijing (7-point scale)	Favourers	6.3	7.32	131.6	<.001*
	Ambivalents	5.1			

Denotes significance at the .05 level

Table 7-12-2: Cluster Profile Differences of Favours and Ambivalents (II)

	Cluster	Mode/ Median	χ^2	df	ρ
Tourism industry work experience (Nominal, 0,1)	Favourers	No tourism work experience	12.44	1	<.001*
	Ambivalents	No tourism work experience			
Gender (Nominal, 0,1)	Favourers	female	.583	1	.445
	Ambivalents	male			
Employment status (Nominal, six- category)	Favourers	Full time staff	8.81	5	.117
	Ambivalents	Full time staff			
Education background (Ordinal, five-category)	Favourers	Undergraduate	7.42	4	.115
	Ambivalents	High school			
Age (Ordinal, six-category)	Favourers	Aged 25-34	9.67	5	.085
	Ambivalents	Aged 25-34			
Length of residency (Ordinal, five-category)	Favourers	10-20 years	2.45	6	.874
	Ambivalents	10-20 years			
Income level (monthly) (Ordinal, six-category)	Favourers	2000-3999 Yuan	7.39	5	.193
	Ambivalents	2000-3999 Yuan			

Denotes significance at the .05 level

7.5 Comparison of Perceptions towards the Olympic Games

One of the objectives of this study is to profile different respondents' characteristics (based on their degree of support for the Olympic Games) and to determine whether any differences exist among them. Accordingly, several hypotheses were proposed (Table 7-13).

Based on the types of measure for the different independent variables, either an independent sample *t*-test or ANOVA was administered to test the above hypotheses. The results are presented in Table 7-13; detailed test information is provided in Tables 7-14 and 7-15 respectively.

Table 7-13: Hypotheses and Hypotheses Test Results

Variable		Hypothesis	Result
Political self-identification	A	Nationalist self-identified residents are more supportive for the Games than those who were more liberal self-identified.	**Supported**
	A(1)	Residents who are satisfied with government performance are more supportive of the Games than those who are not satisfied.	**Supported**
Education	B	Residents who were with higher education background are more supportive of the Olympic Games than those with a lower educational background.	Not Supported
Income level	C	Residents with a higher income level support the Olympic Games more than those with lower income level	Not Supported
Attach-ment	D(1)	Residents whose own/ family income increase due to the hosting the Olympic Games are more supportive of the Olympic Games than those whose income.	Not Supported
	D(2)	Residents with longer length-of-residency in Beijing are more supportive of the Olympics than those have a shorter length of residence.	Not Supported
Involve-ment	E(1)	Residents who have Olympic-related work experiences are less supportive of the Olympics than those who do not have such work experience.	**Supported**
	E(2)	Residents whose family or friends/relatives had been relocated because of the Games are more supportive of the Game than those who have no such experiences	Not Supported
	E(3)	Residents who had been consulted about the Olympic Games are more supportive for the Olympic Games than those who had not been consulted.	Not Supported
Proximity	F	Residents who live closer to Olympic Venues support the Games more than those live far from the Olympic Venues.	Not Supported

Table 7-14: Relationship between Respondents' Support for the Olympic Games and Socio-demographic Characteristics (by One-way ANOVA) (n=1165)

Hypo-thesis	**Independent variables** and Measurement scales		**Dependent variable**: Degree of support for the Olympic Games			
			d.f.	*F*	*Sig.*	Conclusion
A	*Attitudes about western countries rebuke on China's human rights issues*	Nominal, 3 types	2, 1088	6.87	<.001	Respondents who believed "the rebuke was hostile and a kind of anti-China policy" were significantly more supportive of the Games than either the "with goodwill and is necessary for China" group (*ρ=.004)* or the neutral-opinion group (*ρ =.001)*
	Satisfactions with government performance	Interval, 3 levels	2, 1113	73.05	<.001	Respondents who were not satisfied with government performance were significantly less supportive of the Games than either the "satisfied with government performance" group (*ρ<.001)* or the neutral group (*ρ =.003)*
B	*Educational background*	Ordinal 5-level	4, 1157	5.46	<.001	Respondents with senior high school or technical school educations were significantly less supportively of the Games than those whose highest education was primary school or less (*ρ=.013)* and those who had undergraduate educations (*ρ=.004).*
C	*Income level*	Ordinal, 6-level	5,1032	.919	.468	No significant difference exists
D(1)	*Own/family income increasing due to the Olympic Games*	Interval, 3 levels	2, 1099	3.26	.039	No significant difference was found by post hoc tests.
D(2)	*Length-of-residence*	Ordinal, 5 types	4, 1153	1.50	.200	No significant difference exists
F	*Perceived distance between the home-to-Games venue.*	Ordinal, 6 types	5,1157	2.05	.069	Post hoc test results indicated that respondents who lived very close to any Olympic Venues (within 1km) supported for the Olympic Games significantly more than those who perceived their homes were slightly further away from any Olympic venues (1-3.99km)(ρ=0.03).

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Table 7-15: Relationship between Respondents' Support and their Involvement in the Olympic Games (by Independent Sample t-test) (n=1165)

Hypoth esise	Independent variables (in nominal scales, *Yes* or *NO*)	**Dependent variable***: resident's degree of support for the Olympic Games (7-level measurement)*			
		d.f.	*t*	*Sig.*	conclusion
E(1)	Olympic-related work experience	28.26	-2.41	.023	Residents who have work experiences with Olympic-related projects are significantly less supportive of the Olympic Games (mean=5.59) than those who have no such work experiences (mean=6.65).
E(2)	Relocation experience	1161	.63	.529	no significant difference exists
E(3)	Consulted about the Olympic Games	81.06	-1.31	.19	no significant difference exists

Self-identified nationalist respondents demonstrated significantly higher degrees of support than did those identified as liberalists (Hypothesis A). In the case of Hypothesis B, it was found that respondents' degree of support showed some differences among certain classified groups (e.g., educational levels' high school group and undergraduate group). Respondents' degrees of support for the Olympic Games didn't differ according to income levels (Hypothesis C) or attachment to the event or event destination (Hypothesise D). The test results on the 3 aspects of involvement (hypothesis E(1), E(2), and E(3)) indicate that respondents' degree of support varied with different types of involvement, which suggests that the specification of form of involvement is essential when discussing the relationship between residents' involvement and their reactions.

Three of the 7 hypothesises were accepted (Table 7-13). Respondents' socio-demographic factors were not found to be influential factors in determining residents' perceptions. In contrast, these factors were previously identified as key factors in determining perceptions towards event and tourism developments, particularly in certain developing country cases (see Section 3.7). In addition, residents presented different degrees of support for the event according to rarely-mentioned variables such as residents' political self-identification and event-related work experience. In the next section, the author will continue to focus on these variables in an effort to identify their roles and significance in determining degree of support for the Olympic Games.

7.6 Role and Importance of Variables in Affecting Residents' Perceptions towards the Olympics

The results of hypothesis testing presented in Section 7.5 indicate that respondents' perceptions towards the Olympic Games differ over several variables. This section will focus on identifying the role and importance of various independent variables' through multiple regression analysis.

Multiple regression analysis is widely applied in analysing the relationship between a single dependent variable and several independent variables in order to evaluate the determinants of effectiveness for a program. In this study, the dependent variable was respondents' degree of support for the Olympic Games. Fifteen independent variables were chosen for this analysis (Table 7-11).

Sample size has a direct impact on the appropriateness and the statistical power of multiple regression analysis. Hair *et al.* (1998) point out that very large samples render the statistical significance overly sensitive. They suggested a desired level of 15 to 20 observations for each independent variable to achieve a generalisable result. Therefore, half of the sample (i.e., 572 cases) were randomly selected and submitted to multiple regression analysis. Three hundred and seventy cases were reported as effective samples: other cases had missing values.

The ideal situation for multiple regression analysis is to have a number of independent variables highly correlated with the dependent variable, but with little correlation among them. To identify a multi-collinearity situation in the regression model, the variance inflation factor (VIF) and condition index of each independent variable was calculated. The values of the VIFs range from 1.07 to 2.20. Condition indices of the

independent variables range from 2.76 to 28.78. These figures confirm that collinearity is not a problem for this model (Field, 2000). Therefore, all 15 variables were included in the analysis.

The 15 independent variables were entered simultaneously into the regression equation. The regression results reported a multiple correlation coefficient (R) .49 and an adjusted R^2 of .21, which means that 21% of the variance in residents' support for the Olympic Games can be predicted from these independent variables. According to Cohen (1988), an r of .46 (square root of .21=.46) indicates a large (grossly perceptible) effect. The ANOVA result of $F(15, 354)=7.49$, $\rho<.001$ suggests that one or more of the independent variables is a significant predictor of the dependent variable (degree of support for the Olympic Games). Two independent variables were identified as significant predictors, and the regression equation was formulated as follows:

$$SFOG= 2.943 + .223*SatifGP +.303*OpinMTVB$$

Where *SFOG* is degree of Support for the Olympic Games (scaled 1-7);

SatisfGP is Satisfaction with Government Performance (scaled 1-7); and

OpinMTVB is Opinions about More Tourists Visiting Beijing (scaled 1-7).

The standardised regression coefficient results were: *SatisfG*P: .234, and *OpinMTVB*: .327. These standardised function coefficients suggested these two independent variables can be used to ascertain their relative importance in the regression variate. It is concluded that both variables affect the respondents' degree of

support for the Olympic Games positively. Compared with the respondents' degree of satisfaction with government performance, their opinions on more tourists visiting Beijing was slightly more important in affecting respondents' degree of support for the Olympic Games. None of the other independent variables had a significant effect on respondents' degree of support.

The multiple regression analysis identified 2 independent variables that had significant roles in affecting residents' degree of support for the Games. These 2 independent variables comprised the main sources that shape residents' social representations of support. It is also noted that these 2 influential variables verified the roles of some elements in the Social Representations model presented in Chapter 3, namely residents' political self-identification and their knowledge of tourism respectively. Little evidence was found that other elements can affect Beijing residents' social representations.

7.7 Summary

This chapter presented a thorough quantitative data analysis of the survey data. The results answered several research questions and tested the research hypotheses listed in the research objectives. An initial event impact measurement scale consisting of 20 items was developed. The results revealed that the majority of residents had positive perceptions towards the impacts of the Olympic Games, and supported the Games. Several independent variables were found to be influential in affecting residents' perceptions.

Chapter 8

Discussion and Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This dissertation investigated host government's and residents' perceptions towards the impacts of a mega event: the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games. Previous chapters addressed how the research aim and the objectives were achieved. After an extensive review of the relevant literature, primary data were collected by in-depth interviews with government officials and through a questionnaire survey of local residents. The data was thoroughly analysed, and research findings were presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

A summary and discussion of the research findings is presented in this concluding chapter. Implications of the findings for both theory and practice are explored. The chapter closes with suggestions for future research.

8.2 Summary and Discussion of the Research Findings

8.2.1 Government Motivations and Perceptions

One of the purposes of this study was to identify and examine the Chinese Government's aims and motivations in bidding for and hosting the 2008 Olympic Games, and then to obtain its perceptions towards the Games. By interviewing senior government officials who had been involved in the Olympic Games' bid and preparation process, a range of motivational factors that had spurred the government to host the Olympic Games in Beijing were identified. The perceptions of those officials towards the impacts of the Games were documented and discussed.

Showcasing China to the world, boosting Chinese national pride, and *uniting Chinese citizens* were identified as the most important motivations of the Chinese Government. These motivational factors were not new, as they had been addressed in the existing literature. However, in previous research they were seldom identified as the critical motivation factors for hosting mega events. The Government was also found to have several motivations of a developmental nature. Development is among the key roles of mega events (Ritchie, 1984; Hall, 1992; Soutar & McLeod, 1993; Hiller, 2000). The range of developmental issues covered in the literature includes economic boosting, urban development, infrastructure and public facilities improvement. In this study, additional developmental elements related to governments' motivations were explored, and found to include *improving management and service quality, enhancing civic virtues,* and *promoting sports development and healthy lifestyles.* These newly-identified elements can be viewed as the intangible benefits of a mega event that the

government expects to realise. More or less, these elements can be applied to most government organisations, but arguably, they are more desirable for governments from developing countries, as building-up a positive image in the international stage and reinforcing the destination's general development are always their insistent missions. The identification of these intangible factors in this study represents an original contribution to this field; it significantly broadens the scope and range of event impacts.

Government officials perceived the possible impacts of the 2008 Olympic Games from two perspectives: tangible impacts, and intangible impacts. The perceived positive tangible impacts include *improvement of Beijing's urban layout and infrastructure, increased public facilities, new sports venues,* and *city beautification.* Positive intangible impacts brought by the Olympics include *cultural exchange, increased transparency of governance,* and *deterring crude and uncivil social behaviours.* Increased traffic congestion, possible damage to the natural environment and city heritage were noted as the main negative impacts. Compared with other stakeholders, government bodies tend to perceive the impacts from a macro level. This is fully understandable, as government officials are responsible for overall development and their deliberation over development impacts tends to be abstract. Event-related residential relocation, which is generally viewed as a negative impact in the literature, was regarded by the Chinese officials as a benefit or no-loss situation for residents. This reflects some of the Chinese government's distinctive standpoints, which have seldom been emphasised before. To a certain extent, it also reflects the social reality in present-day China: policy makers are somewhat opinionated due to

lack of sufficient supervision, allowing them take things for granted without necessarily caring about the general public's concern.

Reviewing the broad historical background of China's Olympic bid can provide a better understanding of the Chinese government's motivations and perceptions. China has undergone a period of unprecedented economic growth since the country initiated its open-door and reform policy in 1978. While the Chinese Government was anxious to improve its diplomatic environment and to demonstrate the country's new image of opening-up and reform, the success of the 1990 Asian Games stimulated the Government to begin its Olympics bid process immediately thereafter. This study found that the Chinese Government intends to use the Olympic Games as a platform to demonstrate the country's open-door and reform achievements to the international community, and as a diplomatic tool to mitigate the country's "new emerging power status in the world" image. An improved international image and better diplomatic relations with other countries are valuable political attributes that most governments desire.

The motivation "to boost national pride and to unite citizens" is always an aim of the Chinese Government under the CPC's propaganda guideline: "To unify all citizens' thoughts to the Party's will." By hosting the world's largest sports event in its capital city, as well as with the promised international exposure and better sports performance at the Games, the Government expects to see Chinese national pride stimulated. As mentioned in previous chapters, China is currently experiencing a transition from a planned economy to a market-oriented economy. This transition is accompanied by nation-wide increases in unemployment (laid-off workers),

broadened wealth gap, and society in chaos (see more in Appendix B). It is reasonable for the Chinese Government to capitalise on the Olympics' celebratory atmosphere as a strategy to generate national pride and to moderate residents' concerns of instability and loss of self-identification that have been created by this transition. Enhanced national pride and reduced social concerns will certainly facilitate the current Government's popularity, stability and longevity.

In addition to the direct motivations mentioned above, governments' motivations and expectations for economic development, urban development, management/service quality improvement, and enhancement of civic virtues were also significant. These motivations can be viewed as the governments' expectations from the full range of the potential impacts of the Olympic Games, with benefits gradually recognized and added after the bid decision had been made. Since the bid process started and detailed plans for the bid were formulated, the Games' development potential has slowly but surely been recognised by the Government. These motivations and expectations provide the hosting of the event with more tangible outcomes to gain general public support. These tangible outcomes make the outside world and Chinese residents recognise and favour the hosting of the Olympic Games. Consequently, it reinforces the achievability of the primary motivations (showcasing the country and enhancing national pride). Additionally, the Government was enthusiastic about these developmental issues because social and economic development is always of great benefit to government bodies' maintaining their position and staying in power.

When examining the Chinese Government's motivations and behaviours, the roles and influence of top leaders' can never be underestimated or ignored. Under China's

top-down administration tradition and its current bureaucratic system, any suggestions from top political leaders will be followed-up immediately, without reservation. Official bidding for the Beijing Olympic Games' was suggested by the top-most leader (Mr. Deng Xiaoping) and supported by the entire Chinese leadership. Therefore, it may be that the Olympic bid decision was put into practice by the Government even before considering why they need the Olympic Games and what the possible outcomes would be. The absence of literature indicating that there was systematic bidding or hosting feasibility research conducted before Deng's suggestion may reinforce this inference. Obviously, substantial political intervention and with few systematic feasibility analyses, the bids and hosting of the Olympic Games did not follow the proper planning and decision making processes. Future event planners and organisers are reminded that a comprehensive feasibility study prior to the final decision would be indispensable for a successful event.

It is believed that once the bid decision was made, the Government started to plan the event in detail. The Olympic Bid Committee consisted mainly of officials from government sports organisations and the Beijing Municipal Government, which had hosted the 1990 Asian Games. The Central Government's initial perceptions towards the Olympic Games were almost certainly based on the officials' understanding about the impacts of the 1990 Asian Games and their observations of the impacts of other Olympic Games. Meanwhile, with the special role of the government, which concurrently acts as the event planner and organiser, the government's perceptions have consistently mirrored their motivations for hosting the Olympic Games. For that reason, the tangible benefits perceived by the Government (improvement in Beijing's

urban layout and infrastructure, increased public facilities and sports venues) can be traced back to motivations relating to development. The intangible benefits (cultural exchange, increased transparency of governance, and deterring crude and uncivil social behaviours) were also consistent with the Government's motivations "to showcase China's achievement to the world," and "to unify citizens' mind." These results could possibly be interpreted to mean that, due to the consistency of government's perceptions with their motivations, the government did not perceive any negative impacts (particularly intangible negative impacts) that the Olympic Games could bring: one official claimed in an interview "*I have not found any possible negative impacts*" (Interviewee C). This may also explain why the Government has viewed the event-related residential relocation as a benefit or no-loss situation for residents. It reflects the distinctive role of the Chinese Government, which will act simultaneously as government administrator, planner and event organiser of the Olympic Games. Its views and perceptions towards the Games' impacts, accordingly, differ from the conclusions of other event perception studies, since few previous studies in this field have been conducted from a government perspective.

By examining the Chinese Government's motivations and perceptions, this study disclosed insights about the governments' purpose in getting involved in mega events and about their event strategy/policy making process. The results can benefit other event stakeholders and destinations to better understand and coordinate with government bodies. For instance, the local business sector can adjust its product and market strategies by understanding government/event organiser's motivations and expectations. Certainly, government bodies also can use it to review their decision-

making process. For example, Chinese officials held that the residential relocations have benefited residents, while nearly two-thirds of respondents disagreed with that view. This reflects that the Government is disengaged from the local residents within the event planning process. If the Government and the 2008 Olympic Games organisers review their Olympics planning process and involve more voices from the local community, better Games planning strategies can be formulated, which would enhance positive impacts and minimise negative impacts for the local community.

8.2.2 Residents' Perceptions

Local residents' perceptions towards the impacts of the Olympic Games were very positive, with 96% of respondents indicating support for the event. This result verifies BOCOG's (2001a) study, which reported 94% support for the Games by Beijing residents. Based on a factor analysis of event impacts, residents perceived the positive impacts in terms of social-psychological benefits, urban development, and economic development. The majority of responses to these impacts were positive, which reflects the local residents' favourable attitudes towards the Games. An unexpected finding was that respondents' perceptions towards some social life impacts (e.g.,. noise, crime, and environmental damage), which were generally regarded as inevitable and negative in previous studies, were not perceived as possible negative impacts by a large number of residents. One possible explanation is that residents may not realise these impacts are an outcome of the Olympic Games. It is also possible that, due to the large scale of the Beijing metropolitan area, residents perceived that their everyday lives will be affected by the Olympics to only a limited degree. Hence, most

residents may have adopted a somewhat tolerant attitude towards these impacts. However, from the perspective of event planning, the event organiser and government are encouraged to have more public relations work to introduce the Olympic Games and its range of impacts to the general public. Such an introduction is essential for a successful event, as to a certain extent successful event strategies are based on every stakeholders' active support and involvement, which ultimately depends on their understanding of the event (both its advantages and disadvantages).

Residents' perceptions towards the impacts of the 2008 Olympic Games can be grouped into two categories: the majority, *Favourers* (88%) and the minority, *Ambivalents* (12%). The Favourers held a positive perception towards most of the Games' impacts and tended to downplay the possible negative impacts. In contrast, the Ambivalents indicated a lower tolerance of these negative impacts, and had a neutral opinion towards social life impacts such as increased crime and disruption of their peaceful lives. Considering the dominant proportion among the respondents, the Favourers were further clustered into two sub-groups: the Optimistic Favourers (55% of the whole population) and Favourers with Reservation (33%). The Optimistic Favourers were firm on their opinions towards the impacts of the Olympic Games, while the Favourers with Reservation agreed with their optimistic counterparts on most of the urban developmental and social-psychological impacts, but were well aware of the possible negative impacts on their social lives (overcrowding, noise, traffic congestion, crime, and damage to the local environment). In addition, Favourers with Reservation perceived fewer economic benefits (business and employment opportunities) than did the Optimistic Favourers. The "Favourers-

Ambivalents" classification of residents' perceptions towards the impacts, rather than the more common typology of "lover-ambivalent-hater," is rational in the context of Chinese society. As discussed in previous chapters, Chinese residents view hosting the Olympic Games in their own country as far more than a sporting competition. They view the hosting as symbolic of the country's renaissance, of the renewed strength of the nation, and even as an advantage of its political system. To a certain extent, this symbolisation is accordant with, or led on by, the CPC/government ideology and its motivations of having the Games in Beijing. The traditional Confucian culture in China influences the residents to follow and respect the mainstream of consensus as well as the authority with few challenges. Consequently, Chinese residents are likely to respect and obey the social utility and development even if their personal interests are partly disadvantaged. Particularly when facing an event that is regarded as a project representing the entire country and its people to the whole world, it is not surprising that the large majority are favourers and only a small proportion are ambivalents, while very few are opposed. It is also possible that the survey results partly exaggerated the real situation about residents' perceptions, for survey respondents may have a tendency to report more positive feelings in order to please interviewers. It would be more serious in this case, as respondents may think that reporting negative things about the Olympic Games would be labelled as unpatriotic or anti-government.

The level of Beijing residents' support for the Olympic Games would be highly satisfactory for any event organiser. From an event management perspective, maintaining the Favourers' consistently high level of satisfaction and support would

pose a long-term challenge for the government and organiser. Improving the Ambivalents' satisfaction and support for the Games would be even more challenging, for ambivalent perceptions are unstable and can shift easily (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993). It is suggested that different public relation strategies can be applied to the two clusters according to their different profiles. For example, the study confirmed that the two clusters had different opinions on government performance and on more tourists visiting Beijing. Means to improve residents' perceptions and attitudes on government performance and on tourism development are worthy of being addressed, although the complexity of such measures is apparent. It is also suggested that appropriate measures should be put into practice to reduce residents' concern about possible price increases, overcrowding in public facilities, and traffic congestion, all of which proved to be influential in the Ambivalents' low satisfaction ratings and support for the Games. The issue will require systematic planning in allocation of new public facilities and public transport routes.

More importantly, the integration of a comprehensive top-down and bottom-up development planning approach is recommended to the government and the event organisers to help them fully understand residents' thinking and to meet their needs. The fact that about 93% respondents indicated they were not consulted during the Olympic bid and preparation process indicates, not surprisingly, that the Beijing 2008 Games were prepared and organised in a traditional top-down planning approach. The organisers believed that, based on their knowledge and experience, careful design and planning would guarantee the success of the Olympic Games. This top-down planning approach could be effective under a centralised administration system. However, the

administration system in China, particularly in its economic aspects, is currently loosening its control. For example, most Olympic Games projects and related infrastructure follow market rather than administrative rules (BOCOG, 2001b). The top-down approach has been widely criticised and challenged for having obvious disadvantages such as lack of proper feasibility analysis and public participation/consultation (Friedmann, 1987; Taylor, 1999). The community-based planning approach, which starts at the bottom level and is geared towards community participation and empowerment, is recommended to the Chinese Government to reinforce the existing Olympic Games planning and preparation strategies. For example, public Olympic impact seminars and resident consultation can involve residents directly in the planning process. A thorough community-based, bottom-up approach that relies extensively on communication and interaction with residents and other stakeholders, is not regarded as the best option to be recommended to the Chinese Government. This assertion is based on two considerations: (1) the time needed for such a participatory process could render the Games preparation more complicated and may even delay the Games' preparations; and (2) a thorough bottom-up approach cannot avoid existing politics, for its implementation requires democratic consensus - which is still inadequate in China.

8.3 Academic Contributions

This research examined both the host government's and local residents' perceptions towards the impacts of a mega event. The study has provided several new insights into the impacts as well as different perceptions from various groups in the community. In addition to implementation suggestions that could benefit the success of the Olympic Games and other mega events (see Section 8.2), the study also contributed to the academic community's understanding of a mega event, as discussed below.

Government policy and behaviour have been extensively studied from many perspectives, but few studies have examined government's motivations and perceptions towards the staging of a mega event. The highly significant role a mega event plays in a destination's economic and social development, combined with the government's leading position in the development of event tourism, requires an in-depth understanding of government's motivations and perceptions towards these events. Moreover, event tourism is among those tourism settings where little qualitative research has been conducted (Jamal & Hollinshead, 2001; Stokes, 2003). The findings from the qualitative interview part of this research suggest that, when considering an international mega event like the Olympic Games, government bodies tend to capitalise on the event as an opportunity to reinforce their standing and political position. Government bodies may use a mega event as (1) a diplomatic platform; (2) a means of development; (3) an image-making instrument; (4) a tool to foster civic and national well-being; and (5) as a means of gaining more resources that can contribute to achieving its political goals.

Governments' perceptions towards the impacts of a mega event have rarely been examined. This study found that perceptions from government bodies tend to be more extensive and macroscopic than those disclosed in previous studies, which focused mainly on tourists' or local residents' perceptions. Government organisations perceive event impacts from a broader perspective, such as the event's impacts in enhancing urban layout, improving economic development, and facilitating cultural exchange with other countries. Compared with other stakeholders' perceptions, government bodies are more likely to perceive event impacts in terms of their intangible aspects: cultural exchange, increased transparency of governance, deterring crude and uncivil social behaviours, and the like. Perceptions of the role of events in increasing transparency and on deterring crude and uncivil social behaviours were seldom addressed in previous studies. This may reflect the influence of different research settings on the findings: this research was conducted in a developing country, while previous studies were concentrated primarily on events in the developed world. Compared with developed countries, improved transparency of governance and uncivil social behaviours are more likely to be regarded as objectives of governments in developing countries. The findings of this research project also implied that government bodies have different (even opposing) perceptions relative to other stakeholders on certain event impacts (for example, government perceived event-related residential relocation not as a negative impacts/ cost, but a benefit for local residents). Government bodies focus public attention on positive impacts, but avoid or down play those that are negative. Therefore, it is suggested that attention should be paid to the unit of analysis when discussing subjective issues such as perceptions and attitudes.

Based on residents' perceptions towards the impacts of the Olympic Games, a 20-item event measurement scale was developed. It covered 4 categories of event impacts: social-psychological impacts; urban development impacts; economic development impacts; and social life impacts. Combined with general tourism impact items and a number of specific event impact items, the development of this 20-item scale was an exploratory attempt in event impact measurement that could be useful for assessing the impacts of future mega events and for monitoring community reactions to future event development. However, it must be cautioned that, although the reliability scores were high, the scale validation is incomplete: no large-scale item generation and purification process was undertaken. Therefore, to verify the scales' applicability and generalisiability, further testing of resident perceptions towards event impacts using this scale is recommended.

This study identified the effects of several variables on residents' perceptions towards the impacts of event development. Results both from discriminant analysis of respondents' cluster attachment and multiple regression analysis of respondents' support for the Olympic Games confirmed that among the 15 selected independent variables that were identified from the literature, only a small number of them had a significant influence on residents' perceptions towards the Olympic Games. Both the multiple regression and the discriminant analysis results identified satisfaction with government performance and opinions about more tourists visiting Beijing as the significant variables in affecting respondents' perceptions towards the Olympic Games. The variable, respondents' work experience in tourism industry (TourWE), had a significant role in affecting respondents' cluster attachment as per discriminant

analysis, but it was not significant in affecting the respondents' degree of support for the Olympic Games (at the 0.05 confidence level) in the regression model results. Although work experience was not a significant variable in the regression model, it should be noted that at the .10 confidence level, the variable would be significant (beta -.08; $p < .10$). Despite the lack of significance of work experience at the .05 confidence level, the results of the two analyses were convergent.

Consistent with the studies by Perdue, Long, and Allen (1987) and Lankford and Howard (1994), this research found that residents who had a positive attitude towards tourism development were more favourable towards event impacts and more supportive of the event. In addition, except for Snepenger and Johnson's (1991) pioneering but somewhat over-simplified study, residents' political self-identification has seldom been addressed in the tourism literature. The present study identified this variable as one of the few influential variables that may affect residents' perceptions. Self-identified nationalist residents have a higher degree of support for the event than do those self-identified as liberalists. Residents' perceptions towards event impacts were positively correlated with their satisfaction with government performance. In contrast, several variables, which had shown significant impacts on resident perceptions towards tourism and event development in previous research, were found to have negligible influence in this study. Researchers who found that residents' education, income, proximity, event attachment (in terms of length-of-residence, economic reliance) and event involvement (by event consultation, or personal interest involvement) were significant variables [e.g. Husbands (1989), Teye, Sonme & Sirakya (2002)] will not find evidence to support their arguments in this study.

Instead, findings from this research are consistent with several conclusions from Davis *et al.*'s (1988) Florida tourism perception study and Ryan and Montgomery's (1994) UK case study, which reported that these variables have little or no effect on residents' perceptions. These results indicate that higher-order principles (values) will be more influential determinants of individual's perceptions than other socio-demographic variables.

The results also shed light on how residents' social representations are formed and influenced their perceptions towards certain social and economic environments. The two-cluster resident group identification has demonstrated social representation's role as key contributor to both social group and individual social identity. Through the existence of shared sets of beliefs among its members, beliefs which are expressed in the practices of the groups, social representation forms properties of groups and group identities. From perspectives such as residents direct life experience and their interaction with the Olympic Games, the above-mentioned independent variables constitute the sources of residents' social representations. It was confirmed that the role of various social representation sources differed. The results of only two variables (residents' political self-identification, and their attitudes towards more tourists visiting Beijing) were identified as being influential in forming residents' social representations towards the Olympic Games. It is suggested that under the long-term influence and control of the CPC's *propaganda and education system*[12], residents' social representations tend to be united and undiversified; the sources of

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[12] The propaganda and education system in China is based on the socialist concept of "directed culture" which holds that the state should control art, ethics, and ideas "for the good of the people". The system in China includes the arts and universities, writers, professors, and researchers as well as journalists belong to that web which is under the direct control of the Propaganda Department of CPC. See more about this issue in Cheek (1998).

social representations, particularly life experience (e.g., education), are somewhat undifferentiated. It witnesses how greatly social representations influence the way people perceive and interpret the world.

The above-mentioned findings contribute to the existing body of knowledge that attempts to understand various event stakeholders' perceptions towards a mega event. In addition, by involving several disciplines – such as tourism, political science, and cognitive psychology – this study has attempted to provide a more comprehensive theoretical underpinning for understanding the nature of government's event strategies and residents' reactions towards event development. One item in the results of this study is particularly noteworthy. This study examined a mega event that will take place in China, a nation being regarded as a socialist developing country. Some of the research findings, particularly those concerning governments' motivations, perceptions (e.g., seeking international recognition, trying to unify citizen's minds) and planning processes, are in accordance with the country's socialist and developing characteristics. On the other hand, the event is located in Beijing, one of the most highly-developed cities in the country. The results relating to demographic or other variables that had no significant influence on residents' perceptions were similar to results obtained in developed countries (Davis *et al.*, 1988; Ryan & Montgomery, 1994). Thus, it would not be appropriate to simply classify or differentiate this study strictly in a developing versus developed context. Also, applying the results directly to other events in different social contexts might not be appropriate.

8.4 Recommendations for Future Research

As an important impact evaluation approach, the results of research on community perceptions have been applied to many development projects in various industries and locations. With the rapid emergence of event tourism development in more and more destinations, the importance of event perception studies must be fully addressed. This study examined event perceptions from the perspectives of two key mega event stakeholders': government and residents. The results suggested that various stakeholders can perceive the same development program very differently. It is therefore strongly suggested that, in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of different stakeholders and the full range of event impacts, a wider variety of event stakeholders be included in future research..

This study applied social representations theory to explain how variables influence residents' perceptions towards the Olympic Games and its impacts. It identified the roles of the independent variables in affecting residents' perceptions. However, the selected independent variables in this research were mainly from aspects of residents' direct experience and their social interactions with the Olympic Games. Variables representing the effect of media influence were not included in this research. As a major source of social representations, the role of media influence cannot be ignored. It is therefore suggested that future studies identify the influence of the media on residents' perceptions towards event development.

This research project used the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games as an opportunity to study government and residents' perceptions towards the impacts of a mega event.

The study was undertaken during the event's preparation period (2003-2006). As a pre-event evaluation, this research does not claim to have covered all impact elements. For example, some impacts may not yet have emerged, and others may not even be identifiable before the actual event takes place. Beginning with the decision to bid, the preparatory work for the Olympic Games continued for nearly a decade. Within such a long timeframe, individual's perceptions towards the Olympic Games may well change. For instance, in September 2006, when this research was completed, it was reported that the Beijing Government proposed measures to control traffic flow and expel migrant workers during the Games. That report has raised considerable discussion and criticism among Beijing and Chinese residents (China News, 2006). Therefore, longitudinal research that traces the entire event process would clearly be beneficial.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

China and the Olympics

It was a widespread but unauthenticated legend that soon after its birth in Paris in 1894, the IOC wrote a letter to the Chinese Government under the Qing court, asking it to send athletes to the First Olympic Games to be held in Athens in 1896 but the Government made no response. China was not represented at the first nine Olympic Games. In the 1930s and 1940s, China was represented three times at the Olympic Games--- the 10th held in Los Angeles in 1932, the 11th in Berlin in 1936 and the 14th in London in 1948. From 1949 to the 1970s, the Chinese government only sent its athletes to the Olympic Games in Helsinki in 1952 due to political reasons. Since 1984, China has participated all the Olympic Games. At the Sydney Olympics in 2000, China won 28 gold medals, At the Athens Olympics in 2004, China won 32 gold medals to rank second in gold medal standings (IOC, 2006).

In 1979, Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping pointed out that China would bid and host the Olympic Games when time was appropriate. Deng stressed his view again in July 1990 when he inspected the Asian Games Village in Beijing. In 1984, IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch said the IOC would like to see China host not only the 1990 Asian Games but also the Olympic Games. Yang Shangkun, the then Chinese

President, met Samaranch during the 1990 Asia Games, told the IOC chief, for the first time, that China would apply for hosting the Olympic Games.

The tremendous success of the 11th Asian Games in Beijing increased the Chinese people's confidence in their ability to host large-scale international tournaments. Upon the completion of the Beijing Asian Games in 1990, the Games organising committee was immediately turned into a preparatory committee for the city's forthcoming bid for the 2000 Olympics. At the special session held in Beijing in February 1991, the Chinese Olympic Committee discussed the Beijing Municipal Government's application for hosting the 27th Olympic Summer Games in 2000. An explanation was made by Vice-Mayor Zhang Baifa on the city's favourable conditions and future plans. Prior to the session, the Chinese Central Government had expressed full support for Beijing and the COC to make the bid. The COC session unanimously agreed to Beijing's application as a candidate city for the 2000 Olympics. On December 1st, 1991, a ceremony was held in Beijing to mark the occasion of China's formal application to the IOC for the right to host the 27th Olympic Games in 2000. Three days later, Zhang Baifa, Executive Vice-President of the Beijing Bid Committee, handed Beijing's application to IOC President J. A. Samaranch at the IOC headquarters in Lausanne, Switzerland. In the following years, the city worked on blueprinting its Olympic projects and getting prepared for the Games according to the IOC regulations and procedures. At the 101st IOC Session held in Monte Carlo, Monaco in September 1993, Australia's Sydney was chosen by the IOC from the six candidate cities (other four cities being Berlin, Brasilia, Istanbul and Manchester) as

the host of the 2000 Olympic Summer Games. It was by two votes that Beijing lost the bid to Sydney.

By the time Beijing made its second bid for the Olympic Games in 1999, China as a developing country had maintained an annual economic growth of 10 percent over the previous decade. Beijing had also shown great potential of economic growth with its gross domestic product surging to 2.4 billion U.S. dollars in 1999, registering a per capita GDP of more than 2,000 U.S. dollars. In the meantime, China had developed a prosperous progress in sports, making great achievements in major world tournaments. With the approval of the State Council, the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games Bid Committee (BOBICO) was established on September 6th, 1999. At the 112th IOC Session held in Moscow (on July 12th, 2001), the IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch declared Beijing as the host for the 2008 Olympic Games. …Beijing won in a landslide victory in the second round secret ballot with an overwhelming majority of 56 votes from 105 voting IOC members, ahead of its rivals Toronto with 22, Paris 18 and Istanbul 9. Osaka, which received six votes, bowed out after the first round (COC, 2003b).

---summarised based on COC (2003b) and other sources

Appendix B:

Current Economic, Political and Social Situation in China

For thousands of years China stood as a leading civilization, outpacing the rest of the world in the arts and sciences. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, China was beset by foreign occupation, civil unrest, major famines and military defeats. With the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty withdrawing of power in 1912, a republic state was established. This marked the entrance of China's modern era. After World War II, the Communist Party of China (CPC) under Mao Zedong established a dictatorship that, while ensuring China's sovereignty and independence, imposed strict political controls and a planned economy over citizens' everyday life. In 1978, the Chinese government began moving the economy from a sluggish, inefficient, Soviet-style centrally planned economy to a more market-oriented system. The new Open-door policy since 1978 has changed the country in an unprecedented manner

Economy   Since the economic reform and open-door policy toward the international community after 1978, the economic influence of non-state organisations and individual citizens has been steadily increasing. The authorities switched to a system of household and village responsibility in agriculture in place of collectivization which had increased the authority of local officials and plant managers in industry, permitted a wide variety of small-scale enterprises in services and light manufacturing, and opened the economy to increased foreign trade and investment. The result has been a quadrupling of GDP since then (the National Bureau of Statistics of China [NBS], 2003). In 2004, with its 1.3 billion people but a

GDP of just US$5,000 per capita (measured on a purchasing power parity basis), China stood as the second-largest economy in the world after the United States. Specifically, the manufacturing industry (52.9% of the total GDP in 2004) and tertiary service sectors (31.9% respectively) have posted major gains to China's economy, while agriculture's proportion (15.2%) dropped rapidly, especially in the coastal areas (CIA, 2005; NBS, 2005). As a result, China has been in the midst of a historic rural to urban transition since the 1980s. According to the NBS, in the last two decades, China's urban population rate had doubled, from 19 per cent in 1980 to 41.8 per cent in 2004 (NBS, 2005).

Economic reform in China has produced rapid economic growth. The World Bank's figure showed China's economic growth averaged 10 percent annually from 1980 to 2000, while some scholars estimate average growth closer to 8 per cent; GDP output per person is growing faster than 6 per cent per year—fast enough to double output per person in twelve years (Palmer, 2003). The country has achieved robust growth on a scale that matches the best record of any other nation at any other time. The high growth rates have derived from various sources: growth in physical capital, in quality and quantity of labour, and more importantly, change in the economy's structure and growth in overall productivity.

Foreign trade and foreign investment in China   The country's accession to the World Trade Organization in 2001 helped strengthen its ability to maintain strong growth rates, while putting external influence on the hybrid system of strong political controls. China's foreign trade (exports plus imports) had grown from US$ 20.6 billion in 1978 to US$ 1,155 billion in 2004 (NBS, 2005). The trajectory of economic

growth and trade growth put China on the path to become one of the largest trading nations in the world. At the same time, foreign investment remains a strong element in China's remarkable economic growth. Since the 1990s China has become a major destination for a large share of foreign direct investment globally. From 1979 to 2002, the actual inflow of foreign capital totalled US$623.4 billion. In the year 2004, China attracted US$64 billion foreign direct investment. The majority of foreign investment came from Hong Kong, United States, Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Germany, and Singapore (NBS, 2005).   Foreign-invested firms have played a key role in China's economic growth, accounting for one-third of total industrial growth in 2001 (Palmer, 2003).

Employment   China's economic development has absorbed hundreds of millions of new workers since the end of the 1970s. Until the mid-1990s, state-owned enterprises and collective enterprises (SCEs), and township village enterprises (TVEs) were the major sources for new jobs. The push from the Party and Central Government to improve the efficiency and performance of the SCEs reversed its role in providing employment. According to NBS (2005) figures, in 2004, there were about 62.3 million fewer workers employed by China's SCEs, compared to 1992. Fortunately, a real labour market has developed in China to help solve the unemployment problem. Since 1994, private business has been the largest source of new jobs in China. In 2003, about 88.3 million employment positions were contributed by SCEs in China's urban areas, which accounted for one third of the total urban employment, while in the mass rural area, about 171.7 million inhabitants were making their living in non-agricultural jobs (mainly worked for TVEs and private

enterprises, or as self-employed individuals). Consequently, the urban unemployment rate of 4.0 percent was reported by the Chinese Government (NBS, 2003), although some independent researchers placed the rate at about 7 per cent, even 10 per cent (Palmer, 2003). Concurrently, there were 368 million inhabitants in China's rural countryside, mainly dependent upon agricultural activities (NBS, 2003). This citizen group (even larger than the total population in North America in term of the size) is also the poorest cluster in the country.

Wealth and Assignment   At the beginning of the economic reform, Deng Xiaoping argued that it was necessary for some to get rich first than for the country to continue in poverty (Palmer, 2003). The early reforms did not dramatically increase income inequality. From 1979 to the mid-1980s, when reform and income growth were centred in the agricultural population, real incomes among regions of both rural and urban residents rose in step, countryside residents even benefited slightly more. Before the transition era began, China's wealth distribution at the local level was highly egalitarian, if one was poor, it was because one lived where everyone was poor. Local collective institutions of distribution took care of those needing help. But after 1984, when the Chinese government began to place more effort on urban reform and with the coastal regions opening up, the number of poor virtually stopped declining, and the nature of poverty began changing. A new poverty started emerging on an individualised basis (Riskin, 1997). The inequality derives from continuing disparities in urban and rural incomes and from enlarging regional development distance. Economic growth, especially export-oriented industries enriched the coastal and urban residents more than inland and rural locals. According to official statistics, from 1997

to 2003, the annual growth rate of rural per capita net income was less than 5 per cent, about half of the urban average (China Daily, 2004a). The gap between urban and rural hence has been widening over the years.

Recent studies (Cheek & Lindau, 1998, Fang, Zhang & Fan, 2004) indicate that in addition to the obvious poverty distance between the city and countryside, there is a growing problem of urban poverty. There are many causes related to urban poverty, including illness, reliance on a pension eroded by inflation, and loss of job, weakening or disappearance of the social safety net previously provided by collectives or the state. At the same time, some urban residents moved up into the middle class or wealthy upper class, as Palmer (2003) mentioned the incomes of the richest 20 percent of the population grew much faster than the overall growth of the economy. According to the United Nation Human Development Report (UNHDP, 2004), the Chinese society's *Gini Coeffient*[13] in 2004 was about 0.447, showing that the welfare inequality situation in China had reached quite a serious level. Considering other factors (such as the inflation, the current price increased 3.3 times from 1985 to 2002 [NBS, 2003]) and the huge size of population within the country, it is inevitable that a number of social problems and crises exist in the country.

Political ideology   Currently, the People's Republic of China is, on the one hand, a typical communist regime in which the CPC controls the formal and informal

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[13]The **Gini coefficient** is a measure of income inequality developed by the Italian statistician Corrado Gini. The Gini coefficient is a number between 0 and 1, where 0 corresponds with perfect equality (where everyone has the same income) and 1 corresponds with perfect inequality (where one person has all the income, and everyone else has zero income).Following are some countries' Gini Coeffients in 2004(conducted by UNHDP)-- Australia: 0.352; Germany: 0.283;India: 0.325; Japan: 0.249; Mexico: 0.546; UK: 0.360; USA: 0.408.

levers of power. On the other hand, the PRC contains many neo-traditional formal and informal structures inherited from the modern, even ancient traditions such as *Guanxi* (strong personal influence in governance and business), and bureaucratism.

Ideology has played a crucial role in the politics of state socialist or communist regimes (White, 1995). Similar to other communist regimes, China relies on an explicit and codified system of political ideas derived from Marxism-Leninism, which guides the actions of the political elite in the hegemonic communist party. In China, the political role of ideology, originally based on Marx-Leninism, reached high points of intensity during the periods of Maoist mass mobilisation in the Great Leap Forward in 1958-59 and the Cultural Revolution decade of 1966-1976. Mao's thoughts and later Deng's and Jiang's ideas on economic reform and stabilisation in politics and society have influenced the country's policy significantly when these statesmen were in power. What we need to bear in mind is the Chinese statesmen above emphasised their ideologies' Chinese characteristics. Socialism in China is formally titled "Socialism with Chinese characteristics". That is, some unique elements in China, such as traditional Chinese culture, China's population size and educational levels, required the CPC to adopt somewhat different strategies from traditional socialist ideology during its reform. This helps understand why nowadays China's political ideology is a mixture of socialism and capitalism. It is also argued as an explanation for its market-oriented reform. Only by this can Western developed economy principles about market economy be introduced in China.

Cheek and Lindau (1998) pointed out that liberal democracy as a political system has never worked in China, and liberalism has a foreign taint and a poor reputation in

Chinese politics. They provide a sound description about liberalism in China as follows:

> *"Ziyouzhuyi*, the Chinese translation for liberalism, sounds morally suspect – it brings to mind the Taoist retreat from public affairs and antisocial self-interest rather than Western images of personal rights and responsibilities. …The term has further been demonised in CPC's propaganda as essentially an anti-party personality defect in individuals that will lead to social chaos" (Cheek & Lindau, 1998: 232).

Political practice and social psychology   Despite major changes in the party-state structure since the foundation of the PRC in 1949, there has been a basic organisational continuity. Party, state, military, and mass organisational structures all include four hierarchies: national /central, provincial, counties, and village and towns. In practice, although independent nominally, it is generally believed that the government in China is inseparable from the CPC. At the supreme level, what the politburo of the CPC says, the government does (Cheek & Lindau, 1998). Similar expressions happen at most lower levels countrywide. The public arena -- from media, to schools and universities, to think tanks and creative arts - is directly administered by the Propaganda Department of the CPC. At the same time, Confucian culture never set many regulations by formal laws, it relies more on a mix of moral ideals and thick interpersonal obligations glued together by family ties. From this point view, the country has a powerful, internally ordered society, but not naturally orderly policies (Riskin, 1997). As a result, many people in China today lack a sense of what is appropriate behaviour in a market economy (LaFleur, 2003). Because of the lack of

efficient supervision and regulation by law, corruption and bureaucracy are getting even overt and popular. For example, *Guanxi* (personal relationship) was part of the Confucian cement, but now serves as collusion against the legal regimes of markets— corruption, smuggling, tax evasion, and engrossment (Cheek & Lindau, 1998).

In China, the rule of law does not really exist, and a highly centralised, authoritarian ruling style characterises governance in the country. Cheek and Lindau (1998) argue that in China, the political culture of fears of political disorder and concomitant concerns about the disintegrative effects of political competition has historically attenuated support for democracy. Historically, authoritarianism in China has been partially justified by fears of anarchy and dissolution. Law has been part of the surface rather than the substance -- an artificial and instrumental construction lacking the depth and reach of the custom. The reform era since 1978 has seen the fitful decline of the propaganda state, but has not seen the equivalent rise of the liberal democratic politics or protections.

Summing –up about China　　China's economic reforms have created a much more diverse society, significant elements of which have requested a proper political environment to support and fit the development. Whereas the system operates within a political framework of strict socialist control, the leadership, however, often has experienced - as a result of its hybrid system - the worst results of socialism (bureaucracy and un-animation) and of capitalism (growing income disparities and rising unemployment). China thus has periodically backtracked, retightening central controls at various intervals. Popular resistance, changes in central policy, and loss of authority by rural cadres have weakened the CPC's population control program, which

is essential to maintaining long-term growth in living standards. Another long-term threat to growth is the deterioration in the environment, notably air pollution, soil erosion, and the steady fall of the water table especially in the north. China continues to lose arable land because of erosion and economic development.

The communists came to power in China with great popular support (Cheek & Lindau, 1998). For all its troubles, the CPC regime enjoys widespread support. The CPC can still deliver the minimum necessities: reasonable stability and a possible path toward further modernisation, increased wealth, and political reform. Powerful assumptions in political culture operate as independent variables affecting citizen's participation. These values include a passive concept of citizenship based on strong family values and the assumption that public order is a tenuous and delicate achievement. China's size, power, and internal focus, joined to its political tradition and greater distance from the democratic powers, make it less susceptible to outside pressures than other countries. Attention to the rich context of the country's history shows how market liberalisation per se has not, in the short run, directly led to democratic changes in China.

Appendix C

Tourism and Tourism Policy in China

From the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 until 1977, the eve of the economic reform and open door policies, Chinese tourism policy can be summarised as cautious at best and characteristically negative in nature -- the fewer outsiders, the better. Travel to China was strictly controlled and selected (only so-called "foreign friends" from other countries, especially its socialist peers, were allowed to visit in some appointed destinations within China) by the Chinese government, and was banned by the United States and other Western governments. Most literature (e.g. Zhang, 1989; Zhang, Chong & Ap, 1999; Wen & Tisdell, 2001) recognises that the beginning of tourism as an industry started with the third session of the 11th Congress of the Central Committee of the CPC in the end of 1978. During years before 1985, tourist arrivals growth in China averaged more than 20 percent (see Figure C-1). From 1986 to 1991 the growth slowed down, with a serious drop in 1989 to 24.5 million arrivals as a result of the Tiananmen Square Incident, comparing to the figure of 31.7 million arrivals in the previous year. The accurate reason was not clear (Wen & Tisdell, 2001) and one explanation was that previous rapid increases made to transportation, training, and site development could not keep pace. More apparently, the Tiananmen Square Incident in June 1989 prompted several Western governments to ban their citizens from travelling to China. Fortunately, this was only a temporary setback, and China's tourism has gone on to make a recovery since then.

Figure C-1: China's Inbound Tourist Arrivals (1980-2005)
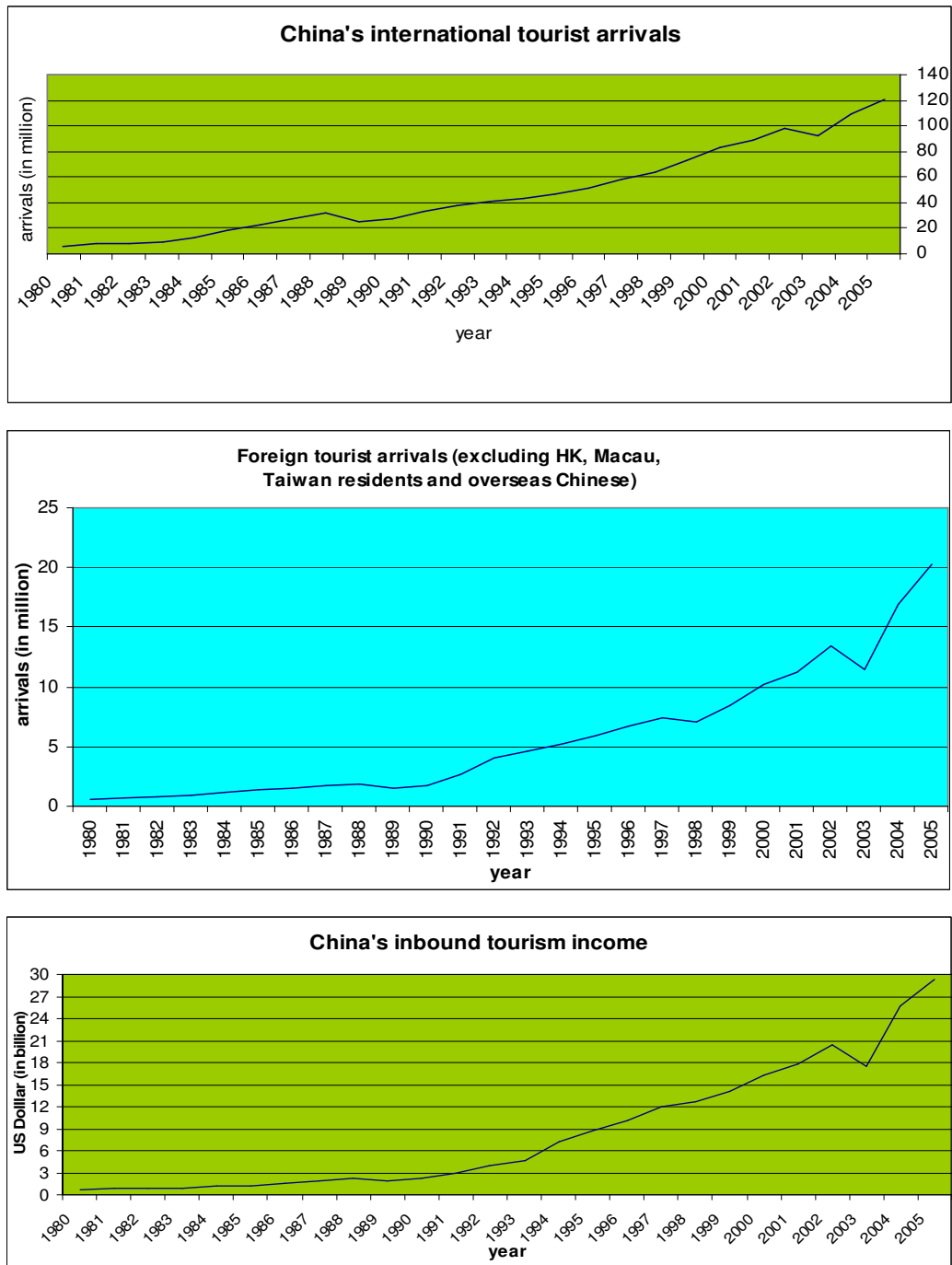
Sources: NBS (1985, 1993, 1998, 2003, 2005) and CNTA (2006).

In 1992, the country received 38.1million inbound tourists, within them, 4.0 million were foreign tourist arrivals (excluding overseas Chinese and residents from Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan), and by 2005 these figures had increased to 120 million and 20.3 million, respectively (NBS, 1999; CNTA, 2006).

Compared with the prosperous inbound tourism development, China's outbound tourism has been drawing more and more attention from the outside. It has gone through the process of travel to Hong Kong and Macao, travel to the border regions (e.g. Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand, which officially started in 1990 [World Tourism Organization/WTO, 2003]), and travel to remote foreign countries (e.g. most European Union countries, Australia, Egypt, South Africa, Brazil). Subsequently, travel to foreign countries by private Chinese citizens has grown quickly. After 1998, the number of Chinese outbound travellers experienced an annual increase of one million. The number reached 28.9 million in 2004 (NBS, 2005). Till the middle of 2004, there were 73 countries available as tourist destinations for Chinese citizens (the China National Tourism Administration, CNTA, 2004). According to a forecast from the UNWTO (2003), China will have 100 million outbound travellers and be the fourth largest source of outbound travel globally by 2020.

The domestic tourism market in China is even more spectacular. According to the CNTA, the main tourism body of China, in the year 2002, totally 870 million domestic trips were recorded with a RMB 38.5 billion (approximately USD 4.65 billion) domestic travel revenue (CNTA, 2003). While considering the huge population size of the country and its rapid economic growth, one will not be

surprised with these figures and may be confidently aware of the future potential of domestic tourism within China.

From most perspectives of the industry, tourism development in China can be acknowledged as achieving successful progress since the Chinese government applied its new ideology and policies in the tourism development process after 1978. As a sector providing foreign exchange, employment, attracting foreign investment, stimulating domestic market and support for the preservation of Chinese culture, tourism is providing a much needed boost to the economy and the arts after years of depredation in wars and revolutions. Specifically, tourism has commonly been one of the main sources of foreign exchange and is regarded as a significant element in the country's economic modernisation (Hall, 1994b). According to statistics from the IMF, the Chinese government's foreign exchange reserve has reached US$ 471 billion (IMF, 2004), of which, more than 5 per cent[14] could be regarded as deriving from the international tourism sector. In 2002, Chinese tourism enterprises employed 6.12 million workers directly, and about 51 million employees worked in the tourism sectors indirectly (Xinhua, 2004).

Since 1981, the Chinese government has devalued it currency against hard currencies (mainly related to US Dollar, see Figure C-2), which benefit the international travel industry, but the purpose of the currency devaluation policy is not merely for tourism development but more to encourage other sectors of the economy, particularly those export-driven sectors. In fact, China has confronted the RMB "re-value" pressure

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[14] According to CNTA (2000,2001), in the years 1999 and 2000, China's tourism exports (tourism foreign exchange income) counted its total export 7.2% and 6.5%,respectively.
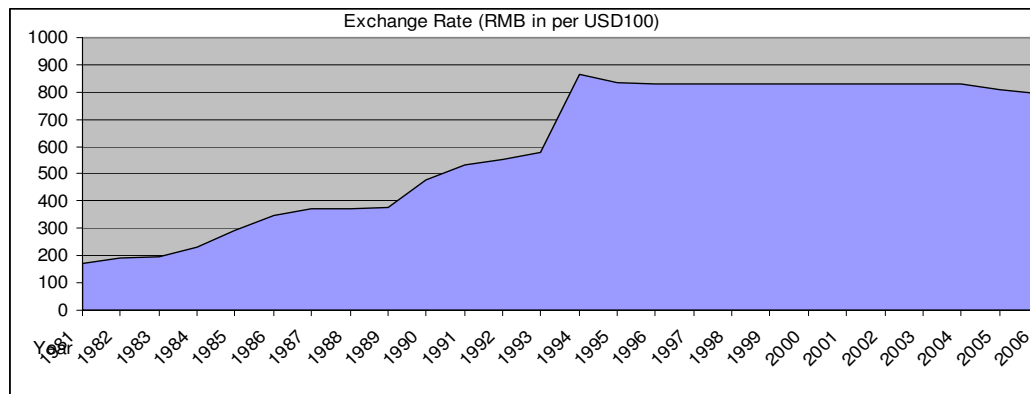
Figure C-2: Exchange Rate of the Chinese Currency RMB (1981-2006)

Source: NBS (1999, 2005), the 2006 figure is from August 2006 Report, NBS.

from the US government and other industrial nations since 1998, when other East and Southeast Asian economies were suffering from a financial crisis. If the RMB will be re-valued, say, 15-25 percent as some economists from International Monetary Fund (IMF) (IMF, 2003) have suggested in the future, it will definitely affect China's tourism industry and other fields significantly. For inbound tourism, Chinese tourism product will lose its price competitiveness, which will urge Chinese tourism enterprises to focus more on quality and to develop new products and markets. While for outbound tourism, with the enhanced currency power, more Chinese residents will tend to take tours within a wider destination range.

The Chinese government insists that tourism contributes not only to the economic development within the country, but that it contributes to mutual understanding. Apparently the government tends to use tourism as a symbol of change in international images and international relations. For example, as part of its European diplomatic strategies, China recognised several EU members as outbound destination countries for its citizens at the beginning of this decade. The Chinese government also

undertakes tourism development to provide opportunities for tourists (both international and domestic tourists, but at the beginning stage, especially for international tourists) enjoying Chinese culture and local hospitality. On the one hand, this will promote Chinese cultural influence on the outside world, and hence propagandise/ promote the current government. On the other hand, tourism activity, as an indicator of quality of life, will enrich Chinese residents' living experience and satisfy their increasing entertainment demands, which will definitely make the society more stable and governance easier. In addition, similar as other authorities in the world, the Chinese Government has tended to apply tourism as an instrument to improve social facilities and infrastructure, preserve and conserve historical and natural heritages.

When enjoying the tangible benefits from tourism, Chinese style tourism also includes activities conducive to physical and mental health, or what socialists believed are suitable for its ideological system, so initially no casino or brothels were allowed (Richter, 1989). Even now, although underground casino or brothels exists, the authorities still refuse to recognise their operations.

Richter (1989) observed a unique and interesting phenomenon of the Chinese policy-making process. Not only in the field of tourism policy making, but any other subject policy is announced after the fact and very little indication exists of any debate over its features. Therefore, from government documents or the official literature one can hardly find any systematic report or evaluation about its policy making process. However, obvious objectives of the government towards tourism at various historical stages can be viewed as an indicator of China's tourism policy process. Zhang (1989)

and Zhang, Chong and Ap (1999) examined historical periods for China's tourism development since 1978. To the tourism activities beforehand, they categorised them as "political only".

According to Zhang, Chong and Ap (1999), during the period between 1978 and 1985, the Chinese government started to shift tourism as a political instrument to an economic activity. The CPC and Central Government regarded tourism as an effective mechanism in both political and economic fields (Zhang, 1989). During this period, the tourism supply was limited because of the poor tourist facilities and infrastructure, as well as the ineffective tourism administration. However, a number of changes emerged including the introduction of foreign investment in hotels, decentralisation on tourism-related enterprises (airlines, tour operators), and flexible tourism pricing. Since then, the economic contribution of tourism was recognised, and it led to a faster pace of opening up of more cities and regions to foreign tourists.

After the introduction of the 7[th] Five-year National Plan in 1985, the Chinese Central Government viewed tourism more for its economic function than its previous "both political and economic" strategy. More emphasis was laid on tourism's foreign exchange earning role. From 1986 to 1991, mass restoration and development of tourist attractions were carried out. Regulations on tourism services (including travel agencies, tour operators, and hotels) were set up. Unfortunately, the Tiananmen Square Incident occurred in June 1989 and this slowed down the tourism arrival growth. Since 1991, the industry recovered and again was recognised as an important economic activity in China (Zhang, Chong, & Ap, 1999).

In early 1992, Deng Xiaoping announced new plans to speed-up and intensify economic reforms. Later, the concept "market economy under socialism" was first introduced at the CPC's 14[th] National Conference. Since then, the new policy has significantly stimulated China's economy. Most industries, including tourism, were further geared to the market-oriented system. For tourism, government bodies worked more as policy makers, investment stimulators and market promoters and regulators, rather than direct business managers (Zhang, Chong, & Ap, 1999; Chong, 2000). Travel agencies and aviation operators were open to foreign investment, tourism enterprises were able to stipulate their own prices based on domestic and international tourism market demand. At the same time, tourism authorities were becoming more familiar with governing and regulating the industry based on market trends. More systematic planning, particularly at senior levels, on resort construction and heritage conservation were conducted prior to implementation. Tourism promotion strategies such as "theme years", major market strategies, and niche market strategies were also adopted (Chong, 2000). To more effectively promote their product to the international market, tourism organisations in China appeared more frequently in international tourism exhibitions and fairs. Since 1992, Chinese delegations have participated in several international tourism fairs including ITB Berlin, World Travel Market in London (Fan, 2004). In addition, being regarded as an efficient mechanism for stimulating and enlarging market demand, Chinese outbound tourism and domestic tourism began emerging and flourishing since 1992, especially after the Asian financial crisis.

After China's successful bid to host the 2008 Olympic Games in July 2001 and its accession to the World Trade Organisation at the end of 2001, more international attention has been paid to China's economic development. It became a magnet attracting international investment as well as tourists flowing to the country. Tourism governing bodies now are more market economy-oriented and restrictions on foreign investment in travel agencies and airlines are diminishing.

Given the nature of China's economic development under socialist rule with a strong tradition of central control, it is not surprising to realise that government has played a key and decisive role in shaping the direction and development of tourism. For each period mentioned above, government played different roles with various emphases.

Appendix D:

Questions for In-depth Interview

1. What are the purposes for the Chinese government to bid and host Olympic Games in Beijing?

2. To what extent do you think these purposes can be achieved?

3. What do you perceive are the MOST important benefits of the 2008 Olympic Games?

4. What do you expect are the MOST negative impacts of the Games?

5. Who do you think will benefit most in hosting the Games?

6. Who do you think will be negatively affected by the Olympic Games?

7. What do you think are the impacts of the Games-related resident relocations on these relocated household?

Appendix E

Telephone Survey Procedure

The telephone survey was conducted in January 2006, with the assistance of Beijing Information Survey Co. (BO), a professional survey company based in Beijing. The company is responsible for setting questions into the computer system in Chinese, training of interviewers (under the researcher's assistance and supervision), administration of questions, discarding of data files and materials after the survey, and report data files to the researcher.

Survey period

The survey was administrated from 13th to 21st January, 2006. The survey time was from 6pm to 9:30pm (weekdays) and 10am to 9:30pm (weekends).

Sampling

A proportionate stratified random sampling design is used. (The proportion is based on a proportion of 0.012% of the total population, to form the efficient sample size of 1140=9.5million* 0.012%, stratified by each district's population proportion within the whole population). The mode of data collection for the project is by telephone survey.

Sampling process

 --Collect all the first 4-digit code (community code-- CC) in each of the eight districts.

--draw certain amount of community code randomly within each district, according to the proportion of district population and the sample size proposed (see procedure form in Page 226).

---randomly determine the last 4-digit numbers (Household number) by using CATI's RDD (random-digit-dialling) sampling within each community code. Initialise 20 households be interviewed in each community (who share the same CC)

--- combine the community code and the household number to form 8-digit telephone

--- Survey respondents, ensure efficient size in each district, and report response rates.

| All community codes (CC) (first 4-digit) in district A | Drawing certain number of CCs randomly, according to the proportion of its population in the 8 districts | RDD the last 4-digit by CATI for each chosen CC | Form telephone numbers by combining CC and the last 4-digit |

Example: In District A

e.g. 6421, 6422, 6852, 6456, 6467…..

6852, 6467 …

1234, 8765 …

68521234, 68529001, 68528765, …..
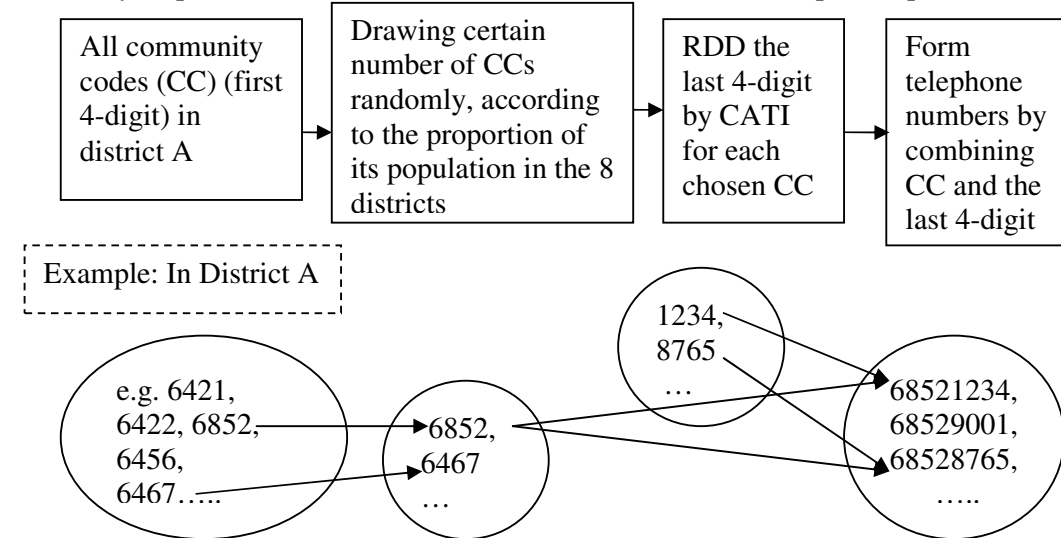
Survey Language:
Chinese Putonghua is to be used as the language media conducted in the interviews.

Appendix F: Telephone Survey Questionnaire---Chinese Version

	Part I: specific opinions	强烈不同意	很不同意	稍有不同意	中立	稍微同意	很同意	强烈同意	不知道
	在北京举办 2008 奥运会将会：								
1	给北京带来更多的就业机会	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
2	给北京带来更多的商业机会	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
3	提升北京作为旅游胜地的形象	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
4	提高本地企业的服务水平	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
5	使北京的物价上涨	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
6	使北京的城市面貌得以改善	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
7	带来一批可供我们本地居民使用的新的公用设施	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
8	使北京的城市道路状况将得到改善	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	因为人流拥挤而使居民使用周边设施会变得困难	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
10	造成交通阻塞而导致居民出行不便	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
11	产生大量噪音,打扰居民的日常生活	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
12	造成对自然环境的破坏	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
13	破坏北京居民的平静生活	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
14	使北京的犯罪率升高	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
15	使北京获得国际媒体关注，增强国际形象	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
16	有助于人们理解不同的民族和文化	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
17	给本地居民一个参加大型国际活动的机会	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
18	给北京提供一展示北京人能力的机会	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
19	使北京居民更团结	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
20	增加北京人的自豪感	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
21	使本地居民增加认识新朋友的机会	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
22	这次奥运会太过于商业化	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
23	本届奥运会太过于政治化	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
24	总体来讲奥运会对北京的积极影响多于消极影响	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
25	我支持在北京举行 2008 奥运会	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
26	北京应该再次举办奥运会或类似的大型活动	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Part II respondent's information								
27	你在与奥运会有关的项目或机构工作过吗?	工作过	没有						

28	你在旅游行业工作过吗?	工作过		没有					
29	申办或筹办奥运会过程中,你是否曾被征求过意见?	有过 2 次以上		有过一两次		没有过			

		强烈不同意	很不同意	稍有不同意	中立	稍微同意	很同意	强烈同意	不知道
30	我现在工作的行业会因奥运会的举办而得到好处	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
31	奥运会将增加我个人或家庭的收入	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
32	我对北京奥组委的工作表示满意	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
33	我对政府在筹办奥运会方面所做的工作表示满意	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
34	我对政府的总体工作表现感到满意	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
35	我对政府的总体满意度将会由于奥运会的举办而增加	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
36	总体上讲,我喜欢看到更多的旅游者来北京旅游	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
37	积极发展旅游业已成为北京的一项重要政策. 请选择你对北京发展以下旅游项目的支持程度	强烈反对	反对	不喜欢	中立	有点喜欢	支持	强烈支持	不知道
	自然景观旅游项目	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	历史古迹/博物馆 等	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	旅游节庆及文化活动	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	大型活动(奥运会,世博会等)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	主题公园(迪斯尼乐园, 游乐场等)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	合法化的赌场	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
38	你如何看待西方国家对中国人权问题的态度？	他们是善意的，对中国也很必要	有一点善意，对中国也有一些必要		中立	他们是为了自身利益，没有善意	他们对中国充满敌意，是一种反华政策		不知道
39	以下是一些关于我国政府申办举办奥运会的动机的论述，请选择你对这些论述的赞同程度	强烈不同意	很不同意	稍有不同意	中立	稍微同意	很同意	强烈同意	不知道
	为了展示我国改革开放的建设成就	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	为了向外部世界展示中国的综合实力								8
	为了促进北京城市建设	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	为了发展我国的体育事业	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	为了促进国家经济发展	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	为了增强国人民族自豪感	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	为了凝聚民心								8
	为了提高国民素质	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	为了与国际接轨，提高管理服务水平	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

40	你或你亲戚朋友的家庭是否有因举办奥运会而拆迁的？				有	没有				
		强烈不同意		很不同意	稍有不同意	中立	稍微同意	很同意	强烈同意	不知道
41	拆迁居民会从拆迁中得到的好处多于损失	1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Part III: demographic and other information									
42	请选择你的年轻范围	15-19		20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44		
		45-49		50-54	55-59	60-64	65 以上			
43	您的性别是	男			女					
44	你的教育背景(最高学历)是	小学或者以下		初中	高中或者技校		大学/大专		研究生或以上	
45	你 2005 年的个人年收入的范围是 (人民币元):	少于 4000	4000--12000	1.21--3 万	3.1---5 万	5.1---10 万	10 万元以上	不想说		
46	你已经在北京居住多少年了?	_____年								
47	你的就业状态是:	全职		短期合同	自雇　失业	退休	学生	其他 (请注明):		
48	你估计离你家最近的奥运场馆距离你家有多远?	1 公里以内		1--2.99 公里	3--7.99 公里	8 公里或以上	不知道			

Telephone Survey Questionnaire ---English version

	Part I: specific opinions	strongly disagree	disagree	somewhat disagree	neutral	somewhat agree	agree	strongly agree	I don't know
	the Olympic Games in Beijing will lead to:								
1	Increase employment opportunities in Beijing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
2	Increase business opportunities in Beijing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
3	Promote Beijing as a tourism destination	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
4	Higher levels of service offered by local businesses	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
5	Higher price levels in Beijing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
6	Improved city appearance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
7	The development of new public facilities which can be used by local residents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

8	Improved road condition in Beijing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	Overcrowding of the use of local facilities during the Games	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
10	Inconvenience for local residents due to increased traffic congestion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
11	More noise which will annoy local residents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
12	Damage the natural environment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
13	Disrupt Beijing residents' peace and tranquillity	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
14	Higher levels of crime in Beijing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
15	Enhance Beijing's international identity by world media exposal.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
16	Help people to understand different people and cultures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
17	Provide local residents an opportunity to attend an international event	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
18	Give Beijing a chance to show the world what we are capable of doing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
19	Bring the community closer together	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
20	Increase the pride of local residents in the city	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
21	Provide residents an opportunity to meet new people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
22	The Games are too commercialised	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
23	The Games are too politicalised	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
24	Overall the positive impacts of the Beijing Olympics will outweigh its negative impacts.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
25	I support the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
26	Beijing should apply to host another major event like the Olympic Games.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Part II respondent's information								
27	Are you working or used to work for any Olympic-related project?	Yes	No						
28	Are you currently working or used to work in the tourism industry?	Yes	No						
29	Have you ever been consulted during the bidding/preparation of the Games?	yes, more than twice	yes, one to two times	none					

		strongly disagree	disagree	somewhat disagree	neutral	somewhat agree	agree	strongly agree	I don't know
30	The industry that I current work in will benefit from the hosting of the Olympic Games.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
31	The Olympic Games will increase my personal/family income	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
32	I am satisfied with the performance of the BOCOG	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
33	I am satisfied with government's role in the preparation of the Olympic Games	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
34	Generally speaking, I am satisfied with the government's performance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
35	I will change my opinion about the government because of the hosting of the Olympic Games.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
36	In general, I am glad to see more tourists visiting Beijing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

		strongly against	against	slightly against	neutral	slightly support	support	strongly support	I don't know
37	Promoting the tourism industry has been an important strategy for Beijing City Government. Please provide your attitudes on developing each of the following types of tourist attractions								
	More natural attractions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	More historic heritage/ museum attractions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	More tourism festivals & cultural activities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	More major events (Olympics, World Expo. Etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Legalised casinos	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	More theme parks (e.g. The world park, Disneyland)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

		it is with goodwill & is necessary for China	somewhat with goodwill & perhaps needed for China	neutral	it is for own interests, no much goodwill inside	hostile and anti-China policy	I don't know
38	What do you think Western countries' attitude towards China's Human Rights Issues?			neutral			

		very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	neutral	somewhat important	important	very important	I don't know
39	How do you think the importance of the following statements on the purposes of government bidding-for and hosting the Olympics in Beijing?								
	To demo China's reform achievement & national strength, to be recognised by the world	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	To improve Beijing's Urban development	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

	To enhance national pride & to unify civic mind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	To promote national economy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	For sports development	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	To improve civic virtues	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	To improve management & service quality to international standards	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
40	Was your family or any friends/relatives relocated because of hosting the Olympics?	yes	no						

		strongly disagree	disagree	somewhat disagree	neutral	somewhat agree	agree	strongly agree	I don't know
41	The benefit that residents get from the relocation will outweigh their loss.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Part III: demographic and other information

42	Please identify your age group	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	
		45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65 or above		
43	Your gender is	male		female				
44	What is your education background (highest level)?	primary school or less	junior high school	senior high school or technical school	undergraduate	graduate or above		
45	Please indicate which of the following categories was your personal annual income in 2005 (in RMB)	less than 4000	4000--12000	12.1K--30K	30.1K-50K	50.1K---100K	more than 100K	Not to tell
46	How long have you lived in Beijing?	_____years						
47	What is your employment status?	full-time	short term contract	self-employed	unemployed	retired	student	others(pls specify)
48	Do you know what the distance between your house and the nearest Olympic Venue is?	less than 1km	1-2.99km	3--7.99km	more than 8 km	I don't know		

Appendix G: KMO MSA Values for Factor Analysis Items

Variable	KMO MSA Value	Variable	KMO MSA Value
Promote the city as a tourism destination	0.956	Increase the pride of local residents in the city	0.888
Help people to understand different people and cultures	0.934	Provide a chance to show what we are capable of doing	0.885
Provide residents an opportunity to meet new people	0.932	Bring the community closer together	0.883
Higher levels of service offered by local businesses	0.925	Increase employment opportunities	0.881
Higher levels of crime	0.918	Higher price levels	0.870
Enhance the city's international identity by world media exposure	0.914	More noise which will annoy local residents	0.842
Provide local residents an opportunity to attend an international event	0.911	Disrupt residents' peace and tranquillity	0.81
Development of new public facilities which can be used by local residents	0.910	Inconvenience for local residents due to increased traffic congestion	0.809
Improved city appearance	0.900	Damage the natural environment	0.807
Improve city road condition	0.894	Overcrowding of the use of local facilities during the event	0.801
Increase business opportunities	0.893		

Appendix H: Exploratory Factor Analysis Result of Resident Perceptions toward the Impacts of the Olympic Games:

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5.81	27.66	27.66	3.83	18.26	18.26
2	3.14	14.95	42.60	3.23	15.38	33.64
3	1.12	5.32	47.92	2.22	10.58	44.22
4	1.07	5.10	53.02	1.85	8.80	53.02

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotated Component Matrix   (n=1165)

	Component			
	1	2	3	4
Social-Psychological Impacts				
bring the community closer together	.816	-.089	.109	.027
provide a chance to show the world what we are capable of doing	.776	-.043	.044	.226
provide residents an opportunity to meet new people	.747	.009	.200	.059
increase the pride of local residents in the city	.667	-.089	.276	.039
provide local residents an opportunity to attend an international event	.622	-.074	.198	.317
promote the city as a tourism destination	.484	.005	.272	.292
help people to understand different people and cultures	.483	-.002	.377	.365
higher levels of service offered by local businesses	.440	.018	.276	.093
Social Life Impacts				
more noise which will annoy local residents	-.035	.803	-.018	-.056
damage the natural environment	-.079	.776	.054	-.223
inconvenience for local residents due to increased traffic congestion	-.034	.737	-.133	.173
disrupt residents' peace and tranquillity	-.084	.703	.184	-.289
overcrowding of the use of local facilities during event	.104	.682	-.173	.212
higher levels of crime	-.172	.515	.134	-.324
higher price levels	.006	.427	-.074	.243
Urban Development Impacts				
the development of new public facilities which can be used by local residents	.194	.018	.708	.182
improved city appearance	.236	-.053	.678	.174
improve city road condition	.311	-.031	.568	-.031
enhance the city's international identity by world media exposal.	.379	-.049	.454	.290
Economic Impacts				
increase business opportunities	.222	-.046	.340	.686
increase employment opportunities	.276	.026	.220	.685

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

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