



Università
Ca' Foscari
Venezia

Master's Degree programme

in Languages, Economics and Institutions of Asia and North Africa

(D.M. 270/2004)

Final Thesis

Mega-events, Urban Renewal and Social Impacts: The Case of Expo 2010 Shanghai

Supervisor

Ch. Prof. Daniele Brombal

Graduand

Vera Chinellato

Matriculation number 851267

Academic Year

2018/2019

前言

本论文所关注的是大型事件及其影响。首先，我们有必要解释一下大型事件是什么。虽然研究者的定义不同，但他们都有共性，即大型事件是由殊机构所组织的、具有国际规模的活动。大型事件在很多方面上跟较小或者普通的事件不一样。被定义为“大型”的事件是能给一个国家的经济和社会带来更多效益的事件。大型事件可以在旅游、公共设施、公共交通系统等方面产生很重要的影响，还可以改善人民生活。它们跟很多其它事件一样，除了许多好处，同时也是一把双刃剑，也可以带来消极的影响，特别是对社会和环境的负面影响。小规模事件的影响没有那么大，而大型事件则不然。其中最著名例子有奥林匹克运动会（简称“奥运会”）和世界博览会（又叫“世博会”）。本文的研究对象是中国 2010 年上海世界博览会，简称“上海世博会”。本文选择研究上海世博会的理由有很多。首先，大部分已有研究都是关于运动的事件，特别是奥运会，因为运动在世界上几乎受到万众瞩目。而针对 BIE 所组织的世博会的相关研究还你较少。BIE (Bureau International des Expositions) 是一个负责监督和组织所有持续三个星期以上的国际展览的政府间国际组织。如今，BIE 主要主持四种类型的博览会：博览会、专业博览会、园艺博览会和米兰三年展。所有的这些国际博览会都被看作是一个交流和合作平台。它们的主要目的是寻找针对人类每天面临的基本挑战的解决方案。通过它们的主题，博览会能鼓励所有的国际参加者提出对改善环境和社会的意见和具体计划。现代事件的目的就是发展，特别是可持续发展。本文选择这项个案研究的另一个理由是上海世博会是发展中国家举行的首次世博会。所以对中国来说，这一次世博会就是一个巨大的发展机会。最后，另一个重要的理由是本研究关注了大型事件所扮演的越来越重要城市更新催化剂的角色。在这个方面，上海世博会是一个完美的例子。本论文的目标是探究大型事件能在多大程度上造成或者加快城市转型，并在调查的基础上分析它们是否考虑过人民的需要和感觉。为了分析大型事件的影响，本论文主要以上海世博会为研究对象，全文一公分为三章。

第一章介绍大型事件的定义、历史、类型、角色以及越来越多城市决定参加举办大型事件的招标的原因。此外，第一章具体介绍世博会及其所发挥的从商品交流到文

化和技术交流的作用的转变。以次部分主要介绍了一些成功实施城市政策的国际大型事件和一些不成功的例子，希望能为将来的大型事件的组织者提供参考意见。首先出示一份所历届世博会的基本情况表，包括名字、时间、地点、主题、参加者和游客等。同时为了更好地了解上海市发生的变化，我们有必要了解有关的上海历史以及上海市举办世博会之前的情况。接下来的部分详细地介绍 2010 年上海世博会，从主题到所有的租赁馆和自建馆。为了了解上海世博会对上海城市化发展的贡献多大，每个细节都特别重要。例如，地点的选择对一次大型事件的成功举办是有必要的。所以，有关所选地点的描述有助于理解每个国家馆和国际机构馆的建设和事后的拆除过程。

第二章针对越来越多地扮演城市更新换代的有效催化剂角色的大型事件，尤其是世博会。这也是如今城市决定参加大型事件招投标的主要原因之一。中国赢得 2010 年世博会招标的时候（即 2002 年），上海市最需要发展的地区是黄浦江两岸。世博会以前，这个地区是一片饱受污染的产业地。上海市人民政府已经开始实行黄浦江两岸发展规划了，目的是把所有的产业和住宅区搬迁到别的地区。只有这样做，上海市人民政府才能建设一个完整的文化中心、消除污染的地区、创造一个新的产业场地和新的住宅区、发展城市的公共设施和公共交通系统。2010 年上海世博会与政府的这种规划结合，不仅加速了推进建设的进程，还促进了黄浦江两岸的环境美化。在详细描述上海世博会催生的城市政策以前，第二章介绍上海市历史上发生的变化，尤其是上海市人民政府所实施的上海市城市总体规划。过去的城市总体规划导致了上海今天的面貌。本章将开始详细描述城市变化，包括产业场地和住宅区的搬迁、所有的影响到城市公共设施的发展，以及城市沟通改善。公共设施的发展，尤其是公共交通，不仅对世博会内外的联系有益，而且还有助于改善城市各区的相互沟通。由于 2010 年的世博会预期游客会特别多，以及上海市越来越全面的国际开放，所以上海市需要一个很强大的公共设施系统。拆除过程可能是本章最重要的讨论部分，因为它有助于理解上海世博会是否达到它的目的，也就是说是否成功推进城市化、改善人民的生活及促进和谐之道。世博会的主题“城市，让生活更美好”已然强调这些目的，并且鼓励而支持城市发展。此外，世博会通过自己创造的主题，意在代表一个可持续的城市发展的例子。最后，还应该简单地介绍主要的组织机构。第二章回答这篇论文的主要问题之一，也就是说大型事件能在多大程度上生成或者加速城市更新。可以确定的就是越来越多的国

家和城市想主办一个大型事件，以便在没有别的办法的情况下进行一些地区的消除和推进城市化。一般来说，实施城市政策需要很长时间，也需要外资，所以，没有这样的机会就难以实现迅速的变革。在许多情况下，大型事件被纳入城市的城市总体规划。上海 2010 年世博会被纳入黄浦江两岸发展规划也体现了这点。

第三章主要研究上海世博会对城市、社会和环境的影响。通过对三份调查问卷的分析，我们可以知道上海公民对世博会普遍的意见和感受。这些问卷分别是世博会一年前和世博会一年后，从上海市不同的地区回收的。问卷里面主要涉及七个问题领域：文化、经济、环境、科学技术、社会，农村区和生活情况。在分析这些领域的影响之前，本章介绍人民对世博会的反抗和不满意的地方。应该注意的是，调查问卷的结果只代表上海受其影响的一小部分公民的意见，也就是说，即使问卷的结果体现为大部分受访者都支持上海世博会，也不排除上海政府做宣传的时候可能缩小了公民对世博会的抵触，甚至隐瞒一些可以危害国家形象的意见。

2010 年上海世博会不成功的地方是这次大型事件没达到和谐的目的，并没改善农村跟城市的交流。城乡之间还没有达到适度的和谐。因此，民众也发现有一些不太协调的现象。根据许多研究者的分析，上海世博会和别的大型事件的问题都在于大型事件的政策和人民的期望之间的差距。因为民众可以成为一种有力的宣传工具，为了成功地举办一个大型事件，国家应该得到人民的支持并让他们满意。在结论的部分，本论文不但能通过研究了解这些问题的原因，而且给这些问题提供一些不同的解决方法。有效的解决方法才是未来主办的大型事件的基础。

Table of contents

1. Introduction.....	9
2. Shanghai and 2010 World Expo	21
2.1 Origin of the Expo and its concept.....	21
2.1.1 World Expo’s origins and transaction from merchandise to cultural and technological exchange.....	21
2.1.2 The Bureau International des Expositions	22
2.1.3 Previous World Expos and considerations.....	23
2.1.4 Successful cases of implementations of mega-events in the world.....	29
2.2 Overview of Shanghai city before hosting the mega-event.....	33
2.3 China’s bidding to host 2010 World Expo	35
2.4 2010 World Expo	38
2.4.1 The Expo Location.....	38
2.4.2 The Expo Logo and Mascot	39
2.4.3 The Expo Theme.....	40
2.4.4 The Expo Areas and Pavilions.....	41
2.5 Attendance and results.....	45
3. Urban policies.....	48
3.1 Mega-events as catalysts of long-term urban policies and legacies.....	48
3.2 Urban changes generated by the 2010 Expo in Shanghai.....	50
3.2.1 Relocation of the industrial area.....	55
3.2.2 Relocation of the residential districts.....	60
3.2.3 Infrastructure developments	65
3.2.4 Dismantling of the pavilions	70
3.2.5 Main bodies and their roles	74
4. Effects of mega-events through the analysis of Shanghai 2010 World Expo case study .	76
4.1 Perceptions of local people	76
4.2 Impacts of the World Expo 2010	84
4.2.1 Environment	84

4.2.2	Science and Technology	87
4.2.3	Culture.....	88
4.2.4	Economy.....	89
4.2.5	Life conditions.....	91
4.2.6	Community in urban and rural regions	95
4.3	Relocation and Protests	96
5.	Conclusions	102
6.	Bibliography.....	106

List of Tables

Table 1 Previous World Expos.....	27
Table 2 Upcoming World Expos.....	27
Table 3 Previous urban projects of Shanghai and current Master Plan (Li, 2019; edited)	52
Table 4 Districts population in 2000 and 2010	64
Table 5 Main preserved buildings and their post-expo function and ownership (Chen, Tu & Su, 2014). Edited.....	72
Table 6 Summary of positive and negative effects of the World Expo.....	83

List of Figures

Figure 1 Urban development in Shanghai in 1999 (left) and 2010 (right) (Google Earth)	35
Figure 2 GDP (亿/元) and GDP per capita (元/人) of Shanghai (National Bureau of Statistics of China Data).....	37
Figure 3 Shanghai World Expo logo	39
Figure 4 The Shanghai World Expo mascot	40
Figure 5 Expo Layout. Source:	
https://www.arketipomagazine.it/whitepaper_library/Masterplan%202010.pdf	42
Figure 6 Expo site in 2000 (Google Earth).....	44
Figure 7 Expo site in 2010 (Google Earth).....	44
Figure 8 Million of people working in the primary sector. Source: https://www.ceicdata.com/en . Data from Shanghai Statistical Yearbooks.	55
Figure 9 Million of people working in the secondary sector. Source:	
https://www.ceicdata.com/en . Data from Shanghai Statistical Yearbooks.	55
Figure 10 Million of people working in the tertiary industry. Source:.....	
https://www.ceicdata.com/en . Data from Shanghai Statistical Yearbooks.	56
Figure 11 Shanghai's 16 districts. Source: https://www.baidu.com	58
Figure 12 Main sites of residential relocation in relation to the Expo location (Google Maps; edited)	63
Figure 13 Shanghai Inner Ring Road (left) and Shanghai Outer Ring Expressway (right). Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inner_Ring_Road_(Shanghai) ;	
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shanghai_Outer_Ring_Expressway	68

Figure 14 Shanghai subway system, 2010.....	69
Figure 15 Shanghai subway system, 2019.....	69
Figure 16 Shanghai Unemployment Rate. Source: https://www.ceicdata.com/en	90
Figure 17 Number of Overseas Visitors Arrivals (orange) and Number of Foreign Visitors Visitor (blue) in million person-times (National Bureau of Statistics of China).....	91
Figure 18 China crime rate. Source: Source	93
Figure 19 Public Expenditure and Residential Housing Price in Shanghai (Li, 2010)	95

1. Introduction

This study especially focuses on mega-events and on their follow-up impacts on the cities and on the society. It pays specific attention to the purposes that may be present during their organization.

The term “event” refers to something unusual or very important that does not occur very often, and “mega” indicates the size of the event, while stressing its exceptionality at the same time (Müller, 2015). The definition of mega-events and the exact size a mega-event needs to have for being considered “mega” differs from many researches. Despite several opinions, mega-events can generally be defined as large-scale and internationally known events that “produce extensive levels of participation and media coverage and that often require large public investments for both events infrastructure, for example stadiums to hold the events, and general infrastructure, such as roadways, housing or mass transit systems” (Mills & Rosentraub, 2013, p. 239). According to Roche (1994), mega-events differ from regular events because they are “short-term events with long-term consequences for the cities that stage them” (p.1). Moreover, these events take place intermittently in different places every time and generate a strong global media exposure before, during and after the event. The perceptions and the results of mega-events are so widespread and recognized that now many cities all over the world are bidding every year for obtaining the right to stage one. The larger is the number of participants and the media exposure, the more cities will desire to host an event. Olympic Games and World’s Fairs are the best illustrations of mega-events, organized by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and by the Bureau International des Expositions (BIE) respectively. But, Football World Cup, European Football Championship, Asian Games, Commonwealth Games and some others are part of this definition as well, even if they often use pre-existing facilities and they do not generate the same media exposure or impact (Müller, 2015).

Most of these large-scale events concern the sport, that is why a lot of the studies conducted internationally are about sport-events and just few of them are on World Fairs or on other kinds of event. In particular, researches focus on sport facilities, on marketing, on tourism increase and on economic impact, without considering a lot the embedded significant role mega-events have in the dynamics of urban changes and in the restructuring of the “social space”¹, that is

¹ Social space is defined as the physical or virtual space where people gather and interact. This space can be online social media as well as gathering places such as parks, squares and other public spaces or private spaces such as mall and restaurants. The concept of social space was introduced by Henri Lefebvre (1901 – 1991), a

the space used in everyday life. This study, instead, is going to take the 2010 Shanghai World Expo as the main case study and it has the specific objectives of answering the following questions: to what extent can mega-events foster urban and social changes in a city? Do these large-scale urban events take into consideration the will of local people? Researchers still debates a lot about it and have different opinions, some more positive and some more negative. However, in order to analyse and fully understand the effect an event of this range can have on the countries, on the cities and on the community, when necessary I am going to take into consideration other mega-events occurred in other cities of the world to compare and bring examples of successes and failures to understand why mega-events are becoming more and more important and desirable by cities. This introduction has the purpose of guiding the reader through general knowledges of mega-events and their organization, to be able to better understand more technical details later.

A mega-event presents three stages of evolution: pre-event, event and post-event. The pre-event phase includes bidding and preparation; the event phase creates the urban dynamics; the post-event is about permanent alterations of urban space and society (Hiller, 2000).

The bidding for hosting a mega-event is a complex and long process that may differs from the type of event. It is normally divided in stages that a country must follow strictly. Generally talking, in order to host a mega-event, a city needs to meet some criteria in terms of a strong public support, such as governmental support, who guarantees the possibility of massive infrastructure renovation and the construction of new facilities with event-friendly policies and procedures; event resources, such as funding, capability and infrastructure; bidding resources and strategies; a trend towards sustainable development. The greater is the size of the event, the greater is the risk associated with staging the event. Fitting the requirements is not the only key factor necessary for the success of a bidding: community support is as much important as the government support, together with precedent experience with other event biddings, strong and reliable leadership and partnerships, emotional connection and good relationships with the decision makers, figureheads and good quality of the information. These are all factors that are not essential to the success of the bidding but that add value and provide competitive advantages fundamental to determine the success or the failure of it. Event bidding is a complex process involving the event owner and the event bidder; in order to reach a highly competitive position,

French Marxist philosopher and sociologist. He emphasized in human society all the space is social, that means social space is strictly associated with the experience of social life. .

the event bidder must go beyond the criteria required and be the best target. Nowadays, more and more developing countries have the possibility to try. The best example when speaking about successful bidding and organizations of events of a developing country is China, for which these events are fundamental to spread its image internationally and to gain competitive advantage. In many cases, the main objectives of a country hosting a big event are enhancing the power of its image in the world, increasing tourism and improving a city's general situation, such as in the case of the Cape Town 2004 Summer Olympic in South Africa, who used the games as a tool to improve the city's conditions. However, for a developing country hosting and organizing mega-events is a type of social capital initiative implemented for developing the economy and reshaping the society of a city through urban renewal strategies and relationship harmonization. Countries and cities with more experience in hosting this type of event have more possibilities to hold another event but, on the contrary, more haters will appear if the benefits will not match the expectations. In countries and cities with less experience, instead, the effort of hosting such events will be more appreciated².

This research is trying to understand to what extent mega-events can reshape a city and if they can really achieve their goals in the society; it is also going to suggest actions governments or planners should take to better organize events in the future and to maximize their positive social influence. As the impacts of mega-events can mainly be seen in the urban renewal of a city and on its influence on society, I am going to analyse these two aspects of the 2010 Shanghai World Expo, keeping an eye on different other example cases of other countries hosting events. To better understand the dynamics of the case study here analysed, this thesis includes a general presentation about the World Expo and its origin.

Since its first edition, some of the main objectives of the World Expo are to showcase the achievements and the innovations of a country and to enhance the interaction between governments and their citizens. The main idea of this kind of event is exactly to build friendly relations among countries, while showcasing technological innovation and enhancing the social and cultural influences. The exchange of various cultures and the experience of scientific technology should help citizens to raise awareness of the great developments among people and to trigger communication. Generally, the World Expo's effects can be divided into economic, scientific and technological, political and social (Carta, 2013).

In the sense of economic development, a World Expo allows the host country to improve the

² For more information see <https://www.majorevents.govt.nz/resource-bank/bidding-for-major-events/>.

regional economic development through the optimization of the allocation of resources while moving towards a long-term growth. It is the case of 1970 Osaka Expo, who brought industrial growth to the region of Kansai in Japan, with the Kansai Economic Belt as a result of long-term development of the region, and of 1992 Seville World Expo, who promoted the economic expansion of the South region in Spain as well as of the all country, bringing it to a new level of development.

Regarding scientific and technological innovation, World Expo presents to people all the latest achievements in science and technology and in art. In the first editions of the World Expo, many new products result of the industrial revolutions were showcased, we are talking about the telephone, the Edison's tungsten filament incandescent lamp, the zipper, the auto-mobiles, the airplanes, the sewing machines, the plastic, the nylon, as well as the hamburger, the ice-cream and many other inventions that we consider of normal use today. As technology innovation is continuously in progress, World Expos are also exhibiting new types of scientific innovation nowadays, such as computer technology, public networks, human genetic research, modern biotechnology, life sciences, nanotechnology and environmental technology as well as new ideas for the future. For a comprehensive vision of the history of World Expos it is advisable to visit the first World Expo Museum in the Expo area in Shanghai, a great complex opened to the public in 2017.

In a political perspective, World Expo spreads the image of a country around the world, enhancing citizens' pride and cohesion. Many countries have exploited this event to show their strengths and to confirm themselves in the international scenario, starting from the United Kingdom holding the first edition of the World Expo in London in 1851, to United States, France, German and others. Moreover, the participation and the collaboration of several countries of the world in one event promote global democracy, international cooperation and peace.

Finally, speaking about the social perspective, a World Expo educates people, improves citizens' lives quality and promotes exchange and integration among different cultures. World Expo's core value is extremely important because it can be strictly related to impacts on the cities and on the country. For example, 2010 Shanghai World Expo theme “城市，让生活更美好” (Chengshi, rang shenghuo geng meihao; Better City, Better Life) is exactly proposing the harmonization of society through innovations in urbanization.

The most important aspect of mega-events here analysed is the impact on urbanization. Mega-events are the catalyst of long-term urban policies to be adopted in a city for the physical

transformation and beautification of the urban landscape, but they also improve the conditions of a city together with the well-being level of its citizens and their mind. Before taking any action, it is necessary for the organizers to develop a society consciousness, in order to enhance life level without compromising anyone. However, it is almost impossible not to have any negative side effect by hosting an event of such a size. The years following the winning of the bid and preceding the holding of the event are the crucial years of preparation, when several new buildings and infrastructures are built to let space for all the exhibitions and to welcome visitors from all around the world with hotels, restaurants and other leisure structures. The success of this kind of event can be measured by the number of participating countries and international organizations and by the number of visitors. 2010 Shanghai World Expo had a great success in this regard, it is the event that welcomed the biggest number of visitors among all the events held in the world, even if most of them were Chinese visitors³. From this number it is easy to make an approximative idea of the huge urban investment it was implemented to achieve this result.⁴

The preparation of these events is often accompanied by protests of the residents against possible relocation, environmental pollution or for other reasons concerning negative changes in their lives and in the city. There is a contentious debate about effects: in many cases, consequences have both sides of the effects, they benefit someone or something and harm someone else or something else. Mega-events act as one of the main agents of urban change and in many countries, they helped to intensify the civilization process which, according to Michel Foucault⁵, happens in a controlled society with social order, well-behaved individuals and high-level of security, health and hygiene. As Broudehoux (2017) states, “Civility has long been known to serve as a social lubricant, meant to harmonize social relations, minimize frictions and facilitate peaceful coexistence” (p. 93). The civilization process is based on social inequalities, on the relationship between civilizing agents and the people to be civilized, on a continuous evaluation of people’s social behaviour that leads to define citizenship. Mega-events have a more and more decisive role in the urban image construction and citizens’ behaviour is extremely important for the public image. For this reason, social reform initiatives are often adopted in China to avoid civic and public disorders and to educate people. Provisions regarding public comportment disciplinary protocol are often included in contracts signed between

³ About 5.8% of more than 73 million visitors were foreigners.

⁴ Shanghai government spent more than 11 billion yuan in operating costs to host the event and invested more than 19 billion yuan to prepare and construct the 5.28 km² site. The estimated overall cost of the Expo was around \$50 billion, but this number differs from source to source.

⁵ Michel Foucault (1926-1984) was a French philosopher, historian of ideas, social theorist, and literary critic.

federations and host cities (Broudehoux, 2017). Before modifying the habits of the citizens and inculcate new values and ideologies in their mind as a strategy to build consensus, support and ensure participation, governments try to inspire people and get them to participate. People must feel empowered by the pursuit of a collective project, must feel part of the endeavour and believe such a great event can bring benefits. In order to do this, governments and federations should be able to promote value such as honesty, respectability, fair play, hygiene, social order and morality issues, especially through official propaganda, ideological campaigns and a rhetoric sense of the collective “we”. For example, the IOC has many requirement programs to be implement before hosting the Olympic games, that encourages people to keep an open mind-set and to learn foreign languages to welcome an international context in the best way possible, as well as to understand the values of fair play and sportsmanship in order to feel part of the games. With a proper education, citizens can embody the event’s brand identity in the world. Therefore, the support of local people is important in organizing a great event: their moods and their behaviours are key factors for a smooth organization and for the success of an event spectacle, and this is possible through control campaigns directed to citizens (Broudehoux, 2017). Sometimes, state’s more coercive methods of control, such as repression, internment and expulsion try to be justified by the organization of mega-events, which helps to intensify the surveillance system.

The impacts on the city, such as the residential relocation, the development of infrastructure and the reformation of a big part of the city influence local people. One of the first urban activities that may influence residents in mega-events’ organization is the choice of the hosting site. The land chosen for constructing mega-events sites must be central, in order to be well-connected with the major traffic arterials and with services but must also be a land in a state of deterioration that needs to be restructured (Hiller, 2000). Normally, distant suburbs are rejected. Moreover, a non-residential or industrial area is more likely to generate consensus because of no needs of displacements. However, it is almost impossible to find large parts of unoccupied land, for this reason, relocation is always necessary and leads to residual effects on adjacent lands too, often causing controversies and resistance. Displacement is implemented by exploiting the lucrative tourism development fostered by mega-events to build new and better accommodation for relocated people, mostly low-income residents⁶. Pudong and Puxi areas, where the Expo structures were built, were mostly an industrial centre with a need to be

⁶ For more information see section 3.2.2 “Relocation of the residential districts”.

renovated and a desire to become something more attractive than a merely commercial area. An industrial relocation was necessary, as well as residents' eviction. In choosing the most likely place to host the event, the area south to Pudong was the largest one available, with the least number of people to relocate and with the biggest profitable rate. Today the ex-Expo area is a touristic, residential and commercial area facing the Bund, which together form Shanghai image in foreign people's mind.

An effective communication of the benefits of an event is essential for a smooth organization, to avoid protests or other types of civic and political disorders; it is also the key for the success of the event. In the case of sport events, events' developers try to get people understand the importance of fair play and of sport: they must feel proud of their country and manifest a good behaviour every day, especially during the event and in front of the world that is watching. Medias play a big role in this way, people manifesting sportsmanship behaviour can influence other people and let them feel the same feeling of excitement and membership. This type of harmonization is also present in the World Expos: understanding other cultures, learning new languages, being aware of all the new technologies and of all the advantages exchange can bring give people a sense of membership, of pride, of curiosity and of openness. Bad effects become secondary or almost necessary in the mind of people influenced by a good propaganda. Getting the reality of facts in country like China is not always easy, but its public image is more and more significant, and Shanghai World Expo is the proof of the fast development of the country in all sides.

An analysis of the expo area today and on the use of the left pavilions is also present in this study, to understand if this event was and keeps being a sustainable occasion of construction or if it is made of unkept promises and ideologies. After-use of the structures is essential and every city treated it in different ways: some of them redeveloped the site (1986 Vancouver Expo), some lacked of plans and left the site fall into disrepair (1964 New York World's Fair), some others produced permanent and symbolic structures for the city's identity, such as the Crystal Palace in London, the Olympic Stadium in Montreal and the Space Needle in Seattle.

Mega-events studies normally focus on both the long-term and the short-term, so their feasibility analysis should also include a collection of people's perceptions of costs and benefits some years before the event, and a research on impacts on the city to more than five years after the end of the event (Li, 2018). Therefore, these attempts to analyse social effects in Shanghai

are presented, if possible, together with links to today's situation, accompanied by charts. Culture, economy, science and technology, environment, community, rural regions and life conditions are going to be the perceptions of people on which to base the analysis of the social effects. People's needs are important to evaluate the event and to ensure an organization that meets the psychological needs of the residents. From this study we can get to know that people have more positive perceptions and good ideas of the cultural, economic, technological and environmental effects than the perceptions on community, rural regions and life conditions.

Cultural benefits include some of the advantages World Expos bring with them, such as better understanding of different cultures and societies, more exchange, international mindset and behaviours and encouragement of the development of local activities. The affection on residents' traditional lifestyle is minimal, local culture is normally preserved and it should not feel threaten by international events. The aim of these projects is just the harmonization within a country and among different societies in the world, together with a peaceful coexistence possible just through reciprocal understanding.

Economic benefits can be seen in the tourism, transport, hotel and catering industries. Investment for mega-events can directly boost the GDP, and an increase of the GDP level leads to further investment in infrastructure and activities related to the preparation of mega-events with long-term effects. As a result of the investment, people will have more job opportunities, unemployment rate will decrease, general wages will increase, and life conditions will get better for many people. These aspects appear to have a stronger importance in the minds of citizens if compared to the risk of short-term employment, of the fluctuation of the industries' flourishing, of the increase of living costs and real estate, and of the dependency on the success of the event.

Science and technology benefits run together with the urbanization of the city and with the new environmental technologies used. The World Expo has always been a showcasing of all the new technologies and discovering in science, making all visitors aware of the power of science and of the future of technology. The 2010 World Expo structures were built with low-carbon technology in a contemporary logic of friendly city. Directly linked to new green technology is the improved quality of the environment and of the air, the increased green space contributing to the beautification of the city and to the harmonization of society. For example, in Shanghai Expo area many historical buildings have been preserved and restored, together with the local culture and the natural resources. Beautification of the city also involves convenient and low-carbon public transport system, such as the metro, and clean subways and stations. One of the objectives of the organization of a mega-event is reducing at the minimum rate the damage on natural environment, landscape and ecosystem and decreasing the pollution

of litter, water, air and noise.

Community is the essential part of the harmonization of the society, but it is the most difficult point to achieve results in, especially in countries like China, where the harmonization is on the top of the propaganda and where the support of people is essential. However, even if it is still possible to shape residents' behaviour, it is not easy to improve relationships and social cohesion, especially referring to people of different social classes and different treatments. This study is also trying to answer questions about the displacement of people, why it is always involving low-income households and why the social division labour and inequalities increase instead of evolving towards a more equal society. Inequalities between rural and urban regions are still distinct because the urban areas are seeing wealth accumulation at a much faster rate than in rural areas (Shin, 2012). However, relocation sometimes benefit residents, new houses are supposed to improve households' life conditions with their bigger spaces, energy efficiency and safety.

Hosting mega-events often improves a city's general conditions, with an improvement of medical service and public hygiene, new ways of entertainment, more efficient public transport and more infrastructure, including hotels, restaurants, parks and other public places. A good public life improves the civic pride and the obligation among citizens, so that many of them feel to do something to help the city or the organization of mega-events. For example, in preparing for Beijing 2008 Olympic Games, more than 930,000 people applied for 100,000 opportunities to be volunteers. Unfortunately, the downside is also present. Mega-events result in a lot of visitors, disturbance, traffic congestion, increase crime rate, increase alcoholism and prostitution, all phenomena that need to be controlled. Considering the case of Shanghai, some protests are known to the media, but 2010 World Expo was well-welcomed by citizens in general.

Mega-events must be understood within their urban context, especially into the new urban sociology context (Hiller, 2000)⁷. Talking about how a mega-event alter urban process, Hiller (1998) defined three types of linkages that separate dependent and independent variables: forward linkage refers to all the effects directly caused by the event, quantifiable (employment, increase tourism...) or not (community pride); backward linkage refers to all the objectives

⁷ "Urban sociology" here refers to the link between mega-events and state policies of capital accumulation and investments, and to the role of urban elites in the rearrangement of urban space, since they are the main actors in taking initiatives for mega-events considering the urban political economy as point of reference

behind an event; parallel linkage refers to residual and unexpected factors that cannot be controlled by event organizers (positiveness, gentrification...) (p. 48). This categorization of linkages helps the reader to better understand that mega-events' impacts can be quite complex. Since real effects can only be seen in the long-term, Shanghai World Expo will be considered here as the most recent mega-event in a developing country not involving sport and, if possible, the actual situation will be compared to that of the event period to see the changes and the continuous improvement or worsening of the situation.

This thesis is going to be divided in three chapters. Chapters are preceded by an introduction that talks about the definition and the history of World Expos, the role they have today, the importance of the bidding process and the reasons why more and more cities decide to compete for hosting a mega-event.

The first chapter is introducing the history of the World Expo, in order to understand its evolution from a merchandise to a cultural and technological exchange event through the years and the importance this mega-event has today. Afterwards, little space is given to the body that rule World Expos and the other mega-events. To better understand the history of World Expos and the role transformation occurred, it is also provided a table containing all the previous events with their name, date, location, theme, number of participants and number of visitors. Few considerations are given right after the table, underlining the fact Shanghai 2010 broke all the previous records in terms of participant countries and international organizations and visitors. The following section is describing briefly some examples of successful implementation of urban policies through mega-events in the world (especially Olympic Games), as well as unsuccessful examples. Successful implementation of urban policies here means successful in improving the urban environment or the social conditions of the hosting cities. Some of the cases are also present in the other chapters as examples to compare Shanghai with. The last sections present the city of Shanghai and the case study of 2010 World Expo, starting from the bidding phase arriving to the results of the event. Since the goal of this research is to find out the urban transformations occurred in the city and to what extent the World Expo contributed to it, a general description of the city of Shanghai before hosting the mega-event is necessary. Shanghai 2010 World Expo is described in detail: each piece of information is important to understand the implementation of the theme, the effects on the city and the changes occurred. For example, the description of the location and of the pavilions is helpful to understand the process of dismantling happened after the end of the event. This part is also highlighting the essential role of the selection of mega-events' site.

The second chapter is analysing the urban impact of 2010 World Expo on Shanghai city, taking into consideration the relocation of the industrial area and residential districts and the urban regeneration. This part is introduced by a small dissertation about mega-events and their increasing role as effective catalysts of urban renewal, one of the main reasons today more and more cities decide to take part in the bidding process. The following section is entirely dedicated to the urban changes occurred in Shanghai, in particular in the Huangpu riverbanks (Expo site), beginning with a description of the urban plans carried out when the nationalist party was in power and after the establishment of the People's Republic of China. The reason why there is a presentation about the previous urban planning projects is that they played a big role in the urban transformation of the city until today and Expo's organization was integrated into the last one. Afterwards, it is given a detailed description of the urban changes occurred, starting from the relocation of the industrial area, going through the relocation of residents, and concluding with the infrastructure development. Infrastructure and public transport system development was one of the side-effects of the Expo, since its implementation served not only to better connect the Expo inside and outside with the rest of the city areas and to sustain the increased number of tourists, but also to improve the connections and the communication among all the districts of the city. The dismantling process is, probably, the most important part of this chapter. The after-Expo usage of the facilities helps us to evaluate if World Expo 2010 was successful or not in the implementation of its goals, goals of a mega-events that, in this case, were amplified by the Expo theme, "Better City, Better Life", which encourages and gives examples of a sustainable urban development. Afterwards, it is given a brief presentation of the main bodies behind the organization of the event.

This chapter is answering one of the main questions of this study, that is to what extent a mega-event can foster urban regeneration. It has been ascertained that more and more cities have competed for hosting a large-scale event on purpose, to develop and renovate a particular rundown or polluted area, a type of change that would not have been implemented without the opportunity of a mega-event or that would have been implemented in the future and using a longer period of time. Mega-events have often been integrated in already existing projects of urban regeneration to accelerate the process. This is the case of Shanghai 2010 World Expo, who was integrated into Huangpu River Development Project.

The third and last chapter is presenting a deeper analysis of the effects of Shanghai World Expo on the city, on the society and on the environment. Through the presentation of three questionnaires distributed to Shanghai's residents before and after the event, it was possible to

have a general overview of the effects this large-scale event had and of the perceptions of citizens. Seven main fields have been identified: culture; economy; science and technology; environment; community; rural regions; life conditions. This chapter is also describing some of the opposition demonstrations occurred towards the Expo, useful to identify the effects and the discontent of people in some cases.

Conclusion is going to take into consideration all the analysis made in the previous chapters, all the impacts, effects, influences, variables possible to determine what roles a mega-event has today in reshaping a city's landscape, urban space and habits and their importance, compared to the importance it had before and highlighting the evolution towards a social and urban transformation's catalyst. Moreover, as a result of all the analysis, the conclusion is going to bring out some advices of researchers or some actions governments and event organizers should take and follow to really achieve the harmonization of different groups in a society and among societies, the weakness of some mega-events⁸.

⁸ From now on, the word "Expo" with capital letter refers specifically to the 2010 Shanghai World Expo, while "expo" with small letter refers to expos in general or to a specified one.

2. Shanghai and 2010 World Expo

2.1 Origin of the Expo and its concept

2.1.1 World Expo's origins and transaction from merchandise to cultural and technological exchange

The World Fair or World Expo history can be traced back to hundreds of years before the first official World Exposition, held in London in 1851, when European merchants used to gather in popular places for exchanging commodities. This gathering took the name of “county fair” (Xu, 2010). During this type of fair, exchange of primary goods such as animals, domestic fowls, agricultural products, tools and other instruments of labour was a traditional way of conducting business, it allowed businessmen and people to fulfil their needs in everyday life and in business production. Fairs became larger as the years passed, expanding in term of space, products and attractiveness.

The evolution of the fair can be related to some main happenings that built its contemporary structure and concept. First, the introduction of the currency was the main element that allowed fairs to become prosperous and attract more visitors as a powerful market in the field. Second, some important events opened the path for the modern concept of fair. The first recorded national fair was held by a Persian king in the 5th century to show off its empire's wealth, treasures and abundant resources. It was bigger in size and in function than a small county fair (Xu, 2010). In 1791, the first exhibition without commodity sales was held in Prague. These first fairs are examples of the progresses this kind of event had in its evolution towards a more modern concept of fair, the one that implies exhibiting new creations, discoveries or innovations for spreading knowledge. Third and substantial circumstance was the Industrial Revolution (starting from the 18th century), the key factor boosting the productivity and developing science and technology. With the effects of this revolution, a lot of machineries replaced the manpower, especially in sectors like textile, iron and steel, manufacturing and agriculture. However, transportations' and communications' development were not keeping up with the news in the technology field and with the optimization of time and resources, for this reason, there was the need to find a big place where to show all these new products and discoveries to all the world. A world exposition was the best solution for such an issue, and the world exhibitions were born in this context. The first World Exhibition was held in London, in 1851, and it was known as

the Great Exhibition, mainly showcasing industrial products but also art and crafts displays. This international industrial fair lasted for 140 days and involved some European countries and the United States. For the first time, the British Royal Committee invited bids for designing the exhibition pavilion. A British garden designer, whose name was Joseph Paxton, won the bid and submitted his plan in nine days. Since he thought that nature must be the core of a design, his design was an imitation of a lotus leave. The structure was made of iron, glass and steel and it was known with the name of “Crystal Palace”. The Crystal Palace became a symbol of the exposition and it kept its value until 1936, when it was destroyed by a fire. Today, it stills appears in everyone’s mind when thinking about the first world fair. This shows the importance attributed to symbols of a big event: they carry the value of all the event and must be beautiful, innovative and sustainable in order to be remembered and to function as an image carrier. In this case, the first exhibition was an opportunity to showcase the innovations the Industrial Revolution brought, and the Crystal Palace was considered the pioneer of modern architecture because of its materials and pre-manufactured structures many years before the Eiffel Tower, an iron structure, symbol of the universal exposition held in Paris in 1889. The Great Exhibition is regarded as the first World Expo because it marked the evolution from merchandise transactions to cultural and technological exchange. It built solid foundations for future expos, and because of its success, many countries started bidding to host this type of event.

2.1.2 The Bureau International des Expositions

All the international exhibitions that last more than three weeks and are of non-commercial nature are organized and coordinated by the BIE, the “Bureau International des Expositions” (International Bureau of Exhibitions), an intergovernmental organization established in 1928⁹ in France and headquartered in Paris. At the present, 170 countries are Members of the BIE and take part in all the decisions of the organization. Four main types of Expos are regulated by the BIE: World Expos, Specialised Expos, Horticultural Expos and the Triennale di Milano. BIE’s tasks are choosing the host countries of future Expos, providing candidate and host countries, regulating the organization of the event and making sure the host country and all the participants respect the Convention of the BIE and the rules of the Expo. It is made up of three main bodies:

⁹ It was established in the same year the “Convention Relating to International Exhibitions” came into force.

General Assembly, Secretariat and four committees¹⁰.

2.1.3 Previous World Expos and considerations

Name	Country	Date	Theme	Number of participants	Number of visitors
The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry and all Nations	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (London)	04/1851 – 10/1851	Industry of all Nations	25	6,039,195
Exposition Universelle des produits de l’Agriculture, de l’Industrie et des Beaux-Arts de Paris de 1855	France (Paris)	05/1855 – 11/1855	Agriculture, Industry and Art	27	5,162,330
London International Exhibition on Industry and Arts	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (London)	05/1862 – 11/1862	Industry and Arts	39	6,096,617
Exposition Universelle de Paris	France (Paris)	04/1867 – 11/1867	Agriculture, Industry and Art	42	15,000,000
Welt-Ausstellung 1873 in Wien	Austria-Hungary (Vienna)	05/1873 – 10/1873	Culture and Education	35	7,255,000

¹⁰ For more information see the website <https://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/all-world-expos>.

Centennial Exposition of Arts, Manufactures and Products of the Soil and Mine	United States (Philadelphia)	05/1876 – 11/1876	Arts, Manufactures and Products of the Soil and Mine	35	10,000,000
Exposition Universelle de Paris de 1878	France (Paris)	05/1878 – 11/1878	New Technologies	35	16,156,626
Melbourne International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures and Agricultural and Industrial Products of all Nations	Victoria (Melbourne)	10/1880 – 04/1881	Arts, Manufacturing, Agriculture and Industrial Products of all Nations	33	1,330,000
Exposición Universal de Barcelona	Spain (Barcelona)	04/1888 – 12/1888	Fine and Industrial Arts	30	2,300,000
Exposition Universelle de Paris 1889	France (Paris)	05/1889 - /10/1889	French Revolution	35	32,250,297
World's Columbian Exposition	United States (Chicago)	05/1893 – 10/1893	Discovery of America	19	27,500,000
Exposition Internationale de Bruxelles	Belgium (Brussels)	05/1897 – 11/1897	Modern Life	27	6,000,000

Exposition Universelle et Internationale de Paris 1900	France (Paris)	04/1900 – 11/1900	19 th Century: an overview	40	50,860,801
Louisiana Purchase Exposition	United States (St. Louis)	04/1904 – 12/1904	Louisiana Purchase	60	19,694,855
Exposition Universelle et Internationale de Liège	Belgium (Liège)	04/1905 – 11/1905	Commemoration of the 75 th anniversary of independence	35	7,000,000
Milan International	Italy (Milan)	04/1906 – 11/1906	Transport	40	10,000,000
Exposition Universelle et Internationale de Bruxelles	Belgium (Brussels)	04/1910 – 11/1910	Works of Art and Science, Agricultural and Industrial Products of All Nations	26	13,000,000
International Universal Exhibition of Ghent 1913	Belgium (Ghent)	04/1913 – 11/1913	Peace, Industry and Art	24	9,503,419
San Francisco & Panama-Pacific International Exposition	United States (San Francisco)	02/1915 – 12/1915	Inauguration of the Panama Canal	41	19,000,000
Exposición Internacional de Barcelona	Spain (Barcelona)	05/1929 – 01/1930	Arts, Industry and Sport	29	5,800,000

A Century of Progress	United States (Chicago)	05/1933 – 10/1934	The independence among Industry and scientific research	21	38,872,000
Brussels International Exposition	Belgium (Brussels)	04/1935 – 11/1935	Transports	35	20,000,000
Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne	France (Paris)	05/1937 – 11/1937	Arts and Technology in modern life	45	31,040,995
New York World's Fair	United States (New York)	01/1939 – 10/1940	Building the World of Tomorrow	54	44,932,978
Exposition internationale du bicentenaire du Port-au-Prince	Haiti (Port-au-Prince)	12/1949 – 06/1950	The festival of Peace	15	250,000
Exposition Universelle et Internationale de Bruxelles	Belgium (Brussels)	07/1958 – 09/1958	A World View: A New Humanism	39	41,454,412
Century 21 Exposition	United States (Seattle)	04/1962 – 10/1962	Man in the Space Age	49	9,000,000
Expo '67	Canada (Montreal)	04/1967 – 10/1967	Man and his World	62	50,306,648

Expo '70	Japan (Osaka)	03/1970 – 09/1970	Progress and Harmony for Mankind	78	64,218,770
Expo '92	Spain (Seville)	04/1992 – 10/1992	The Era of Discovery	112	41,814,571
Expo 2000	Germany (Hannover)	06/2000 – 10/2000	Man, Nature, Technology	174	18,100,000
Expo 2010	China (Shanghai)	05/2010 – 10/2010	Better City, Better Life	246	73,085,000
Expo 2015	Italy (Milan)	05/2015 – 10/2015	Feeding the planet, Energy for life	145	21.500.000

Table 1 Previous World Expos

Name	Country (City)	Date	Theme	Expected number of participants	Expected numbers of visitors
Expo 2020	United Arab Emirates (Dubai)	10/2020 – 04/2021	Connecting Minds, Creating the Future	133	25,000,000
Expo 2025	Japan (Osaka- Kansai)	05/2025 – 11/2025	Designing Future Society for Our Lives	?	28,000,000

Table 2 Upcoming World Expos

From the table above it is possible to gather some information. First, since the beginning it is possible to notice a classification of the expos based on their sectors, such as transport, art, industry, agriculture and others, until the Chicago Expo (1933-1934) and, after that, a

classification based on a theme that has been created specifically for that event. As a matter of fact, after the industrialization and the expansion of the Expo's contents, the traditional exhibitions of new science and technology products became too narrow and, in 1933, the Chicago World Expo adopted a theme for the first time, called "A Century of Progress", and all the participants designed their exhibitions based upon this theme (Xu, 2010). This happened after the BIE was established: in this way, there was a gradually evolution from a simple demonstration of products to the spreading of ideas, until the BIE officially declared the adoption of the theme system in 1994. Themes are supposed to take into consideration human knowledge and aspirations, as well as scientific, technological, economic and social progresses. For this reason, traditional industrial and mechanical halls were also replaced by national and international pavilions.

Second, there is a substantial difference between registered and approved expos. The list above is only about the registered expos that, starting from 1988, take place every five years. However, approved expos, smaller in size, with different regulations and taking place in between two main expos are not listed here. They mainly focus on specific and different fields such as medicine, food, gardening and others, and are today classified as Specialized Expo, Horticultural Expo and Triennale di Milan, as mentioned above. The International Exhibition (World Expo) is still the highest-ranking exposition globally.

Third, the interval between two World Expos has always been different through time. The 1928 BIE Convention fixed a minimum of six years between two World Expos of the same category. The 1972 Protocol introduced an interval of 10 years, and the 1988 Protocol finally fixed the current interval to 5 years.

Finally, the number of participants is the number officially registered by BIE and available in its website. However, except for 2010 Shanghai World Expo, where the number of participants exceeds the number of countries in the world, it is not clear if in those numbers international organizations and other institutions are always included or not.

The progresses and the achievements of the World Expo are also due to the continuous demand for civilization and information of people to build a better future. Today, World Expo is generally defined as a large-scale international exhibition hosted by nations' governments to showcase the latest achievements in culture, technology and science. Nowadays, it is also one of the main channels through which fostering the finding of solutions to current challenges by many countries of the world. As a matter of fact, the World Expo is participated by a lot of countries and international organizations and because of its size, number of participants,

exhibition period and impact can be considered at the same level of Olympics. It serves as a bridge between countries, governments, international organizations, companies and citizens and it is considered as a large-scale platform for education.

According to BIE's regulation, today the World Expo is held every five years on a theme regarding a universal challenge of our time. The duration can be up to six months and there is no limit on the size. Participants can be classified in official and non-official. Official participants include countries and international organizations; non-official participants include cities, regions, companies, civil society and NGOs. All of them should build their own national pavilions or rent a space, except for the host country, who must also build the Expo theme pavilion.

2.1.4 Successful cases of implementations of mega-events in the world

Mega-events have been held for many different reasons, it could be for attracting people in a city or in a country and improving the tourism level, it could also be just for gaining visibility, for attracting investments and foreign capital or, like in Shanghai's case, for consolidating its own image and speeding up the process of urbanization and civilization of a city at the same time. This section is going to analyse this type of cases, those mega-events that brought benefits to the hosting city and, sometimes, to the whole country too in terms of urbanistic and social progresses. The analysis is including example caught from all the types of mega-events, but it is mainly going to mention Olympic Games, the largest and most studied mega and sport event.

Even if mega-events are not limited to sport events, most of the studies focuses on Olympic Games, the most famous type of mega-event that is also very controversial. These events are often over commercialized and critics often state mega-events' benefits and long-term economic and social improvements are not always covering and compensating the negative effects. The long-term effects mega-events have on the hosting city and on the quality of life of residents is normally called "legacy". These legacies can be divided in tangible and intangible (Chappelet, 2012). Tangible legacy is everything concerning tangible things or activities, such as buildings and infrastructure, economic benefits with effects on the tourism and many others. Intangible legacy refers to all the abstract things present in a society, such as community image and pride, interaction, social cohesion, awareness, enthusiasm, willing and other feelings or emotions that can be boosted or put down by the organization of a global event. The equilibrium

of a city can be broken very easily, and satisfaction of people is quite difficult to obtain.

The reason why more and more countries decide to bid for hosting mega-events is because they foster development and are a tool for urban development. Mega-events bring a lot of opportunities that cities would never have without this occasion. How many events have been successful in this? How many have really reached the objective of being a catalyst for urban development? The first mega-events were not well financed and did not have much urban development as a result (Pedranti, 2012), but urban renewal has always been part of their concept. After some years, they became more organized and better funded and they were provided with more purpose facilities, such as the stadium in the case of the Olympic Games, symbol of urbanism. Stadia became the symbolic expression of the Olympics and they were part of a long-term project of urbanism destined to work even after the end of the event. London, Stockholm, Paris and Amsterdam, for example, all built their own stadium for hosting the Olympics in 1908, 1912, 1924 and 1928 respectively, as part of an urbanization plan for future permanent sports facilities. Olympic quarters started to expand, but this growth was limited by many factors (Pedranti, 2012), among which the public transportation, the unstable population growth and urbanization and the still limited following.

The Olympics who are known for officially initiating the Olympic urbanization process is Los Angeles 1932. The organizers understood the potential this kind of event could bring to the host city and started the construction of sports and recreational activities to be reunited in an Olympic Village in the outskirts of the city. This village became, then, the city's after-hours amusement district and helped to expand and better connect every area of the city. Berlin did more for its Summer Olympics in 1936, also known as the "Nazi Olympics", taking the urbanization to the extreme. These Olympics were one of the most well organized in history: the event site included many facilities and it was 130-hectares big. The permanent bungalows and training facilities contained in the Olympic Village were used as permanent housing after the event.

After the World War II, the first Olympics held used existing facilities or followed the urbanization standards already present. Rome Olympics in 1960 started a new era for the mega-events as catalysts of urbanization. The trend of adding new buildings and parks to the urban environment was not enough anymore (Pedranti, 2012): the Olympics became the opportunity to make improvements to the overall urban infrastructure. In Rome, for example, new roads were constructed, the water supply and street lighting were improved, as well as the public transportation, a new airport was built, and the monuments started to be better preserved. It was

a huge change from the events held in the years before: it was the first time Olympics were exploited to make improvements to the already existing urban environment. (Pedranti, 2012) The same did Japan with Tokyo Olympics of 1964, bringing forward its 10-year development plan by hosting this event. Developments included new roads, highways, underground railroads and subway lines, water supply system, sewage disposal, shipping ports, as well as improvement of the services, such as garbage removal and cleaning of the city. However, costs for the organization of these two big games, the Tokyo and Rome Summer Olympics, caused a rise in the standard costs of holding these events and bids started to decline. Mexico was eventually chosen as country for hosting the 1968 Summer Olympics and, because of the financial situation of Mexico City, just few investments were made, and they were focused in those areas out of the city in need of a strategic development.

The role of the Games as catalyst for urban renewal came back again with the Summer Olympics held in 1972 in Munich, and all the following Olympics continued in this way. Montreal, with the 1976 Games, was the first city that financed the event privately, followed by Los Angeles in 1984, which also used existing buildings built for the 1932 Olympics. Seoul 1988 Games were innovative because the urbanization project included several buildings apt to showcase the Korean culture. Barcelona 1992 Summer Olympics were, probably, one of the most successful examples of urban redevelopment. The city was transformed from an industrial and decaying port to a popular and touristic city. Moreover, it perfectly reached all the objectives that normally a city has when hosting this kind of event, i.e. increased tourism, urbanization and beautification of the city, long-employment, social cohesion, harmonization, social housing and, in this case, increased sports participation. Barcelona had 46,000 new users of the sport facilities after the Olympics (Pedranti, 2012). Sydney 2000 Games are known as the green Olympics: the new facilities used solar power and passive heating and cooling. This event fostered the environmental remediation and improved the recycling activities. The usage of previous facilities is becoming a concern in Sydney as in many other cities that hosted mega-events. Beijing 2008 mostly used existing structures but helped the beautification of the city. London summer games in 2012 fitted in a long-term plan of regeneration of its eastern boroughs.

Olympics and all the other types of mega-events can have several different effects and impacts on the hosting city that are going to be analysed further in the next two chapters. However, the successful example of urban regeneration or urban development above are not mentioned in this passage for their benefits or their drawbacks, but simply for the help they gave to the cities' urbanization and to the importance they had in this process. Urban renewal

is today the cornerstone of the mega-event bid and the main reason why cities decide to compete for it, in fact, one of the requirements for bidding is the legacy for the host city, including the influence on the quality of life for its residence, that is part of the previously mentioned intangible effects. While tangible legacies can be easily evaluated before, during and after an event, intangible ones need more research. For this reason, the organizers must take into consideration how the urbanization fits into the city's plans, because an improper planning could lead to a failure of the event. Olympics are the most famous and world-wide known mega-event because they involve sport and have a wide range of followers around the world. In addition to this, the stadium is the most powerful representation of building in history, it has the ability to shape a city and to establish a meeting point. It creates relationships and represent a city or a country's image and pride. Stadia can generate a large amount of money through a wide usage, like the most useful urban planning tool for a city. They do not only have a role as catalyst of urban regeneration, but also as promoter of the public image, key factor in marketing. For this reason, policy makers and organizers need to be aware of the benefits they can have and which social groups they need to address to. The Sydney Olympic Stadium is an example of bad planning, since it is too large to meet the needs of today, but it was perfectly thought and shaped for the period of the Olympics. Montreal, who neglected to renew any infrastructure, is an example of bad or poor planning. The previously mentioned Barcelona and Munich are examples of good planning that brought long-lasting changes in the urban environment. Urbanization renewal is a real and important part of the mega-events, but it must be well planned.

Another example of a successful event used as an urban tool is Manchester with the Commonwealth Games in 2002, a kind of smaller size event. The games site was set in East Manchester, one of the most deprived areas of England. The Commonwealth Games were supposed to attract investments to regenerate that area. This light and heavy engineering industrial site began to suffer a decline from the late 1960s; in twenty years unemployment rate rose and many firms closed. The economic and social situation was severe: high unemployment rate, high crime rate, low quality environment and low educational attainment. The Games not only regenerated the East Manchester area, but they also transformed the overall urban image of the city, fostering the creation of new facilities, public space and infrastructure and developing a sense of community (Pedranti, 2012).

When talking about expos, London and Tokyo are two big examples of cities in which urban development was fostered by mega-events, both Olympics and World Expos. After World Expo

held in Osaka in 1970, the city became the centre of regional urban growth and economic development, as the area of transportation, housing construction, commercial and touristic attraction (Xu, 2010).

All the brief cases mentioned above serves the purpose of helping the reader understand urban renewal has not always been the main core of mega-events and has not always been successful. In the history of mega-events, many factors hindered the development of this objective, until today, when urban regeneration is one of the main factors why cities bid to host mega-events. Shanghai has probably been the latest most successful case here further analysed.

2.2 Overview of Shanghai city before hosting the mega-event

2010 Shanghai World Expo is going to be the main case study about impacts and influences of mega-events in this study for some reasons. First, World Expos are far less studied and analysed if compared to big sport events, such as the Olympic Games. Moreover, World Expos' objectives are perfectly in line with what a city aims at when bidding for hosting this kind of event, that is regenerating, renewing or developing the urban environment while showcasing all the possible sustainable solutions to contemporary problems that could lead to important progresses. However, urban and social changes, impacts and influences on the city are going to be analysed in the following chapters.

Here is a brief presentation of Shanghai before all the changes occurred because of the preparation of the Expo, together with a brief overview of its history, in order to better understand its urban changes and its international importance today.

Shanghai sits on the Yangtze River Delta on China's eastern coast, a position that has always been strategic for the commerce of the city and that allowed it to grow economically and internationally. Its origin can be traced back thousands of years when its ancestors created an ancient civilization 6000 years ago; in 990s foreign ships could only anchor in Shanghai Pu, a tributary of the Yangtze River that also gave the name to the city. In 1292, the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368) officially recognized the city as a County and established it. During the following centuries it developed and, in the 16th Century, it became the centre of the textile manufacturing and of the fishing industry. After the First Opium War (1839-1842) and the Treaty of Nanjing (1842), Shanghai became one of the five treaty ports opened and some foreign country started settling their concessions. This settlement area was administrated by foreign and, in a short time,

it became the modern nucleus of Shanghai, with paved streets, public transportation, a developed water supply and sewage disposal. Shanghai became a point of exchange between Eastern and Western cultures and it is still a blend of them even today. In 1929 the government of the Republic of China formed a city planning commission that published “The Greater Shanghai Plan”. The plan aimed at the redevelopment of the old districts and at the creation of a new city centre in the Jiangwan District. Part of this plan was also an expansion of the public transportation to alleviate the problem of traffic congestion, together with the creation of new areas like parks and open spaces. The plan stopped when the Japanese attacked Shanghai during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) and many new buildings were destroyed. Before the foundation of the People’s Republic of China, the Shanghai city planning board was established to draft another master plan that would benefit the areas on the other side of the Yangtze river, but the plan was abandoned as soon as the Kuomintang retreated to Taiwan. Since 1949, Shanghai became an important economic centre for the country. Urban plans just focused on the restoration and improvement of the communication and transportation facilities. In 1956, a new urban renewal project was proposed to reclaim some districts of the city, among which Zhabei district, and to relocate population and industries to let space to the establishment of seven satellite towns. During the years of the Great Leap Forward (1958-1962) and of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) there was a process of deconstruction that stopped with China’s reform and open policy in the late 1970s, when the city of Shanghai had enormous changes. Since 1990, it is one of the most important cultural centres and achieved remarkable economic and cultural developments. It is one of the main modern metropolitan cities where people from all China, including rural citizens, migrate looking for better opportunities to find a job, together with a lot of foreign doing business. This city has gone through a very fast urban development, especially in the last two decades, making life in Shanghai more expensive.

As you can see from the Figure 1, the urban landscape of the city of Shanghai changed very fast and the Expo site, in particular, was very different from the conditions of 2010. Before starting with the construction of the Expo site, many improvements were implemented to make the city a more convenient city and to better connect the Expo to the other side of the river. Visible and remarkable changes have to be underlined in the field of the public transportation, especially the metro, the most important urban rapid transportation system in Shanghai.



Figure 1 Urban development in Shanghai in 1999 (left) and 2010 (right) (Google Earth)

The full-scale construction of the metro began in 1993 and had a substantial growth during the years of the organization of the Expo. The proposal of a polycentric urban centre was already present in the Master Plan of Shanghai (1999-2020), which proposed a spatial layout of “multi-axis, multi-layer and multi-core”¹¹, but it was insufficiently achieved. In 1999, the date of submission of the application for hosting the Expo 2010, Shanghai completed the construction of line 1 and 2; in 2010, at the opening of the Expo, there were ten lines available. Today, Shanghai Metro system is the world’s largest rapid transit system by route length with 16 lines and 676 kilometres.

Moreover, roads, lighting, water supply, sewage system, security, city beautification and other public services were poor and underdeveloped in the years before the Expo and were the subject of targeted strategies of development. About the evolution of the infrastructures and of the public transportation you can read more in the “3.2.3 Infrastructure developments” section.

2.3 China’s bidding to host 2010 World Expo

Bidding is an important process through which countries compete for the selection of the hosting city of a mega-event.

China’s 2010 World Expo is worldwide famous for being the first world expo held in a developing country. China was competing with four other cities in this bidding: Yeosu in Korea, Queretaro in Mexico, Wrocław in Poland and Moscow in Russia. This is the evidence that the international strength and competitiveness of mega-events influenced even newly industrialized cities and countries. Hosting an event of such a huge size could serve as a leap for the country

¹¹ More information in the “3.2.3 Infrastructure developments” section.

organizing the event, increasing its international visibility and the possibility of economic, technological and infrastructural development. For this reason, more and more countries recognized World Expo's importance and tried to compete for this opportunity. Bidding is a quite complex process to describe, but it is necessary to know that the bidding preparation requires an amount of money, that corresponds to the project creation's and presentation's expenses. It comes without saying that bidding is not accessible to undeveloped countries, whose resources and available areas are not in line with the requirements.

In the bidding for hosting the 2010 World Expo, the city of Yeosu boasted its competitive advantage of being a harbour city with developed fishery, shipbuilding and a convenient maritime transportation. Moreover, it exploited the fact that this city is the hometown of the ex-president Kim Dae-Jung. Exploiting the image of famous or important public figures is very useful and sometimes a key factor for attracting consensus.

Queretaro made its ecological and high-quality areas and rich cultural heritage out to be its strength.

Wrocław had the advantage of being located in the central Europe and to carry typical European characteristic and emphasized the presence of high scientific research institutions.

Finally, Moscow's project focused on the city's natural resources and on highly competent engineers and technicians.

Talking about Shanghai, the city has been carrying out feasibility studies on hosting World Expo since 1985 (Dou, 2009), in the middle of the economic reforms, even if no concrete moves were made until 1999, when the Shanghai Municipal People's Government decided to submit the application to the State Council in July. On December of the same year, during BIE's 126th congress, China's chief representative to the BIE, Liu Fugui 刘富贵, announced the support of the Chinese Government for the bid to host the 2010 World Expo. This was also the first time a country made an oral application to host the 2010 World Expo in the session. During the same congress, China was elected for the first time as a member of the Executive Committee, and the Shanghai Municipal People's Government's Deputy General Secretary, Zhu Xiaoming 朱晓明, went to attend the BIE's congress in Paris with a delegation. All the other countries bidding for the event sent big delegations with vice prime ministers or foreign ministers: this proves the importance attached to the bidding process. It was the first time five countries bid to host World Expo since 1851 London Expo (The Great Exhibition). In 2000, the Bid Committee of 2010 Shanghai was set up and preparatory work started. China was the country that submitted the

candidature file to BIE before the other countries. The theme proposed for Shanghai Expo, “Better City, Better Life”, has been greatly recognized by the three congresses of the BIE, because sustainable development was an innovative theme and it still faces a current and serious problem. Moreover, during the 132nd BIE session in Monte Carlo, Vice Premier of State Council, Li Lanqing 李岚清, stressed the importance of the harmonization of the Chinese culture and the perfect match with the concept of “Understanding, Communication, Gathering and Cooperation” of the BIE, emphasising the possibility of promoting cooperation and peace among countries and of supporting them in the fields of economy and culture (Dou, 2009). On the same day of the congress, on December 3 of 2002, 89 members of the BIE voted for the hosting city of 2010 World Expo. The city obtaining two third of the ballots in the first-round wins; otherwise, the city with least votes is eliminated and the ballots continue with other rounds until there are only two candidate cities left and the city with more votes win. In the afternoon local time, the Chairman of the BIE announced that the city of Shanghai of China won with 54 votes in the four-round. This has been an historical and important opportunity for China, the first developing country hosting a world exposition.

Since the plan stages, going through the selection and the organization process, until the effective opening and closing of the World Expo, Shanghai growth pace speeded up in a very fast way, approaching GDP per capita levels¹² of newly industrialized countries in a short time through international growth strategies and competitiveness.

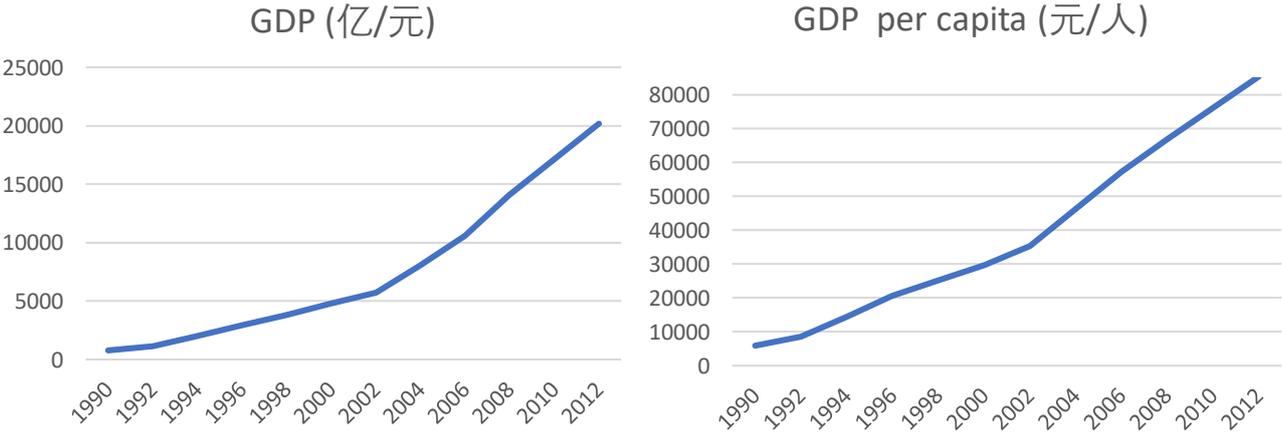


Figure 2 GDP (亿/元) and GDP per capita (元/人) of Shanghai (National Bureau of Statistics of China Data)

¹² Data of the National Bureau of Statistics of China (Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Guojia Tongjiju 中华人民共和国国家统计局). Data are in Renminbi.

2.4 2010 World Expo

2010 Shanghai World Expo is a registered exposition, also called “universal exposition”, that took place in Shanghai for six months from May 1, 2010, to October 31 of the same year.

2.4.1 The Expo Location

Shanghai World Expo was located in an area of Shanghai in need to be reclaimed, that is the area between the Nanpu Bridge and Lupu Bridge along both banks of the Huangpu River. The Expo site covered in total 5.28 km², 3.93 on the east side of the river and 1.35 in the west bank of it. Just 3.28 km² of the total area requires tickets for entering.

This thesis is going to analyse how mega-events are integrated in and can contribute to urban transformation, and the site selection is the primary factor to determine how and to what extent an event could help it. The site selection is a complex activity that takes into consideration many aspects related to the urban planning of a city. In this case, Shanghai was and is still implementing the General Urbanistic Plan of Shanghai (1999-2010)¹³ and the Expo was integrated in the implementation of it, facilitating urban development and propelling the agenda ten years ahead of schedule. The Expo 2010 site was selected because all the riverside area needed to be revitalized and reclaimed, to form and then strengthen a polycentric urban centre. This process caused the displacement of about 18.000 households and 270 factories, among which the big Jiangnan Shipyard which employs thousands of workers.

It is hard to define exactly all the transformation occurred just because of the event but, in this case, the industrial and residential relocation of the rundown riverside area would have never accomplished in a short time without hosting this mega-event. Shanghai World Expo is a case example of how an event of such a size managed to promote urban transformation using a polycentric strategy, allowing the transition to a consumption and service economy and fostering the decentralization of people from the central city. Many other events were organized

¹³ The also called Comprehensive Plan of Shanghai Metro-Region (1999-2020) is a plan approved by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on May 11, 2011. This plan aims at developing and opening-up the Pudong area, which covers a city region of 6,340 km² along the Yangtze River. The city planning seeks to develop Shanghai’s industries, environment, infrastructure, transport system, population distribution, resource management, productivity and life quality in a sustainable way. More information is available in the “3.2 Urban changes generated by the 2010 Expo in Shanghai” section.

along a river, for example the exposition along the river Seine in Paris (1889). Rivers are rich areas where civilization took place in ancient times and are still a central and convenient area for the growth of a city. In the case of Shanghai, it was a strategic position for the national industry. While the industrial area and the port have been relocated, the Huangpu River is still preserving historic marks of Shanghai's development, such as the Old Town, the Bund and the Lujiazui district.¹⁴ The Expo location has not only an historical and cultural value. It has also been chosen for infrastructural and economic reasons. This area was on the border of the central district of the city and it is today well connected with public transportation. Moreover, as it was an industrial area, this site was a priority in the city's development plan, that aimed at promoting the area preserving some historical buildings and creating new spaces for sustainable economic and business opportunities to benefit from even longer after the Expo was finished.

2.4.2 The Expo Logo and Mascot

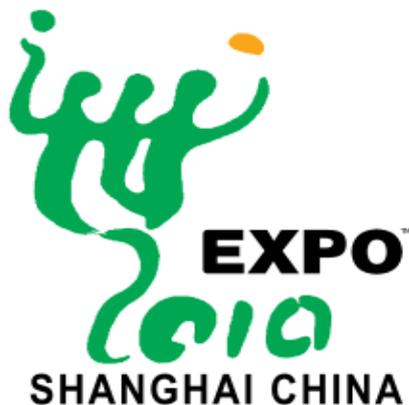


Figure 3 Shanghai World Expo logo

Thousands of design projects were submitted from all around the world for the selection of the 2010 Shanghai World Expo Logo. The Shanghai Expo Organizing Committee chose the logo that represented the most the spirit and the image of the Expo. The logo here shown is based on the Chinese character “世” (shi), which means world, life, time, generation, epoch, era. This character is represented in an artistic way and it looks like three people holding their arms together.

They can represent a happy family but also you, he, she, as well as the all mankind. The main colour is green, representing the creativity of Chinese people when pursuing future challenges and sustainable development. Its meaning is strictly related to the theme of the Expo and to what it wanted to transmit to the world: harmony, cooperation, communication, understanding among human beings, united to create a better harmonious world in the Chinese concept of “People First”.

¹⁴ Lujiazui 陆家嘴 is a new financial district of Shanghai, located in the Pudong New Area in Pudong district. It is worldwide famous for preserving one of Shanghai's landmarks, the Oriental Pearl Tower, a TV tower part of a group of towers for leisure and financial activities that complete the skyline of the city from the Bund. The most famous are the Jinmao Tower, the Shanghai World Financial Centre and the Shanghai Tower, the second-tallest building in the world.

Another symbol of the Shanghai Expo is its mascot, called “海宝” (Haibao), that means “ocean treasure”. Haibao is the Expo’s ambassador, present at the main gates and at the entrance of the pavilions. It welcomed people with a friendly and self-confident smile and open arms. This mascot also derives from a Chinese character, “人” (ren), that means people or human being. It is innovative in some ways: first, it echoes the theme of the Expo, the sustainability, representing a drop in the ocean; second, it is the first mascot of major international events coming from a linguistic character. According to its designer, Haibao can be interpreted in this way: the blue colour is symbol of the ocean, which means the origin of life but also acceptability and imagination of China and in the world. The hair are the ocean waves, indicating individuality, symbolic of the attitude of Shanghai. The all image is a cartoon, this helps the mascot to be friendly and humorous, together with a big smile, open arms and a thumb up. It anticipates the future of the city with big, round and visionary eyes. Its body is strong and healthy, symbolizing the enjoyment of a good life. Two solid feet are supporting the body, meaning that Shanghai can host a successful World Expo.

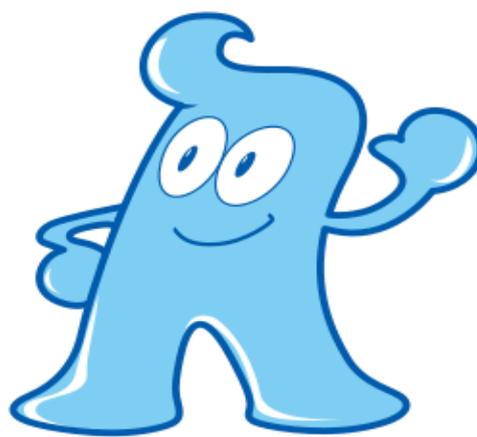


Figure 4 The Shanghai World Expo mascot

Both the logo and the mascot embody characteristics of the Chinese culture and indicate a path toward a better world, a better world created from our joint and collective efforts. It slightly explains the basic principle of this Expo: people need to support each other and to reach a balance with nature and in the society. Man and man, man and society, man and nature: this harmonization would help to improve a city’s condition, as well as citizens’ well-being and satisfaction.

2.4.3 The Expo Theme

“城市，让生活更美好” (Chengshi, rang shenghuo geng meihao)¹⁵: this is the theme of 2010 Shanghai Expo, translated as “Better City, Better Life”. The theme of this Expo is innovative

¹⁵ For more information about the Expo theme see the book “城市，让生活更美好：上海世博会主题解读” (Chengshi, rang shenghuo geng meihao: Shanghai shibohui zhuti jiedu; The Theme of Expo 2010: Better City, Better Life) by 上海世博局主题演绎部 (2009).

and represents challenges of the contemporary era, that is facing more and more problems regarding the environment. “Better City, Better Life” can be interpreted literally. Pavilions in this Expo, especially the most important one, the China Pavilion, were supposed to show new technologies, new methods and practices, discoveries, suggestions and proposals for improving a city’s conditions. In a city’s conditions we can include a good public transportation, a developed infrastructure system, a wide range of services offered, a convenient net of communication, green spaces, ease of doing business, citizens’ happiness and satisfaction, connection and interdependence between urban and rural areas, sustainability, economic prosperity, cultural integration and many others factor contributing to the growth and improvement of a city. Only when a city’s conditions are superior, life standards get higher. In details, with this theme the Expo aimed at enhancing public understanding of the challenges cities are and will face and at providing possible solutions; at promoting successful results in urban development demonstrating cities’ models; at increasing citizens’ awareness and participation in the development and in the environmental conservation of a city; at offering the opportunity for people from all over the world to communicate and share ideas and opinions about city life (Xu, 2010).

2010 World Expo’s theme is strictly connected to the analysis this study carries out: this mega-event helped the urban transformation of the city with its own content, made of years of researches apt to find ways to renovate a city in a better way. Moreover, it confirmed the strategic and important role of China as a developing country.

The changing urban landscape and the impacts are going to be analyzed in detail in the following chapters.

2.4.4 The Expo Areas and Pavilions

The Expo site covers both the enclosed area and the outside areas of support facilities in all the 5.28 km²; just the enclosed area measures 3.2 km². The Expo area has been divided in five zones marked A, B, C, D and E respectively, in which 12 groups of pavilions (26 pavilion clusters) are spread. In average, every pavilion cluster can accommodate 40-45 exhibition units.

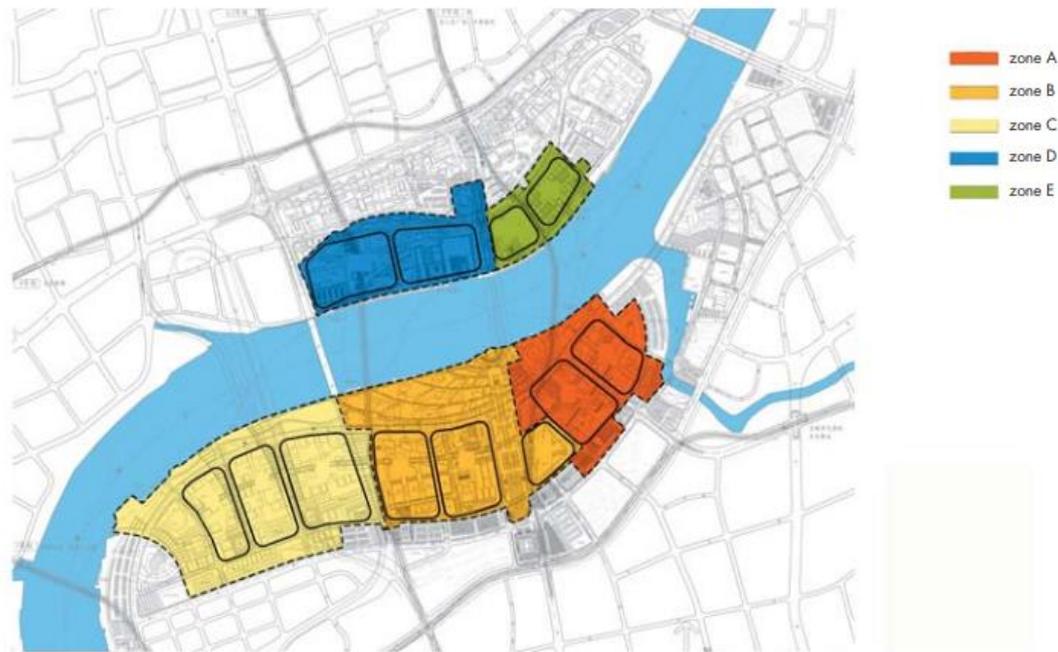


Figure 5 Expo Layout. Source: https://www.arketipomagazine.it/whitepaper_library/Masterplan%202010.pdf

Zone A (red) hosted the outstanding China Pavilion and other Asian pavilions. Zone B (orange) included the Theme Pavilions¹⁶, the Southeast Asian pavilions, the Oceanian pavilions, the pavilions of international organizations, the Expo Center¹⁷ and the Performance Center¹⁸. Zone C (yellow) was hosting the European, American and African pavilions, together with a large amusement park. Zone D (Blue) was the place where Jiangnan Shipyard was located; its docks and berths were converted into corporate pavilions for outdoor activities. Zone E (green) welcomed some newly-built corporate pavilions and the Urban Best Practices Area. The Expo Axis is a central path on the Expo campus; it is 1,045 metres long and it faces the Expo's main entrance on one side and the Huangpu River on the other side and connects individual pavilions to the Expo campus. It consisted of the Expo's major entrance, the central corridor and the service facilities (transportation, commerce, management). It is also part of what is called "four pavilions along the central axis¹⁹", because four important pavilions are located in balance on both sides of the Axis. These pavilions are the China Pavilion, the Theme

¹⁶ The Shanghai Expo established Five Theme Pavilions for fully presenting the Expo theme: "City Dweller"; "City"; "World of City"; "Future City"; "Trace of Urban Civilization".

¹⁷ The Expo Center is a huge, multi-functional building with four major facilities and four auxiliary counterparts designed to host ceremonies, meetings and forum activities.

¹⁸ The Expo Performance Center is a huge building with a flying saucer shape. It is an auditorium, a venue for cultural events and entertainment. It met the highest international standard for energy conservation.

¹⁹Yi zhou si guan, "一轴四馆".

Pavilions, the Expo Center and the Performance Center. The Expo Axis became a symbol of the Shanghai World Expo and it is still perfectly visible even today from the ex-China Pavilion, structure today hosting the China Art Museum. It became the landmark of the Expo because of its novel design: it represents white clouds floating in a blue sky and it is made of a light membrane structure. On the top it is shaped by six conical “Sunlight Valleys”, six structures adding beauty to the Axis but also saving energy, because they allow the entrance of the natural light.

One innovative characteristic of the 2010 Expo is that, in addition to countries and international organizations, it also selected 44 cases of pavilions and 15 cases of city construction from five different continents to display innovative plans and objects these cities used to improve urban life quality with and to provide a platform to exchange their experiences of urban construction. These cases formed what it is mentioned above, the “Urban Best Practices Area” (UBPA) of the Expo. The area consisted of blocks of city life, including business, commercial and residential areas, together with leisure and transportation infrastructure. The model cities reached the standards of better cities, with a convenient lifestyle and clean and green spaces. Some of them have been mocked up at a scale 1:1 to simulate a real environment and to let visitors feel the actual and real situation. UBPA soon became the highlight of the Expo. It is also an example of the reutilization of the industrial heritage present before the organization of the Expo.

The China Pavilion is the pavilion that best embraced the theme of the Expo. It showcased China’s urban transformation and economic development through national and regional pavilions. Specifically, it explained the theme in four ways: tracing the Chinese urban history, explaining the relation between humans and nature in the traditional Chinese culture, showcasing different lifestyles in Chinese cities, and connecting the role of the traditional wisdom to the modern civilization.



Figure 6 Expo site in 2000 (Google Earth)

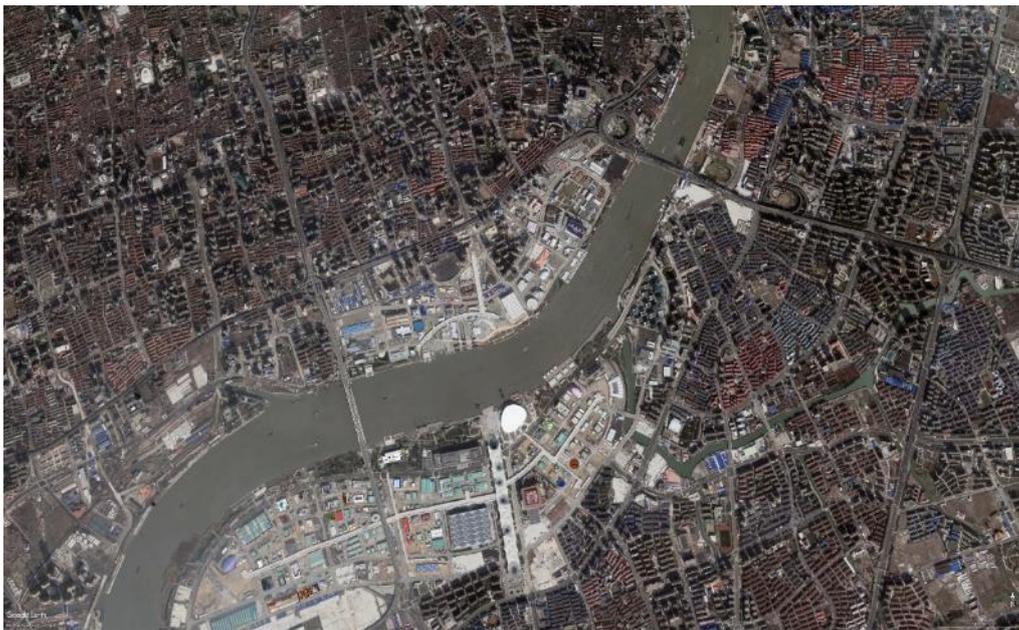


Figure 7 Expo site in 2010 (Google Earth)

From Figures 6 and 7 it is possible to see the changes occurred in the Huangpu riverbanks on both Puxi (left) and Pudong (right) sides. The first figure shows the situation in 2000 before the Expo, the second figure refers to 2010, the year of the Expo.

2.5 Attendance and results

With a registered number of 73,085,000 visitors (BIE website), the 2010 Shanghai World Expo was the universal exposition that had the largest attendance in the history of world expos in the world, overtaking the precedent record of the Expo held in Osaka in 1970, with a registered number of 64,218,770 visitors. Considering the large population of China, it is not surprising to know that two third of the attendance was all made by Chinese visitors, but one third of foreign visitors is still considered a big number. What is the reason of this success?

One of the key factors of the success was the theme “Better City, Better Life” (Loscertales, 2015). It matched perfectly the purposes a mega-event like a universal exposition has: to showcase innovations of every country, innovations that follow the new challenges of the contemporary era and try to find solutions to urgent problems. In the case study here analysed, the theme of urbanization and sustainability fits perfectly the challenges of today: to create better cities, exactly what an expo tries to do in the hosting city. This is a reason that can explain the success of World Expo in Shanghai and the great number of visitors.

Another key factor of the success of the Expo is the way it was implemented by the developers, innovative and powerful, demonstrating the same strong capabilities of the country hosting the event and demonstrating how useful an Expo can be in terms of education. One objective of international exhibitions is to inform people, to inform them about different cultural contexts facing the same problems. Solutions can be found with knowledge and collaboration among people. Knowledge is important: it helped visitors and other people²⁰ to better understand future cities and the role citizens have in improving the quality of the urban environment and in enhancing society standards. Harmonization between man and nature is one of the concepts most promoted by Shanghai World Expo, reflecting the Chinese culture’s perception of harmony among people, in the society and with nature. China was able to confirm and strengthen its name worldwide, pursuing educational campaigns and building or improving relations with other countries. In addition to this, being the first developing country hosting such a big event echoes the power of the organization, as being the representative of many different experiences but also the link among all of them, able to build better cities for tomorrow.

²⁰ The Web Expo was an important component of the exhibition because it presented the entire exposition on the Expo website through virtual reality. Some parts of this interactive website opened on New Year day of 2010, while the whole website’s content started to be available with the beginning of the Expo, on May 1, 2010. The Web Expo was available “24/7” to all the people worldwide. It was possible to visit virtually the exhibitions of all the pavilions and of the Expo campus.

China was the perfect country for hosting the World Expo in 2010 because it is a huge country with a very fast development and a very long tradition behind, and Shanghai represented the challenges of most of the cities of the world in that moment. The theme choice is one of the most relevant factors BIE takes into high consideration when selecting the country that will host the event. It must be wide and powerful enough to give countries the space to develop their own pavilion content and to showcase their achievements. Every pavilion should be attractive and innovative, should be inspired by different ideas and reflect its own culture and philosophy. However, BIE also considers the self-judgment of the hosting country and its ability to answer some questions, such as what the country thinks the international community expects from the Expo or what are the main challenges today in the world for the human being.

To fully understand all the powerful influence the 2010 World Expo had, it is necessary to do a brief comparison with the last most popular World Expo and with the last expo that marked the record of most participants, to understand what progresses have been made since then and why that expo was so successful as well.

According to the previously presented Table 1, 1970 expo held in Osaka, Japan, welcomed over 64 million of visitors, breaking all the precedent records. 25 million of them were Japanese: compared to Shanghai case, it welcomed more foreign visitors. Leaving out the impacts that expo had and the development of the city, it is compulsory to talk again about one of the key factors contributing to the success of that expo, i.e. the theme. Osaka World Expo's theme was "Progress and Harmony". Besides the fact of being a characteristic of the Japanese traditional culture and of other Eastern cultures (China included), it was the first time "harmony" was chosen as a theme for a World Expo. Moreover, this is also a case where the theme matches some of the expo's objectives, such as making progress and reaching harmony among people and between man and nature. The landmark of the Osaka World Expo was the Tower of the Sun, symbolising the wisdom of the human being, whose flame is still burning from ancient times until now, like the sun, and that will continue to illuminate the future forever, making the world a better place to live for the mankind.

2000 Hannover Expo, in Germany, got the participation of 157 nations, 17 international organization and 10 unofficial participants and was considered the expo with the largest number of participants before Shanghai. What was the reason of the success in this case? In that year, Hannover could boast the most developed exhibition industry and the largest exhibition facility

in the world. For this expo, the city used its large pre-existing facilities and it was the first time in the history of Expo.²¹ This fact enabled the development of these facilities and of the overall regional infrastructure system, including new connections with the expo. One more reason is the reuse Hannover made of the exposition facilities after the event, that was in conformity with the theme of the expo, “Man, Nature and Technology”²².

²¹ It was not the first time for all the mega-events. Olympics started to use pre-existing facilities far before the expos and you can read more about it in "2.1.4 Successful cases of implementations of mega-events in the world" section.

²² See more in the "3.1 Mega-events as catalysts of long-term urban policies and legacies" section.

3. Urban policies

3.1 Mega-events as catalysts of long-term urban policies and legacies

Mega-events, such as the Olympics or the World Fair, have gradually obtained the role of catalyst of urban renewal and have become part of the urban policy agenda of many cities. At the beginning of their history, only cities that already had the resources could host them in order to gain international image and prestige. However, international fame brought more attention and more foreign investment and a lot of other countries got interested in it, with the result that several other cities started the run to win the bid for hosting mega-events to encourage local economic development. As already anticipated in the previous chapter, the bidding process is not simple, and cities need to meet many requirements to have a chance to be selected. Based on the previous successful examples, nowadays most of the hosting cities count on the mega-events to carry out a project of urban renovation of an underdeveloped or polluted area and even make it part of their urban policy agenda. The competition is strong since more and more cities are aware of the important tool a mega-event is for urban transformation. However, implementation of an urban project is not easy, as it requires good organization, strategical policies, fund, resources, manpower, and steady organizers, and it may event result in an unsuccessful event. Mega-events need different facilities to operate with, on which cities invest a huge sum of money to create a marketing-directed symbol destined to attract tourism and investment. However, they did not always put much attention on the post-event legacies for how to integrate the event site into the urban centre and for the use and the maintenance of the facilities. How to transform the event facilities into facilities with urban function is part of long-term strategy that has to be planned during the organization of the mega-event. For example, in the case of the Olympics in 1992 held in Barcelona, the urban structure of the city was completely renovated and undeveloped areas, such as its declining industrial site and the waterfront area, were reclaimed and modernized (Chen & Spaans, 2009). However, many of the facilities built for conferences and other activities fell in disuse or created a low profit.

Although deprived neighbourhoods or brownfields have been upgraded thanks to the opportunity of a mega-event, these areas remain vulnerable and need a constant attention and projects that plan to integrate them into the urban structure of the city, especially after the event. Planning in advance the future use of these regenerated sites and their facilities might seem easy, but it is difficult for the organizers to think beyond the event when they are focused on

the pressing and urgent preparation of it.

A more sustainable example is the Hannover 2000 Expo. This World Expo was the first one in the history of World Expositions that used an already existing exhibition complex to host the event and, for this reason, could focus more on the development of the site with a future logic. Behind the organization of the expo there was a development strategy too (Xu, 2010). Hannover city wanted to modernize and extend the Fairgrounds exhibition complex, where it was going to be located the expo. To make it more attractive for the future, Hannover needed to develop all the surrounding urban residential area and to strengthen the infrastructure system and the public transportation. World Expo was the best opportunity to attract the necessary investment to implement these plans and to set an attractive image of the place that would last even after the event. Hannover Expo was a success that attracted a lot of visitors and had the record of the largest number of participating countries until the Expo 2010 in Shanghai. The area was provided with green spaces and with upgraded technical infrastructure and water, electricity and sewage systems in order to easily adapt the site to a business industry area in the future. After the event, a part of the pavilions and of the facilities of the Expo Park was reused or relocated, another part was demolished, and some other pavilions were sold to investors but are still waiting for their function to be defined (Chen, 2014). The Expo Park is today a partially successful reality of sustainable mega-event, with a new attracting centre of technology and art. However, organizers did not work much on the marketing effect and the tourism started declining slightly two years after the event, with the result the city did not benefit from the expected image.

It is clear from the examples above urban renewal is a complex process that involves different times. First, it must take care of the preservation of historical buildings and other types of heritage; second, it should try to meet the needs of the present social demand and, normally, it is what mega-events focus more on; third, it must project a plan of long-term durability. Hannover went through this process more easily as the urban function of the Fairgrounds remained more or less the same.

As a result of the studies on different mega-events cases, researches agreed on the fact that all the stakeholders should play an important role in the organization of a mega-event, to ensure the implementation of both short-term and long-term development strategies. It is fundamental to integrate physical, economic and social-cultural strategies in the urban development plan. Physical strategies focus on short-term developments, such as the physical redevelopment of special areas with their infrastructure. Economic and social-cultural strategies aim at ensuring

the achievement of long-term development, such as the post-event use of the site or the tourism. Long-term goals are more complicated to achieve because of different ownerships, lack of resources and other problems that may arise in the decision-making process (Pedranti, 2012).

In the case of Shanghai 2010, the Expo was located in an already existing urban area but dedicated to a different employment in comparison to its role today. For this reason, the renovation of that area implied the involvement of many different stakeholders. The theme “Better City, Better Life” was the first time in the history that a World Expo was held on the theme of city and urbanization, a unique opportunity for international cultural and technological exchange. For the analysis of the urban renewal case, this chapter is going to focus on the short-term developments and on all the changes occurred in the Expo site and in the city. The next chapter, instead, is talking about the long-term developments and on how impacts influenced the society.

3.2 Urban changes generated by the 2010 Expo in Shanghai

The 2010 Shanghai World Expo was integrated in the implementation of the Master Plan of Shanghai Metro-Region (1999-2010), who aimed at giving to Shanghai a new image through urban regeneration, urban expansion and social harmonization. The site selection is one of the key factors to determine to what extent the event can contribute to the urban transformation. In this case study, the World Expo 2010 site aimed at revitalizing the riverside area and to form a polycentric urban centre (Li, 2018).

Before going more in detail with the Plan and the urban impacts occurred because of the Expo, it is necessary to present a brief historical excursus to understand the development of the urban environment in Shanghai. The following table summarizes all the previous urban projects and plans adopted in Shanghai. In order to fully understand the changes occurred in the city and to contextualize the event, it is first necessary to know the urban situation before the launch of the Expo 2010.

Name	Year	Contents	Important urban projects
The Greater Shanghai Plan	1929-1937	“Locate World Port in Shanghai” Sun Yat-Sen proposed in 1922	Municipal buildings, libraries, museums and the first phase of Qiujiang Dock project
Metropolitan Plan of Great Shanghai	Three drafts (1946, 1948, 1949)	Organic decentralization; express ways and regional planning	
Overall planning of Shanghai	1953	Socialist city transformation; reasonably distribute housing; factories; railways; transport and storage; lower population density of central area	Taopu Industrial Zone; Pudong Park; Sino-Soviet Friendship Building
Shanghai Master Plan in “Second Five Year Plan”	1956-1967	Start suburban industrial areas and outer suburban satellite towns to form a relatively independent but organic correlated city group; to make Shanghai become one of the world’s most beautiful cities in production, culture, science and art	Industrial parks; 10 suburban industrial zones and satellite towns
Master Plan of Shanghai	1982-1995	One of economic, technological, cultural centres in China: an international port city	Pudong New Area; Nanpu; Yangpu Bridge; Oriental Pearl Tower; People’s Square

Master Plan of Shanghai Metro-Region	1999-2020	An international world city: economic, financial, trade and shipping.	CBD ²³ ; traffic hubs; historic and cultural areas; 2010 Shanghai World Expo; Shanghai Disneyland Park
Shanghai Master Plan	2017-2035	“Better City, Better Life”; development blueprint; bigger role in the Belt and Road Initiative and in the Yangtze River Economic Belt; population limit; improvement of the life quality, of the public transport system and of the connection services; more public and green space per person	24

Table 3 Previous urban projects of Shanghai and current Master Plan (Li, 2019; edited)

The first plan, the 1929 Great Shanghai Plan (1929–1937), was formulated by the Kuomintang (KMT). It was stopped with the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese in 1937. However, in this little period, it managed to turn Shanghai into an independent urban administrative division and to integrate it into the central policy-making agenda. After the Sino-Japanese War, Shanghai municipal government drafted the Metropolitan Plan of Great Shanghai (1946– 1949) three times, but it was not implemented. They were supposed to expand Shanghai to make it a stronger and powerful commercial and industrial port city. Nevertheless, it introduced western ideas in urban planning, such as “organic decentralization,” “express way” and “regional planning” mentioned in the table above.

With the foundation of People’s Republic of China and the adoption of a planned economy, Shanghai started to experience an ebb in urban development. However, during the implementation of the Overall Plan (1953) and of the “Second Five Year Plan” (1956–1967), Shanghai became the most important economic and industrial city under the ideology of

²³ Central Business District.

²⁴ Shanghai Master Plan 2017-2035 is a plan organized and prepared by the Shanghai Municipal People’s Government and approved by the State Council. For more information see <http://www.shanghai.gov.cn/newshanghai/xxgkfj/2035004.pdf>.

socialist city, apt to promote Shanghai for industrial development. The 1978 economic reforms helped the city to regenerate and to speed up again the spatial development. The establishment of the Special Economic Zones (SEZs)²⁵ helped Shanghai to develop, to attract foreign investment and to start establishing the service and financial area in Pudong New Area²⁶ on the eastern side of the river. However, along the Huangpu river there were still less developed areas filled with manufacturing industries. With the 1982 Master Plan, Shanghai started to be considered as an international port city, not only as an economic centre. Several flagships projects were launched, and many others were directed to Pudong area. Soon a financial and touristic area was created, and the old city centre renovated. Lujiazui on one side with the Oriental Pearl Tower (1994), and the Bund with Nanjing Road and People's Square on the other side. The construction of other towers enriching the financial and trade area was completed in the following years: the Jin Mao Tower (1998), the Bank of China Tower (2000), the BoCom Financial Towers (2002), the Bank of Shanghai Headquarters (2005), the Shanghai World Financial Centre (2008), the One Lujiazui (2008) and the Shanghai International Finance Centre (2009). These towers all became Shanghai's landmarks and an urban tourist attraction catching up the big appeal of world's most famous metropolis and merging with the cultural legacy of World Expo. These large-scale urban development projects for the city centre strategically revitalized the urban inner city of Shanghai. However, the same plan proposed to pull down old residential buildings and to relocate citizens to let space to the new financial area. By 2000, 27 million m² of residential buildings were pulled down and around 640,000 households relocated from the central part to the suburbs of the city (Ilijia, 2010).

In the Master Plan of Shanghai Metro-Region (1999–2020)²⁷, many renewal projects were proposed. The plan aimed at enhancing the role of Shanghai not only as an international economic centre, but also as an aviation and shipping centre connecting the domestic land and the world with several hubs, becoming highly competitive. Moreover, after the actions of the previous plan, Shanghai government showed interest for preserving and restoring about 700 buildings of historical heritage (Ilijia, 2010). In order to continue growing at this fast path, Shanghai had to look for new urban spaces for inhabitants to live, to create new business and to attract tourists. The Huangpu Riverside offered a lot of not yet developed space just outside the inner city of Shanghai. Expo 2010 was a national project that was integrated into Shanghai's

²⁵ See https://www.jstor.org/stable/2644396?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents and <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/21681376.2018.1430612> .

²⁶ Pudong New Area (Pudong Xin Qu 浦东新区) is the official denomination of Pudong district.

²⁷ See <http://www.shanghai.gov.cn/nw2/nw2314/nw2319/nw10800/nw11407/nw12941/u26aw1100.html>.

strategies for local urban renovation, and the area next to the river was chosen strategically to serve exactly as the Expo site. In addition to this role, the Expo also served as a catalyst for the regeneration of the declined industrial dockland along the Huangpu river. Shanghai World Expo was a mega-event that actually propelled the urban transformation of the city and followed the logic of the Master Plan of Shanghai Metro-Region, serving a double function: not only fulfilling the objective of an international exhibition, but also strategically accelerating and adding projects to the urban renewal plan of the city²⁸. How did it manage to carry out such a huge transformation?

The base of the expansion and international development of Shanghai was the industrialization. Huangpu riverbank supported the city as the industrial and port site since the late 19th century. The proximity to the sea and to the Yangzte River made it possible for the industry sector to develop on the waterfront of the Huangpu River. The objective of renovating a dilapidated area and to improve the environment's conditions were the incentives to try to transform the riverbanks from an industrial function area to an urban function centre, with cultural and service facilities and residential complexes. The World Expo triggered the Huangpu Riverbank Development Project of the Master Plan when it obtained the right to host the event in 2002. Shanghai city was encouraged by the BIE to choose this site instead of an inner one, because, according to the BIE, the river better represents the city's past, present and future development (Chen, Tu & Su, 2014). This reasoning fits perfectly the vision of the theme "Better City, Better Life", i.e. using new achievements in technology and innovative approaches to create a better and eco-friendly urban environment where to live. As stressed in the first chapter, the site selection is essential not only for the success of the event, but also for the successful development of the area that should give a long-term contribute to the whole city. The reasons why this location was selected instead of others are many (Li, 2018). First, Shanghai Municipal People's Government was the only system owning the legitimacy to redevelop and relocate residential districts and polluted factories along the river to suburban areas. Without the host of the Expo, the project might have been realized years later and in a longer period. However, the need to reclaim those areas and to replace them with high-technology and environment friendly facilities was urgent. Moreover, since almost all the 41.2 km of the waterfront were occupied by industries, the main site was basically not accessible by the public. The Expo 2010 was not only the opportunity to relocate the factories and to clean

²⁸ For those who might be interested in the urban history of Shanghai since its early stages, it is possible to visit the Shanghai Urban Planning Exhibition Center located in Renmin Square.

the environment, but it was also the chance to build an urban area with a cultural centre. Furthermore, Pudong New Area was still a far and isolated district from the historic centre in Puxi, on the other side of the river. The World Expo would have accelerated the process of strengthening of the infrastructure and of the public transportation system. In this way, Pudong would have been better connected with all the other districts and the attention of tourists would have focused on both Pudong and Puxi.

After the selection of the site, Shanghai Urban Planning Administrative Bureau organised a series of concept design competitions in 2000 and 2001. The winner firm, SOM²⁹ (Skidmore, Owings & Merrill LLP) started redesigning the 41.2 km riverbank. The plan had five main objects (Chen, Tu & Su, 2014): functional reform, to relocate all the factories, warehouses and docks and replace them with residential, cultural, entertainment and working facilities; environment protection, to reclaim the pollute land and improve the environmental conditions with new green space; improving life quality, traffic condition and connections between the historical centre and the new waterfront areas; protecting the historical cultural heritages of the city; reconstructing the space landscape of the city.

3.2.1 Relocation of the industrial area

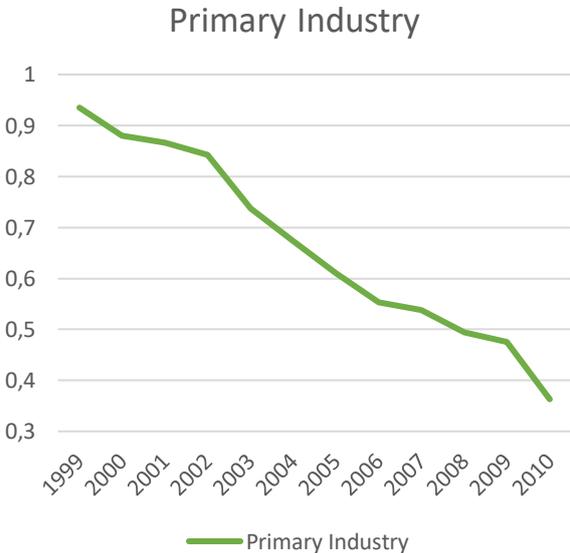


Figure 8 Million of people working in the primary sector. Source: <https://www.ceicdata.com/en>. Data from Shanghai Statistical Yearbooks.



Figure 9 Million of people working in the secondary sector. Source: <https://www.ceicdata.com/en>. Data from Shanghai Statistical Yearbooks.

²⁹ See the website: <https://www.som.com/> .

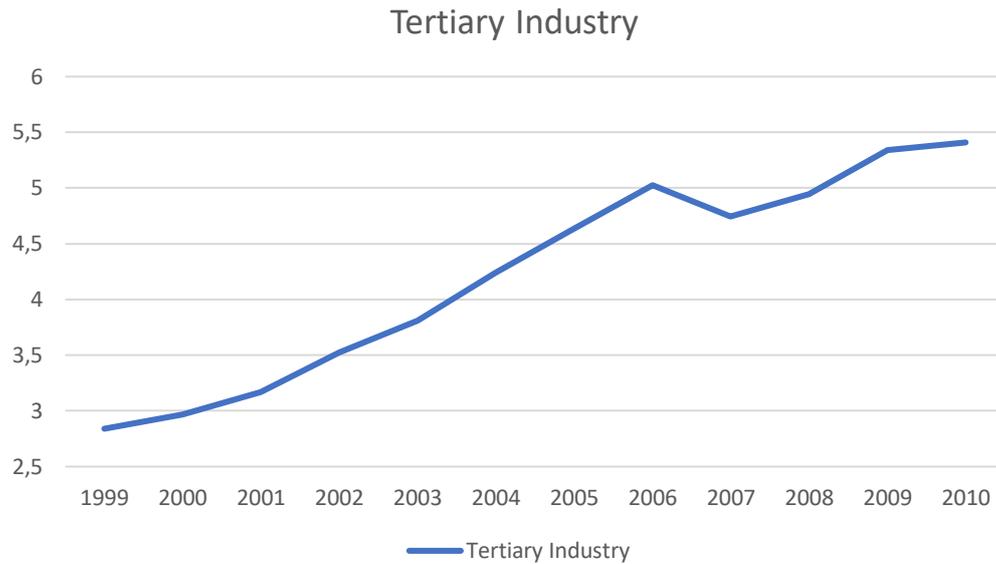


Figure 10 Million of people working in the tertiary industry. Source: <https://www.ceicdata.com/en>. Data from Shanghai Statistical Yearbooks.

The urban renewal project part of the Master Plan of Shanghai Metro-Region was including an industrial transformation, a relocation of highly polluting industries to create a sustainable urban environment for improving city’s quality. From Figure 8, 9 and 10 it is possible to see a decrease of the working people in the primary sector and a slow but constant growth of the working people in the secondary and in the tertiary sectors. The transition from the manufacture industry, that has always played an important role in the economic growth of Shanghai, to the service and leisure industry has been gradual and was in line with the “退二进三” policies (Li, 2018. CNKI).³⁰ The Expo 2010 is considered the most important regeneration projects in this field, a catalyst of the metropolis structure’s development and even distribution, from the industrial to the socio-demographic side (Li, 2018; Chen, Tu, Su, 2014).

In the previous chapter it is explained the importance of the choice of the location. Originally, the location for hosting 2010 World Expo was supposed to be Chuansha, where it is situated the Disneyland Resort today, and then it was changed to the Huangpu riverside. Both locations were situated in the surroundings of Pudong and were selected because of the possibility of urban expansion. Finally, since both areas were integrated in a logic of urban renewal, why was

³⁰ Tui er jin san 退二进三 means “缩小第二产业，发展第三产业” (suoxiao di er chanye, fazhan di san chanye), that means “suppress the second industry and develop the third industry”. It refers to the practice of pulling the second industry back, because of difficulties in the market or for other reasons, and to the gradual entrance into the service industry to gain new capital and investment. This term started to be used in the ‘90s.

the riverside area chosen instead of Chuansha? Huangpu Riverside hosts a big part of the industrial resources of Shanghai, it is the city birthplace of China's modern industry and modernization. This place, between Nanpu and Lupu bridges, covering Pudong district and a little part of Puxi, is chosen strategically to reveal problems of that area and to promote urban renewal through event-led relocation. Of 6,68 km² of planned site, 1,4 km² preserved the existing residential area, while the rest was entirely for construction (Li, 2018). Originally, the 6,68 km² site was composed of residential housing for the 26,2% and of industries and warehouse for 62%.

Shanghai presents three layers of industrial space (Li, 2018). The first layer is the urban area within the inner expressway (central city) that aims at developing tertiary industry and at suppressing the second industry (退二进三); the second layer is the area between inner and outer expressway and it plans to develop high-tech, high value-added and non-polluted industry and to improve existing industrial parks; the third layer refers to the area outside the outer expressway, and it is planned to develop the primary and secondary industry. The structure formed in this city is “tertiary – secondary – primary” spreading from central city to out suburbs. Until the moment Shanghai won the bidding for the Expo, the transition from a primary and secondary industry to a tertiary industry has been slowly, almost changed. A major obstacle in the industrial development was the large number of traditional manufacture firms that occupied a huge amount of land, especially heavy industry (steel manufacture), and shipbuilding.

After the first phase of the relocation, that is the demolition phase, there was about 1.1 km² of post-industrial land in the central area (Puxi) and 3.5 km² in Pudong. The rest of the site (less than 1 km²) was the residential part constructed between 1970 and 1980 (Li, 2012). As it was expected after several years of industrial activities, the ground was contaminated by industrial waste, such as heavy metals, that affected the environment and the course of normal human activities (Brombal et al, 2015). The industrial waste, the old factories, the docks and all the other industrial and port facilities were in a dilapidated state and made it difficult for the workers to remove them. Nevertheless, there was still an uncontaminated natural wetland of 2.25 hectares, called “Houtan”, within the brownfield area. This wetland was formed by the sediments brought by the Huangpu River over the years along the banks. According to its sustainable legacies and its theme, the Expo organizers decided to preserve the natural area and to transform it in an urban wetland park, the Houtan Wetland Park. More details about the park will be given in the “4.3.1 Environment” section.

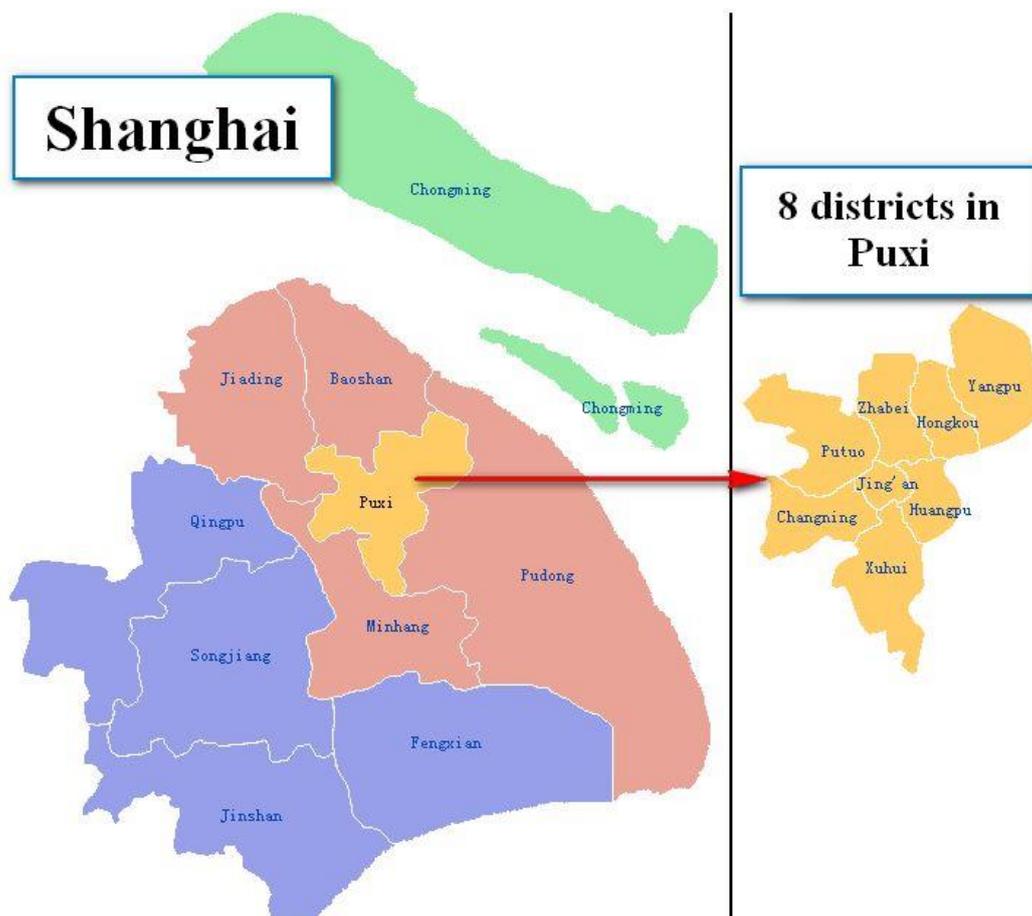


Figure 11 Shanghai's 16 districts. Source: <https://www.baidu.com>

The industrial relocation was essential for preparing Expo 2010 and for upgrading the southern part of Huangpu Riverside. The little part of Puxi district, where Expo was present, mainly consisted of a mix-use of residential housing, old industries and cargo handling facilities who were the first to be relocated. Industrial units such as Jiangnan Shipyard³¹, Qiuxin Shipyard, Nanshi Waterworks, Nanshi Power Station and Jianshe Machine Factory were located in the south of the district, and housing-industrial mix land in the north. The Pudong area mainly consisted of industries and warehouses as well, including Shanghai Solvent Factory, the Third Shanghai Steel Factory, Shanghai Zhenghua Port Machinery Manufacturing Factory, Nanpu Ports Corporation, and Zhoujiadu Shipyard. Around 62% of the land were industries and

³¹ Jiangnan Shipyard is a historic shipyard founded in 1865 and now operated by Jiangnan Shipyard (Group) Co. Ltd. It was located at Gaoxing Road in Puxi District, but after the industrial relocation, it was moved to Changxing Island (2009), in the mouth of Yangtze River (the medium island in Figure 11, part of the three islands in Chongming district).

warehouses, which, without the hosting of the World Expo 2010, it is not clear when they would have been relocated. As a matter of fact, urban soil of the industrial site was highly contaminated with heavy metals and polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons, especially due to the activities of the Nanshi Power Plant, Pudong Iron Steel Company, China First Factory and Jiangnan Shipyard Construction Factory (Brombal et al., 2015). This is the case of a remediation in which authorities were involved. Shanghai local government provided funds for treating thousands of cubic meters of contaminated soil and water under the coordination of Shanghai SEPA³² (Brombal et al., 2015).

Shanghai Municipal People's Government decided to follow the path towards modernization in the fastest way possible, transforming completely the industrial environment and bringing the city and China to the service economy stage. Expo 2010, in this case, really served as “effective mega-event weapon” (Li, 2018, p. 10) in the relocation of industry sector. Shanghai is now composed of 16 districts that changed during the years, they merged together or have been established recently. Jiangnan Shipyard was relocated in Changxing Island (Chongming district, Figure 11) and Pudong Steel Company was relocated in Luojing area in Baoshan district. Many other industries were relocated in the areas at the river mouth. Totally, about 272 factories, shipyards and the port were subject of the relocation; the port was relocated on one of the surrounding islands and connected to the city with a 35 km bridge.

It is not easy to define exactly what has been developed, constructed or renovated in the urban environment because of the coming of the World Expo or simply because of the implementation of the Master Plan. In this case, it is sure the event not only speeded up the urban regeneration project of the city, but it also added further contribution to it, as a representative tool of the city urban planning (Li, 2018). These changes can be seen perfectly from Figures 6 and 7: the Huangpu Riverside was transformed completely, from a messy waterfront industrial area to a modern and well-designed urban space, becoming a typical entrepreneurial landscape apt to capital accumulation. Moreover, despite the fact the last Master Plan and the previous one already had projects for Pudong area, none of them was specifically referring to the river waterside, even if it was for sure one location in need to be regenerated, like the Chuansha Town in Pudong New Area, today hosting Shanghai Disneyland Park.

The Expo 2010 helped to shape the polycentric urban form. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Master Plan of Shanghai (1999–2020) proposed a “multi-axis, multi-layer and

³² State Environmental Protection Administration.

multi-core” overall urban layout. Multi-axis refers to the Shanghai-Ningbo Development Axis, the Shanghai-Hangzhou Development Axis and the Coastal Development Axis, fundamental components of the city belt in the Yangtze Delta River. Multi-layers consist of all the “layers” of the city (small, medium, big towns) evenly distributed: starting from the central city as the main core, then new cities, central towns, common towns, central villages, all accessible by road and by rail. Multi-core specifically indicates the central city³³ and 11 new cities, that are medium-sized cities emerged from the development of major industries and infrastructure. The plan aimed at improving the function and the services of the central city and to develop in all the possible ways the suburbs of Shanghai. However, the only way to make this project working was to connect in the best way the central city with the new towns in the logic of a polycentric strategy. A new and more developed transportation system was needed. The Shanghai World Expo 2010 played a large role in consolidating the urban centre and propelling rapid transit system construction in the city (Li, 2018). In the logic of a long-term urban development, the Expo 2010 expanded more southward along the river to profit of all the low-value land, and this area became part of the polycentric strategy too.

It is clear, industrial relocation plan aimed not only at making space to host this mega-event, but it contributed enormously to the economic evolution of the city. A post-Expo project was taken into consideration to benefit both the relocated industries and the reclaimed land, with economy, commerce, trade, advanced service and innovative industries as priorities (Chen, Tu & Su, 2014). World Expo 2010 accomplished its task as catalyst of urban renewal, and in this case, of economic transition through industry relocation and renewal.

3.2.2 Relocation of the residential districts

The renewal plan to make space for the Expo included the relocation of residents. The term “residential district” here is used to refer to those residential communities located in that area before the relocation, whose characteristics are to be unorganized, fragmented and lacking harmony (Lee, 2006).

The creation of new towns aimed at decentralizing the central city and at lightening the burden of over-population; all the infrastructures, transports, firms and public facilities were concentrated in the central city. People of the areas of Puxi and Pudong destined to the Expo

³³ The central city is considered the political, economic and cultural centre of Shanghai and it is located in the Outer Ring Expressway.

site had to be relocated somewhere else. A massive social relocation is a typical impact of mega-events and it often has double-edged sword effects. On one side, it helps population decentralization and sustains suburbs' repopulation and a city's development. On the other side, it is often criticized for causing large-scale displacements. In Shanghai, about 18,000 households (47,900 people more or less) were object of relocation. According to other sources, relocated households were 25,000 (about 80,000 people) or more.

Low-income citizens are often the target of large-scale social relocation (Lee, 2006). Areas object of relocation are normally in need to be reclaimed or underdeveloped areas. However, the paradox is these areas are often located in or around the city centre, that is the reason why they become the target of relocation. In the case of ex-industrial sites like the Expo area, firms' surrounding are normally populated by workers' families, often coming from rural parts of China to find better job opportunities. Low-income people are easier to relocate, as they are socio-economically vulnerable and do not possess the financial or the social capital to resist. However, they need to be well-motivated in order to be relocated with the minimum level of protests and discontent. For this reason, it is easier to move them in a better place and to build them better houses³⁴. As a result of the side effects of the Expo organization, the real estate prices grew and, if before the relocation was overseen by the government, since the 1990s it is a task left to property developers or to relocation companies (Lee, 2006). Since real estate prices increased, it would be difficult for relocated residents to afford to rebuy a house in their original place after the event. This generates the gentrification phenomenon: low-income resident districts are inevitable replaced by new urban space serving the middle class (He, 2018). 2010 Shanghai World Expo was the catalyst event that triggered large-scale gentrification as other mega-events did in China, for example 2008 Beijing Olympics (He, 2018). As emerges from the "4.2 Relocation and Protests" section, some residents complained about the forced eviction and the compensation. For this reason, it is necessary here to describe briefly how the compensation process works.

According to Catherine Lee (2006), "the relocation process is essentially the negotiation for the transfer of land use rights between the buyer and the current land use right holder for land that is designated for urban redevelopment" (p.4). The "Shanghai Relocation Management & Implementation Guide" (1991), was the first complete government regulation about the compensation and it stated, "the means of relocation compensation are based on exchange of

³⁴ In Shanghai, it was easy to find three family generations living together in a space of 30 m².

title, monetary compensation or the combination of the two methods” (Lee 2006: p.6). The compensation regulation was updated and integrated in 1998 and in 2001. The current compensation framework states the relocation is based on three methods among which relocatees can choose (Lee, 2006: p.7):

-cash compensation

-housing exchange of the same price of the cash compensation

-housing exchange of the same floor area of the demolished one

Some adjustment can be made based on the location. If relocatees choose the monetary compensation, the basic formula is (Market Unit Price + Adjustment) x Demolished Gross Constructible Area.

According to the “Shanghai Relocation Management & Implementation Guide” (1991), once the developers obtain the relocation permits, the relocation can proceed. The households can only intervene during the negotiations of the compensation, but if they refuse to accept the government decision to relocate, they can file a case in the court. However, the process continues anyway and if they do not empty their houses in time, the city government can empower the related firms to pull down the houses. In the case of Shanghai World Expo, the demolition and relocation were carried out under the supervision of the Shanghai Municipal Housing, Land and Resources Administration (MHLRA) and the coordination of the Shanghai World Expo Land Reserve Center (SWELRC). According to the “Provisions on the Demolition and Relocation of Houses on the Site of China 2010 Shanghai World Expo” (Shanghai Municipal People’s Government, 2004), the demolition and relocation parties were expected to resettle the demolished house and compensate its tenants. With regard to the demolition and relocate on of non-residential houses (whose land has been acquired by allocation), the monetary compensation formula is “basic price for the compensation of the use right of land on which the non-residential houses to be demolished and relocated x land area + rebuilt price of the house deducting its depreciation”.

The decentralization projects also aimed at alleviating the city from the huge pressure of the economic boom that lead millions of people to move to other urban environments and to benefit from the surroundings. For this reason, the board of the city implemented the “One city, Nine Towns” in 2001, to create a poly-nuclear model city. A new town, called Songjiang, and eight other small cities were planned³⁵. Expo propelled this process, but the impact was not the same

³⁵ “One City, Nine Towns” is the name of a governmental urban strategic project of 2001 that planned the construction of nine new urban centres (towns) to decentralize and alleviate the process of urbanization of

in all the districts. Jing'an, Luwan and Huangpu districts suffered from slow growth rate from 2003 to 2010, -28.87%, -22.21%, 18.05% respectively. Minhang, Songjiang and Jiading experienced the highest growth rate, +168.07%, +138.98% and +122.06% respectively³⁶ (Li, 2018). The new destination of the relocated residential districts was especially Pujiang Town (Minhang District) and Sanlin Town (Pudong District)³⁷.

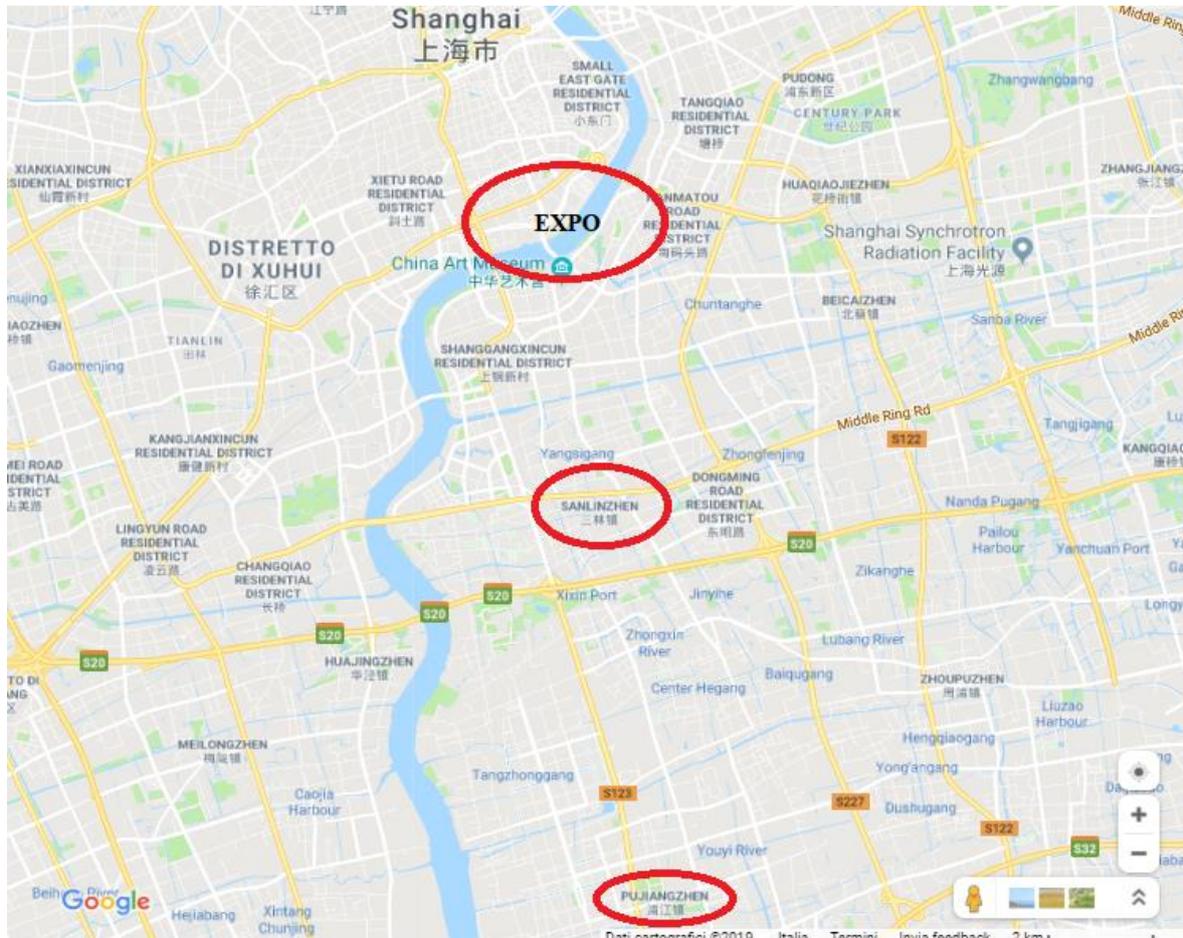


Figure 12 Main sites of residential relocation in relation to the Expo location (Google Maps; edited)

As it is possible to see from Figure 12, the new residential locations are approximately from 5 to 20 kilometres far from the original place. It is not given information about any kind of support for finding another job in the new area.

Shanghai and to face the incremental migration towards the urban areas. Seven of them were designed according to different Western styles, for example Pujiang has been constructed following an Italian theme. Eight of them were effectively built (Gaoqiao; Fengcheng; Pujiang; Anting; Songjiang; Luodian; Fengjing; Zhujiyajiao) and one project was cancelled (Zhoupu Town).

³⁶ See Table 4.

³⁷ See Figure 12.

Of 6.68 km² of the Expo site, 1.4 were residential districts built from 1970. To minimize the potential negative impacts, Expo’s chief planner decided to preserve a part of the residential districts present in the Expo site as an implementation of the theme, “Better City, Better Life”. The area has been partially demolished and reconstructed and partially maintained to reach new standards of life quality according to “add, subtract, multiply and divide” planning (Li, 2018). In this way, 15.000 households living in those residential districts were allowed to remain: the local government gained support from neighbourhoods and constructed itself a good image. For all the other 18.000 households that have been relocated, the government made a big effort to enhance their life quality and to create a good community environment, especially for those who used to live in poor conditions.

District	Population Census 2000-11-01	Population Census 2010-11-01
Baoshan	1,227,978	1,904,886
Changning	702,239	690,571
Chongming	649,812	703,722
Fengxian	624,285	1,083,463
Hongkou	860,726	852,476
Huangpu	903,451	678,670
Jiading	753,070	1,471,231
Jiang’an	1,103,949	1,077,284
Jinshan	580,377	732,438
Minhang	1,217,309	2,429,372
Pudongxin	3,187,445	5,044,430
Putuo	1,051,672	1,288,881
Qingpu	595,863	1,081,022
Songjiang	641,156	1,582,398
Xuhui	1,064,645	1,085,130
Yangpu	1,243,757	1,313,222
Shanghai	16,407,734	23,019,196

Table 4 Districts population in 2000 and 2010

When it comes to one of the most relevant impacts of mega-events on local people in China, that is the relocation, residents do have a body through which they are represented, called “Residents’ Committee” (居委会 juweihui), which is involved in the relocation process and, for this reason, it is quite important. It is an independent organization established in 1952 and it officially has the role of intermediary between the governments or the developers and residents (Zhang, 2013). However, in every city, it is an organization well integrated into the government system and it does not hold any official administrative power. As a matter of fact, it is located in the lowest position of the hierarchy after the Government, the District Government and the Subdistrict Office (to which it is subordinated). It should represent the public interest and it has some main areas of activities: management of the population (birth control; migrants; poor people); public services (hygiene, maintaining public spaces), people’s mediation; civil security; supporting of the government actions; expressing people’s opinions. Nevertheless, it is an essential tool for the government to control the society. During the relocation negotiations, the Residents’ Committee plays an indispensable role in cooperating with the Subdistrict Offices, since it has a deeper knowledge of the households to be relocated. However, the Committee’s role is quite delicate. On the one hand, it must comply with the government’s directives and encourage negotiations; on the other hand, they are as much affected by the relocation as all the other people since the Committee is made up of residents. Because of their proximity to all the other residents, the latter normally try to have more information about the relocation. Since the Committee occupies a position in the administrative hierarchy, they believe it can help assess the amount of the compensation and express their ideas in the negotiation process. However, the developers do not want to disclose too much information but still need the Committee to be informed about the situation. Some conflicts (families that do not want to leave, dispute between neighbours, tensions, electrical incidents...) may arise and increase the difficulty of the work of the Committee, that has to be present until the last family left to ensure security (Zhang, 2013).

3.2.3 Infrastructure developments

In the definition of infrastructure is included anything physical and organizational needed for the operation of a society or an enterprise, such as facilities, roads, any type of building, power supply, water supply and so on. Mega-events must build a good infrastructure in the hosting city or renovate and expand the already existing one. An excellent infrastructure is a starting point for a smooth organization and a successful event.

Every kind of mega-event needs different infrastructure. For example, sport events normally invest a lot on the construction of large-scale stadia. Stadia are the symbol of sport events like the Olympic Games and play a big role in the public image. They must be beautiful and efficient at the same time, well-designed outwardly and internally, in order to attract a lot of supporters and to welcome a great number of them. Stadia slowly became more than a sport facility; they became a touristic attraction and an important symbol of public image. However, this matter is quite controversial, because stadia must be built under a sustainable logic: they must not impact too much local people in a negative way, they must not affect the environment around, and they must be included in an after-event plan. Normally, after the event the demand for this type of facility decrease constantly and, consequently, the maintenance costs exceed revenues. For example, Sydney Summer Olympic Games (2000) and Athens Summer Olympic Games (2004) had to handle with serious environmental issues, as the land had been contaminated during the construction of the stadia.

In the World Expo case, all the organizers must provide BIE with a satisfactory infrastructural plan, fundamental element to be selected. World Expos invest a lot in meeting and conference facilities and in the national pavilion, representing the image of the country in the world.

Despite the type, all the mega-events have something in common to develop, i.e. the public transport system. The image to the world is also constructed providing high-standard infrastructure in the hosting city. Every event facility needs to be connected, and this is the chance to renovate the transport system of the all city. An accessible and networked city works better and has the power to increase tourism and benefit the local and the national economy. Building a better infrastructure or renovating the existing one is a possibility to develop the landscape of the hosting city. It is exactly what London did with the 2012 Summer Olympics: reconstructing an underdeveloped area in London, future Olympics location.

Talking about the main case study, Shanghai government had special projects for changing the urban infrastructure, especially in the public transport system. The plan was to have by 2010 two international airports, two railway stations, twenty international container marine lines with connection to four hundred harbours, seven tunnels, six bridges connecting the two banks of the Huangpu River, three rings roads in the city (Inner Ring Road, Outer ring Road, Interaction Ring Road), four hundred kilometres of rail transit, many transportation hubs and several new metro lines (Dou, 2009).

Shanghai Pudong International Airport added to Hongqiao International Airport, which could not meet anymore the demand due to the fast-urban expansion and to the growing needs of international flights. The first part of Pudong Airport was opened in 1999 and, by 2010, it reached 60 million passenger-handling capacity per year. It has been expanded a few more times until today. In the preparation for the event, Hongqiao Airport also invested in a 15.3 billion RMB project of expansion, boosting airport's capacity to 40 million passengers a year.

Shanghai Railway Station was already present at the beginning of these projects, but in 2008 it cooperated with the Expo, the city government and Zhabei District for an investment of over 4.0 billion RMB on "Shanghai Railway Station North Plaza Comprehensive Transportation Hub Project". Shanghai South Railway Station has been renovated in 2006 and Shanghai West Railway Station reopened after being closed for renovation works. Shanghai Hongqiao Railway Station's construction began in 2008 and finished in 2010. At the opening of the Expo, Shanghai could boast four railway stations.

By 2007, nine new buildings were completed at the Shanghai Port International Passenger Transport Center, opposite to the Oriental Pearl Tower, increasing the passenger-carrying capacity by water.

Regarding roads, the first part of the Inner Ring Road (Figure 13), in Puxi, was completed in 1994, while the Pudong part was finished in 2009. It is also known as the "Inner Ring Elevated Road", because it crosses the Huangpu River twice through Yangpu and Nanpu bridges. Major constructions of the Shanghai Outer Ring Expressway (Figure 13) were completed in 2003. It uses Xupu Bridge and the Outer Ring Tunnel for crossing the river. The Interaction or Middle Ring Road saw its first part opened in Yangpu district in 2003, and the second part in Pudong district in 2009. It crosses Huangpu River twice through Jungong and Shangzhong Road Tunnel. In addition to the ring roads, 39 roads in Xuhui, Luwan, Huangpu and Pudong districts were expanded and improved, and 7 new roads were constructed.

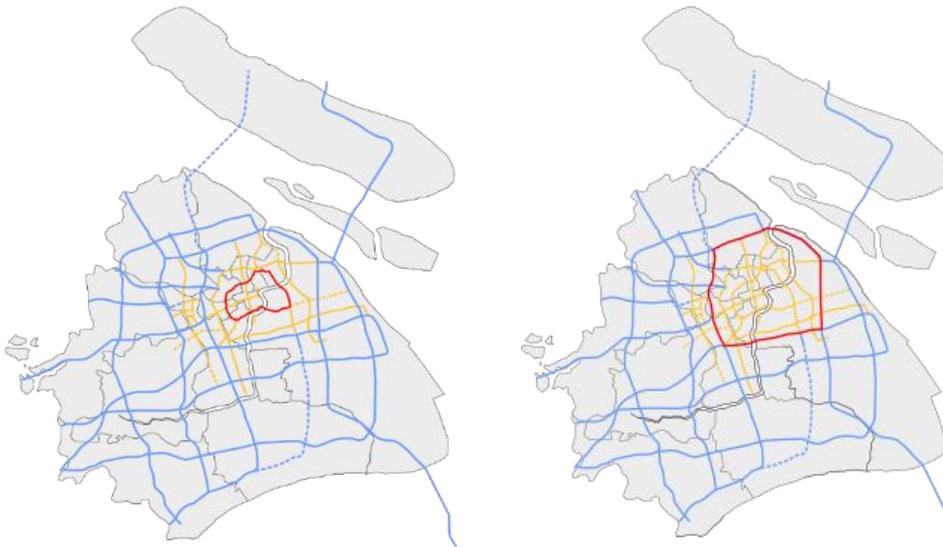
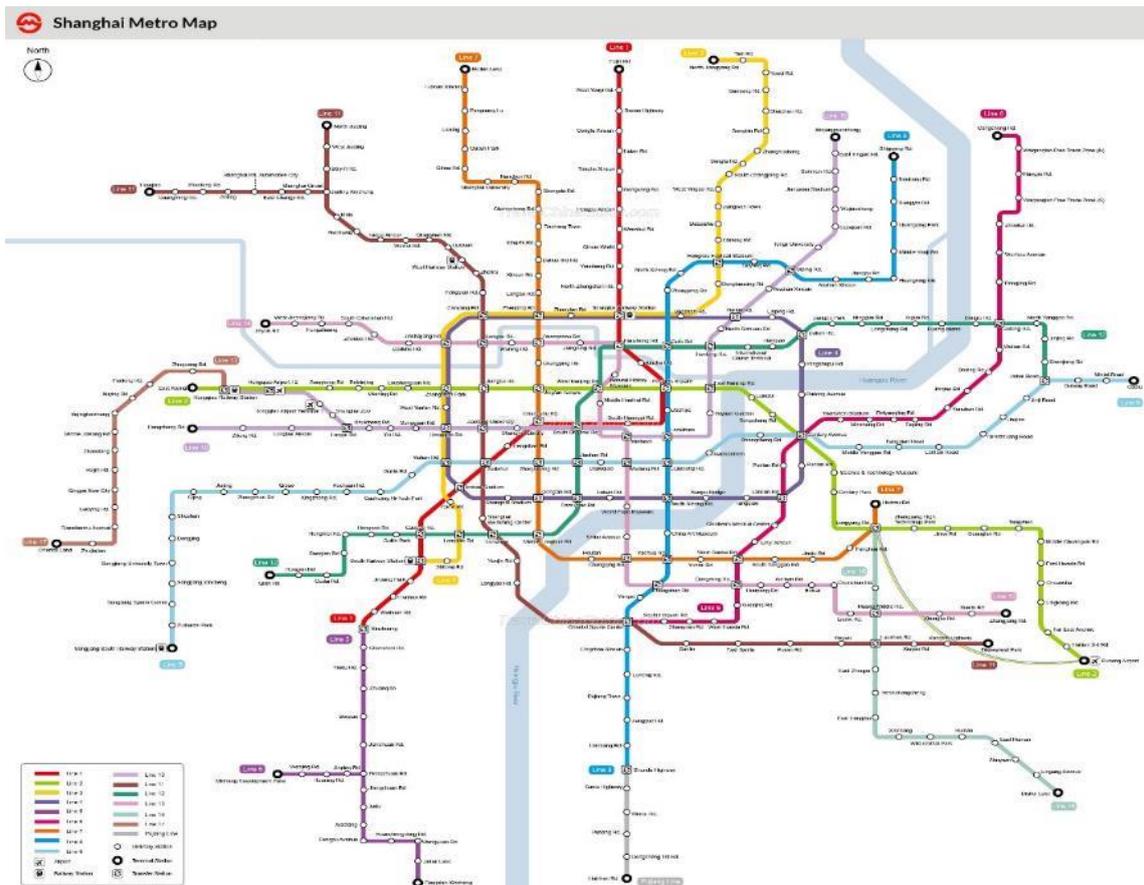


Figure 13 Shanghai Inner Ring Road (left) and Shanghai Outer Ring Expressway (right). Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inner_Ring_Road_\(Shanghai\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inner_Ring_Road_(Shanghai)); https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shanghai_Outer_Ring_Expressway

As for the most convenient public transportation in Shanghai, the city’s metro system construction began in 1993 with a section of line 1. In 2004, the system formed the initial “cross + ring” (“申”) structure with three metro (lines 1, 2 and 3) and the maglev line. The maglev line started to be constructed in 2002, same year the city successfully won the bidding for hosting the mega-event. This latter important fact accelerated the construction of the metro system in the years preceding the opening of the Expo. It was the opportunity for consolidating the image and the power of China, and for Shanghai to become an international metropolis in a blinking of an eye. For this reason, the city also needed a great metro network to support the fast urbanization. Other four lines and three extension lines operated beforehand. More than half of the construction of metro lines was facilitated by Expo 2010. By the opening of the event, Shanghai boasted 11 lines, 280 metro stations and more than 400 km of underground tracks, transporting about 5.8 million of passengers per day.



Figure 14 Shanghai subway system, 2010



80 new transportation hubs were built to divert passengers from means of transport to commercial facilities, from parking lots to the Expo site, to achieve a balance in the distribution of visitors in the transport network.

These improvements in the public transportation system were necessary. Adding to the daily pressure means of transport was already bearing, Expo was already expecting a daily passenger flow of 400.000 visitors. At the time of Expo opening, the city could rely on more metro lines, more buses and ferries and more facilities. Among the 11 metro lines, the Expo site was served with lined 4, 5, 7, 8 and with a special Expo line. Nanpu Bridge and Lupu Bridge³⁸ were the main passages to cross the Huangpu River by road and to visit the Expo site. Buses took up 35% of the passengers and special lanes were added to facilitate the transportation, building about 300 km more, together with 41 exclusive Expo bus lines.³⁹ Regular buses also extended their routes to access the Expo. Transportation by water took up 10% of the passenger flow. Ferries could dock at seven access points outside the site and at three inside the site, with two more special ferry piers at Pudong and Puxi respectively. Ferries piers were also provided with parking lots and shuttle buses connections. 26 of the news hubs will directly serve the Expo, among which Wujiaochang, Shanghai West Railway Station, Hongkou Stadium, Caoxi Road and Longyang Road. In addition to the already existing bridges and tunnel, Shanghai government built 6 new road tunnels, two of them destined to go into service specially for the Expo.

3.2.4 Dismantling of the pavilions

According to the theme, “Better city, better life”, many pavilions were built following standards of sustainability and it was planned to re-use them after Expo for hosting cultural and other type of events of interest for the citizens. Every Expo area was destined to a specific function. Zones A and B were destined to host exhibition and business convention. Zone C was supposed to become an expansion of Houtan park and was reserved for retail and trade uses.

³⁸ Lupu Bridge connects Huangpu and Pudong districts. However, at the moment of its construction (2000-2003) there was another district that merged into Huangpu afterwards (Luwan). Its name is an abbreviation of Luwan and Huangpu names. Today, it still retains the same old name, but on the maps, it is often named as “North-South Elevated Road”, the road it carries.

³⁹ 17 lines served transportation hubs, 9 served hotels, 9 served the suburbs and other 6 connected colleges.

Zone D and E, in Puxi area, were going to be part of the cultural and eco-living metropolis of Shanghai, big part of which made up of renovated industrial buildings⁴⁰.

Urban sustainability was the core concept of the preparation of the Expo site, that was respecting the theme principles. It is not only referring to the organization phase, but also to the after-event phase. The problem of how to use the facilities, the pavilions and the resources after the event is considered part of the sustainable project. In this case, a sustainable project is a plan which also takes into consideration how to re-use the land and all the facilities to ensure there will be a good post-event usage. As a component of the Master Plan of the city, with the project for Huangpu Riverbank Development, the Expo plan for the post-event usage was going to benefit Shanghai. The plan included: the construction of permanent buildings⁴¹ to be destined to another use, such as exhibition space, museums, international conference centre and public performance centre; the conservation of the historical industrial land and buildings for hosting cultural exhibitions and for creating public green spaces; the continuous implementation of the creation of a new urban centre along Huangpu riversides by connecting the road system with the public transportation and other infrastructure facilities; the application of ecological technology for the water recycling system and for the renewable energies in all the buildings on Expo site (Chen, Tu & Su, 2014).

Shanghai Development and Reform Research Institute found out on which sectors the plan should have focused for the reuse of post-event resources, that are low-carbon economy, service sector, cultural sector and urban and regional integration, and suggested some strategies (Chen, Tu & Su, 2014). The Bureau of Shanghai World Expo Coordination guided all the operations since the first development phases of Expo area until the end of its tasks in 2012 (two years after the event), and it helped the implementation of the policies of Shanghai World Expo Organizing Committee.

The after-event plan needed to take care of four categories of event facilities. The first category are permanent pavilions constructed by the Expo authority, which have been retained as facilities for Shanghai's urban development after the event, for example the China Pavilion, the Theme Pavilion, the Expo Performance Centre and the Urban Future Pavilion. The Expo Axis was supposed to become a tourist attraction and the Expo Village an entertainment area with some hotels and some apartments. Many of the 150 pavilions belonging to other countries

⁴⁰ See Figure 5 for the Expo Zones.

⁴¹ Some national pavilions were temporary because they have been taken back to their original countries after the event. The types of pavilion were three: self-built, rent and joint.

and of corporate or non-government organizations pavilions were demolished in the eight-month long demolition process that followed the event (Chen, Tu & Su, 2014) as it is requested by BIE's regulations. Exceptionally, many others were dismantled to be rebuilt in the origin country or in some other cities of China as gifts of the related country, as an implementation of the post-event sustainable legacy. For example, the Norwegian Pavilion was donated to Chongqing and the Swiss Pavilions was auctioned for 7 million yuan and destined to Zhenjiang. Italy and Saudi Arabia pavilions were donated to Shanghai Expo to host permanent cultural exhibition. Here is a table summarizing the re-use function of the most important pavilions.

Expo facility	Post-expo function	Ownership
China Pavilion	China Art Museum ⁴²	Propaganda Bureau
Expo Performance Centre (Expo Cultural Centre)	Mercedes-Benz Arena ⁴³	Propaganda Bureau
Expo News Centre	Expo Centre	Shanghai Exhibition Center (Group) Company Limited (SEG), under Government Offices Administration
Expo Theme Exhibition	Shanghai World Expo Exhibition & Conference Centre	Shanghai East Best Convention & Exhibition Management Co., Ltd
Saudi Arabic pavilion; Italian Pavilion	Saudi Arabic Pavilion; Italian Centre	Expo Development Group
Urban Future Exhibition Hall (former Nanshi Electricity Plant)	Power Station of Art ⁴⁴	Propaganda Bureau

Table 5 Main preserved buildings and their post-expo function and ownership (Chen, Tu & Su, 2014). Edited

⁴² The China Pavilion was reopened for a short period of time on 1 December 2010 with the same exhibition of the Expo. On 1 October 2012, the pavilion reopened as the China Art Museum, a modern Chinese art exhibition and one of the largest art museums in China.

⁴³ The Mercedes-Benz Arena was renamed on January 2011. This indoor arena today hosts concerts and other music, sport and entertainment events. The capacity of the main venue is of 18,000 seats.

⁴⁴ The Power Station of Art is a contemporary art museum in Shanghai, opened in 2012.

In addition to the pavilion, the Expo organizers invested a lot in the construction of facilities for visitors and pedestrian. Unfortunately, after the event, the pedestrian section on the Lupu bridge was closed, together with many other useful facilities, such as the new ferry boat station and some metro stations, due to the limited number of passengers. On the other side, the creation of the World Expo Park re-using old industrial building was a success and it is still present today, even if it is located in an abandoned area. As a matter of fact, although the objectives about sustainable plans of preparation and post-event legacy appeared to be strong and reliable, in reality, the implementation of the post-event plan met some difficulties. In the eight months that followed the end of the Expo, the process of demolition of the temporary pavilions was carried out. Some national pavilions were removed to be rebuilt in other locations. Some others were destined to be reused, as the above-mentioned Saudi Arabic Pavilion, China Pavilion and the Italian Pavilion. Many other pavilions had no destiny, and the Shanghai Municipality Government decided to leave those pavilions there for another five years, waiting for some better ideas. The Expo Performance Centre, the China Pavilion, the Urban Future Exhibition Hall and the Expo Axis were the only structures to be reopened and to have a second function respectively as the Mercedes-Benz Arena, the China Art Museum, the Power Station of Art and a shopping centre. From the top of the China Art Museum it is possible to notice that a great part of the former Expo site seems to be in construction or, better, abandoned, waiting to be dismantled or to have a second use. The Saudi Arabia Pavilion was one of the pavilions selected to remain active, as it was the second most visited pavilion after the China Pavilion. It reopened in September 2011 and it closed again on October 2016 for redevelopment⁴⁵. The Italy Pavilion became the Shanghai Italian Center⁴⁶. Further progresses were made when France, Russia and Luxembourg pavilions were reused to create, together with the Italian pavilion, the “Expo Culture Park” in the Houtan area (Pudong) in 2017, also featuring an Opera House (BIE website)⁴⁷. Among the other pavilions that have still no use, there are the China Oil Pavilion (Puxi), the State Gird Pavilion (Puxi), the China Railway Pavilion (Puxi), some joint pavilions (Puxi) and some UBPA pavilions (Puxi), the Croatia Pavilion (Pudong) and some other national pavilions in the Pudong side.

The post-event plan was not implemented as smoothly as expected because of some factors. First, different ownerships and the difficult management of the buildings; second, the fact

⁴⁵ See <http://www.shanghai.gov.cn/shanghai/node27118/node27818/u22ai83027.html>.

⁴⁶ It is possible to have a virtual tour at this website: <https://www.virtualiter.net/its/vt/>.

⁴⁷ For more information see the website <http://www.sasaki.com/>.

pavilions are no more well-connected to each other or with the public transportation due to the closing of some infrastructure (Chen, Tu & Su, 2014).

The World Expo Museum is a new building located in the former area of the Expo in Puxi that opened in 2017. It is the only official museum dedicated to the history, creation and themes of International Expos in the world. It is a result of an agreement between the BIE and the Shanghai Municipal People's Government.

3.2.5 Main bodies and their roles

SECB is the main coordinator of several stakeholders involved in the organization of the Expo, such as government, developers, enterprises and communities. SECB stands for "Shanghai Expo Coordination Bureau", established on 30th October 2003 under the leadership of Shanghai Expo Organization Committee and Executive Committee.

In order to better coordinate the different organizers involved in the preparation of Expo, Shanghai government set up two companies: the Shanghai Expo Land Holding Co. Ltd (SELHC) and the Shanghai World Expo Development (Group) Co. Ltd. The first company was the developer, who set up 9.4 billion RMB registered capital from both Shanghai Municipal Land Reserve Center (3 billion) and Shanghai Expo Land Reserve Center (SELRC; 6.4 billion) (Li, 2018). It was responsible for the industrial and residential relocation, for the infrastructure construction and for the land development financing of the Expo site and its follow-up use of the Expo. The second company was in charge of the effective implementation of the Expo operations and of the management of the Expo site, including safety, transportation, information, logistics, conferences and other business activities, communication, volunteering, customer service, relations with the participants, advertisements, personnel training, technology, transportation of the expositions' items and many other management operations⁴⁸.

Land banking was the mechanism operated by SELHC to resume the scattered land and benefit the preparation of Shanghai Expo. This mechanism generally includes three stages: land requisition by purchase, land reservation, and land provision. In this case, the first stage of the land banking not only included the 5.28 km² of the Expo site, but also three industrial and

⁴⁸ For more information about the SECB (上海世博会事务协调局) see http://www.gov.cn/ztl/shsbh/content_389876.htm;
<http://www.exposhanghaigroup.com/expogroup/node13/node13/index.html>;
<http://finance.sina.com.cn/expo2010/djs/20060831/11382859337.shtml>.

residential relocation sites: Changxing, Luoqing and Pujiang. In the stage of land reservation, the infrastructural construction was accomplished by SELHC and included post-Expo development plans. SELHC assigned this project to only one construction company, in order to avoid many departments managing one affair. In the whole second stage, SECB and Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Planning and Land Resources took charge of the planning and management of costs and effects. Finally, in the third stage, the one involving all the after-event plans, the SELRC resumed and leased the land for future use and development, but this process will probably last for more than 20 years (Li 2018). As regard to the industrial relocation, all the relocation contracts were signed by the SELRC on one side and by relocated units or their higher-level authorities on the other side. The highest-level enterprises, such as units under the central ministry, religious units and military units, were directly relocated by SELRC. For example, to settle the two largest SOEs⁴⁹, Jiangnan Shipyard and Pudong Steel Factory, SELRC specially prepared two relocation sites in Changxing Island and Luoqing to facilitate the restructuring. As regard to the residential relocation, SELRC set it in two sites, in Pujiang Town of Minhang and Sanlin Town of Pudong (Figure 12). Moreover, in order to better compensate relocated citizens, SELRC also authorized agencies in charge to assess the value of each household to make monetary compensation. SELHC accomplished the initial infrastructural construction so that the land could be leased in a much higher price in the secondary land market in the post-event redevelopment. On the other side, SECB actively communicated with the stakeholders, attracting private and international capital to sponsor Expo 2010 and cooperating with major planning and design consultants, such as the Shanghai Urban Planning and the Design Research Institute, to organize biddings to better design the Expo site area; finally, it handled the relocation negotiations with the residents⁵⁰. According to the regulatory plan, SECB also supervised the whole preparation and construction project, and oversaw any amendment of it.

⁴⁹ State-Owned Enterprises.

⁵⁰ Residents are often encouraged to leave through various meetings (Zhang, 2013).

4. Effects of mega-events through the analysis of Shanghai 2010 World Expo case study

4.1 Perceptions of local people

This chapter is going to analyse some investigations conducted by researchers on Shanghai's residents to determine their level of support for the World Expo. The results of the studies are meant to be useful to the government and to the event organizers to understand local people's perceptions and necessities and to avoid protests, opposition or unsuccessful biddings⁵¹ or to understand how to achieve a sustainable development. It is important to understand the psychological needs of residents to build a perception of the benefits that matches with their evaluation of the event and that meets their needs. If local people oppose or do not cooperate with the bidding or the organization of a mega-event, political and social costs will raise. For this reason, the study of impacts and influences of mega-events on the community is fundamental for the success of mega-events. IOC (International Olympic Committee) event considers it one of the most crucial factors in evaluating candidate cities (Wu, Ma & Peng, 2018). However, in the history of mega-events, just few scholars have investigated the perceptions and the support of residents in developing countries, which, compared to developed countries, are in an inferior position when bidding for mega-events. That is why today more and more researches are conducted in developing countries and on their increasing influence.

Moreover, in all the studies conducted over the years for different mega-events, it is possible to notice a lack of data regarding the ongoing impacts (Wu, Ma & Peng, 2018). It is necessary to learn from past experiences and to conduct efficient investigations. Efficient investigations must be conducted before bidding for a mega-event, to taste people's reactions and get advices, and during and after the event. According to some researchers, a comparative study on the differences of residents' perceptions on the same mega-event of two different cities would help to produce a better analysis. In addition to the first study, two or three years before the official starting of the event it is necessary to further investigate to understand if there is still support from people or to appease their discontent. Moreover, right because mega-events' influences

⁵¹ For example, biddings for 2000 Olympic Games in Berlin and 1996 Olympic Games in Toronto failed because of the opposition of residents.

can be seen in the long-term, it is necessary to collect residents' experiences even two or three years after the event, at least.

Regarding Shanghai case study, I am going to take into consideration a sample of three questionnaires conducted in the city for hosting of 2010 World Expo to understand, first, the overall perceptions of the impact of a mega-event, and then, the level of support of the citizens for this event in particular and the social influence it had on them.

The first questionnaire is presented in the article "Local Residents' Perceptions of the Impact of 2010 Expo", written by Jie Yang, Xuehui Zeng and Yingkang Gu from the Department of Event Management of Shanghai Second Polytechnic University in Shanghai and published in the "Journal of Conference & Event Tourism" in 2010. This study's purpose was to identify and classify residents according to similar perceptions and, at the same time, to understand these perceptions in the logic of a developing country's citizens, because they found out there was a lack of research on perceived impacts and benefits of mega-events on residents in developing countries and wanted to fill the void. The questionnaire survey consisted of 42 items to which residents could respond with a 5-scale point: 1 means strongly disagree, 3 means neutral and 5 means strongly agree. The questions were revised after receiving scholars' suggestions and conducting a trial on a sample of residents. 500 of them were distributed during March 2009 and 461 were recollected (response rate 92.2%). The final questionnaire items focused on 8 clusters of impacts: City image enhancement and consolidation⁵², who got an average of 4.14; Tourism infrastructure development⁵³, with 3.96 of average; Economic benefits⁵⁴, with an average of 3.75; Cultures exchange⁵⁵, who got 4.01 as average;

⁵² Factors in this item group: increase opportunity to introduce Shanghai to the world (who got the highest score of the group); improve Shanghai's international image; enhance recognition of Shanghai internationally; enhance the cohesion of Shanghai residents (who got the lowest score of the group); enhance pride of Shanghai residents; reinforce communist spirit.

⁵³ Factors in this item group: enhance city beauty; increase shopping facilities; increase leisure facilities (who got the lowest score of the group together with the previous factor); improve sanitation facilities; increase tourist service facilities; accelerate development of city infrastructure (who got the highest score in the group together with the previous factor).

⁵⁴ Factors in this item group: improve conditions of city road system; increase job opportunities; improve the economic conditions; accelerate the growth of Shanghai; increase the investment of Shanghai (who got the highest score in the group together with the previous factor); increase state tax; improve residents' living conditions (who got the score point in the group); result in development of relative industry.

⁵⁵ Factors in this item group: results in more cultural exchange (who got the highest score in the group); provide opportunity to experience other cultures; encourage development of local activities; better understand other/different cultures and societies (who got the lowest score in the group).

Environmental and culture preservation⁵⁶, with an average of 3.47; Economic costs⁵⁷, with 3.51 as average; Social and environmental problems⁵⁸, with 2.90 of average; Culture conflicts⁵⁹, with 2.89 of average. Of 45 items, 27 resulted positive impacts items and 15 negative impact items. 27 factors of positive impacts are considered those of “city image enhancement and consolidation”, “tourism infrastructure development”, “economic benefits”, “culture exchange”, and “environmental and culture preservation”.

In addition to these cluster questions, the questionnaires included demographic questions to obtain a general profile of the respondents. The demographic survey investigated on the gender (male/female), age (18-25/26-35/36-50/51-65/66 or above). educational background (junior high school or below/senior high school/college graduate/post graduate), employment status (full-time/short-term contract/self-employed/unemployed/student/retires/others), length of living in Shanghai (1 year or shorter/2-4 years/5-7 years/8-10 years/more than 10 years), perceived home-venue distance (within 1 km/1-2.99 km/3-5.99 km/6-9.99 km/10 km or more), monthly income (less than 1,000 RMB, 1,000-2,499 RMB/2,500-3,999 RMB/4,000-5,999 RMB/6,000-7,999 RMB/8,000-9,999 RMB/10,000 RMB or more). The general profile of respondents resulted to be 49.7% males; 65.5% were in the 18-35 age range; 65.3% were at least college undergraduate; 52% had full time jobs; 56.8% lived in Shanghai for over 10 years; 46% lived more than 10 km away from the Expo site; 49.9% earned between 1,000 and 4,000 RMB per month.

In order to classify respondents in different groups based on their perceptions of the impacts of the Expo, authors selected the three-cluster method after comparing groups with cross-tabulations. The three groups obtained are Favourers, Realists, and Haters. The first cluster, the one of the Favourers, is composed by 222 respondents (48% of the sample), which mostly agreed and supported the 2010 World Expo in their city. They were convinced this event would have brought more benefits than costs, in terms of city image, international opening, tourism, employment, business opportunities, culture exchange and environment protection. They denied considering the Expo as the main responsible for the environmental destruction and the

⁵⁶ Factors in this item group: restore/preserve/protect historical buildings; preservation of the local culture (who got the highest score of the group); conservation of natural resource (who got the lowest score in the group).

⁵⁷ Factors in this item group: increase price of real estate (who got the highest score in the group); increase speculation of real estate; increase living cost; waste taxpayers' money on the construction of the Expo facilities (who got the lowest score in the group); spend too much on the construction of Expo facilities.

⁵⁸ Factors in this item group: bring disturbance by visitors; increase traffic problem (who got the highest score in the group); increase crime rate; increase alcoholism, prostitution (who got the lowest score in the group); damage natural environment and landscape; destroy local ecosystem; increase environmental pollution (litter, water, air, and noise).

⁵⁹ Factors in this group: bring cultural conflicts; affect local resident's traditional lifestyle (who got the lowest score in the group); have a negative impact on the development of local culture (who got the highest score).

society disorders. This is the group with the most favourable attitude towards the Expo. The second clusters, called Realist, was made up of 212 residents (46% of the sample). People in this group are called realist because they acknowledged the Expo would have generated both positive and negative impacts. On one hand, they firmly believed this mega-event would have boosted city's development and enhanced its image in the world, but they also took into consideration some negative aspects, such as the higher price levels of real estate and the costs of the construction of the Expo facilities. However, their assessment of the negative impacts is still above the average level. The last and most negative group is the one of the Haters, made up by 27 residents (6% of the sample). They were more reluctant to admit that the Expo would have brought all the positive impacts the previous groups supported. They put more emphasis on the negative aspects of the event, such as the costs, the cultural conflicts and the social and environmental problems. Because of their loss of confidence in the mega-event, they were not expecting a better quality of life in the future due to the Expo.

The second questionnaire is presented in the article "The Image of the 2010 World Expo: Residents' Perspective" by Kangjuan LV, Gyula Mosoni, Mengyi Wang, Xiaosong Zheng and Yan Sun of the SILC Business School and the School of Economics of Shanghai University, published in *Inzinerine Ekonomika-Engineering Economics* in 2017. For this questionnaire, 42 items and seven clusters were finally confirmed and submitted to citizens between December 2010 and February 2011. 300 questionnaires were distributed to Shanghai residents who attended the event (both Chinese and expatriates living in Shanghai). The clusters analysed were Culture⁶⁰, Economy⁶¹, Science and Technology⁶², Environment⁶³, Community⁶⁴, Rural regions⁶⁵, Life conditions⁶⁶. A demographic study on the respondents was conducted even for these questionnaires on gender (male/female) and age (18-25/26-35/36-45/46-55/56 and over). They resulted to be 57.4% males and 30.2% (the biggest part) are of 18-25 age range. Of 148 respondents, 62 were Shanghai local urban residents, 32 were foreigners, 27 came from rural regions. Respondents could answer with a mark from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

⁶⁰ Factors in this group: international perspective; multicultural life; tourism attraction; international mindset; increased generosity; international behaviours; attractive architectures.

⁶¹ Factors in this group: international status; investment; increased income.

⁶² Factors in this group: high technology; awareness of science; friend city; more humane dimension.

⁶³ Factors in this group: improved environment; air quality; increased green space; city beautification; public transit system; convenient metro system; clean subway; low carbon transport.

⁶⁴ Factors in this group: public behaviours of residents; improved relationships in neighbourhood; social cohesion; comfortable and safe lifestyle.

⁶⁵ Factors in this group: relocation; improved educational environment; social welfare; economic benefits.

⁶⁶ Factors in this group: low carbon city; safe buildings; energy efficient; environmental protection awareness; energy-efficient architecture; convenience of life; sustainable consumption; social security system; improvement in medical service and public hygiene; culture and entertainment; respectful life.

The CFA (Confirmatory Factor Analysis) was used to confirm the validity of the measurement scale of the questionnaire. Authors chose three parameters to test the indexes and to demonstrate the reliability and the suitability of the items and the good quality of the questionnaire. The results of the questionnaire were analysed even with path coefficients, a coefficient that indicates how much a variable can influence another variable. Culture and Economy seemed to have a strong influence on the satisfaction of the residents, while Science & Technology and Environment had a lighter influence, compared to the first two. An overall analysis of the first four clusters shows that multicultural life, economic development, high technology, environmental improvement were factors influenced positively by the Expo. However, according to this questionnaire, respondents did not feel the same positive influence about community and harmonization, communication between urban and rural regions and life quality.

The third questionnaire is presented in the article “The Research is about the Follow-up Effect on City and Society which was Exerted by World Expo based on the Investigation of Inhabitants’ Perception in Shanghai” by Yang Shunyong, Zhao Jinjie and Cao Yang of Shanghai Institute of Technology in Shanghai, published in Natural Sciences Publishing in 2014. This questionnaire included a first part of demography and a second part of analysis of the positive and negative follow-up effects of the World Expo on city and society. 1500 questionnaires were distributed to Shanghai inhabitants in November 2011, 1312 returned and 1213 of them were valid. Regarding the demographic questions, investigations was made on sex (male/female), age (17 years or less/18-24 years/25-44 years/45-64 years/more than 65 years), educational background (junior or below/high school diploma/junior college, bachelor/master or above), profession (enterprise institution staff/professionals and technical/student/retired/else), monthly pay (2000 yuan or less/2000-3500 yuan/3500-5000 yuan/5000-6500 yuan/more than 6500 yuan) and length of stay (3 years or less/4-10 years/11-20 years/more than 20 years). Respondent resulted to be 53.26% men, 48.23% of 18-24 age range, 72.63 % of junior college or bachelor graduated, 39.74 % working in enterprise institutions, 34.38% earning 2000-3500 Yuan per month, 60.02% living in Shanghai for more than 20 years. As for the second part of the questionnaire, respondents could answer by giving a point from 1 to 5, corresponding respectively to “completely disagree”, “disagree”, “not sure”, “agree”, “can’t agree more”. The evaluating items were 16: Enhancing the notability of Shanghai all over the world; Promoting the communication in the field of science, technology and culture; Establishing the image of Shanghai as city of MICE⁶⁷; Enriching cultural

⁶⁷ Acronym for “Meeting, Incentives, Conferences, Exhibitions” (a type of tourism).

knowledge about different countries/places; Finding out abundant resources of the World Expo; Making the world know more about China; Experiencing different customs and culture from different countries/places; Experiencing different resources overseas; Educational effect on local inhabitants; Helping to protect and promote Chinese culture; Enhancing the relationships among the inhabitants, visitors and tourists; Enjoying a novel experience; Having opportunities to appreciate the positive factors from lots of performance in the Expo; Increasing crime rate; The conflicts between the inside and the outside; The negative impact which the traditional culture suffered from. From the statistical results, the single average mark of perception is 3.7540. The last three items seemed to be the negative factors that affected the city and the society the most, while the other items resulted to be all positive factors of influence. According to the results, respondents were classified in 5 clusters. The first cluster is called Objectors (2.4% of the respondents). This kind of inhabitants denied all the follow-up social effects of the 2010 World Expo, both positive and negative, and gave to all the items a low mark. Paradoxical Supporters is the second cluster (31.7%). They are called in this way because they kept paradoxical attitude towards both positive and negative factors of the effects of the Expo and all their marks were between 3 and 3.5. Negative Supporters is the third cluster (39.5%) and it is the largest one. They basically showed agreement to the positive factors, but they also agreed with the negative ones. The fourth cluster is made up by the Rational Supporters (14%), respondents who agreed to both positive and negative factors, but they were rational and realistic because they completely agreed (giving more points) just with the positive factors. The last cluster is the one of the Enthusiastic Supporters (12.4%); this group gave the highest mark to all the positive and negative factors, recognizing all the benefits of the Expo but also admitting the presence and the risk of the negative factors, such as the costs.

It emerges from the questionnaires above the general perceptions of local people of the Expo. Here presented are surveys conducted in three different periods, one before the opening of the event and the others in two different times after the Expo. Even if it considers just a short time span (a couple of years), it is enough to see little changes in their perceptions. However, to have a more clear situation of the long-term impacts the event had on the city, it is necessary to have a wider knowledge that includes more recent years, such as the progresses in the dismantling process today and the influence the theme had on sustainable urban development. All the three questionnaires are reliable and utilize the same method of evaluation for the respondents. This is a table summarizing all the items object of the surveys and the main effects further analysed later.

Items	Positive Effects	Negative Effects
Culture	International mindset and perspective; multicultural life; tourism attraction; increased generosity; international behaviours; attractive architectures; more cultural exchange and opportunities to experience other culture; development of local activities; better understanding of other societies.	Cultural conflicts; affection on local residents' traditional lifestyle; negative impact on the development of local culture.
Economy	International status; more foreign investment; increased income and economic conditions; new job opportunities; improved conditions of city road system; acceleration of the growth of the city; improvement of residents' living conditions; development of relative industries; city image enhancement and consolidation; tourism infrastructure development.	Increased state tax; increase price of real estate; increase speculation of real estate; increased living costs; too many expenses on the Expo facilities; waste taxpayers' money on the construction of the Expo facilities.
Science and Technology	High technology; awareness of science and new achievements; environment friendly city; more human dimension.	
Environment	Improved environment; better air quality; increased green space; city beautification; green public transport system (low carbon); convenient and clean metro system; restoration/protection of historical buildings; preservation of local culture; conservation of natural resources.	Damage of natural environment and landscape; increase environmental pollution (garbage; wastewater; noise pollution; air pollution...).
Community	Public behaviours of residents; improved relationships in neighbourhood; social cohesion; comfortable lifestyle.	Displacement of residents for controlling urban landscape; social and labour division based on the concentration of

		means of production in the hands of few individuals; aggravated inequalities in the sharing outcome of social production.
Rural Regions	Economic benefits; social welfare; improved educational system; improved environmental conditions; relocation.	Rural-urban gaps: wealth accumulation at a much faster rate in urban areas than rural areas; missed accomplishment of a harmonious society.
Life Conditions	Low carbon city; safe buildings; energy efficient architecture; environmental protection awareness; convenience of life; sustainable consumption; improved social security system (surveillance); improvement in medical service and public hygiene; more cultural and entertainment activities; more respectful life.	Worsening of income and wealth inequalities; unemployment; disturbance by visitors; increased traffic problems; increased crime rate; increased alcoholism and prostitution.

Table 6 Summary of positive and negative effects of the World Expo

The results attest that people’s expectations before and after the event changed a little bit. They had always put more hopes in the realization of the harmonization of the society and in decreasing inequalities between rural and urban areas. The situation changed after the event, when they realized the effective benefits and negative impacts brought by the World Expo. The conclusions are going to consider all the impacts and all the effects in order to outline some possible explanations to this mismatch in the expectations of the respondents. In the overall comprehension of the reasons why Shanghai 2010 failed in reaching all their goals, it should be taken into consideration that the respondents of the questionnaires represent just a tiny part of the people directly concerned with the impacts of Shanghai 2010 World Expo, and that they just give an idea of the effects that will have a long-term duration over the years. Perceptions might change from person to person and, as a matter of fact, section “4.2 Relocation and

Protests” presents some opposition cases.

4.2 Impacts of the World Expo 2010

4.2.1 Environment

The main theme of the Expo “Better City, Better Life” wanted the exhibitions to point out some important urban and environmental issues of the contemporary society and to showcase some of the solutions countries found for making cities better and sustainable places where to live. These issues can be summarized in the following titles, sub-themes of the Expo: “Blending of Diverse Cultures in the City”, “Economic Prosperity in the City”, “Innovation of Science and Technology in the City”, “Remodelling of Communities in the City”, and “Interactions Between Urban and Rural Areas” (BIE website). Themes involved not only science and technologies for renovating a city, but they also focused on the harmonization of the cities, of different cultures and communities, of the nature and on the communication between urban and rural regions. The only way to connect humankind to nature was to plan a reduction of urban consumption of resources by implementing a series of measures like afforestation, remediation operation (water purification, nature preservation) and green energy extraction. For this reason, every single pavilion was constructed according to sustainable construction’s rules (Shi & Gong, 2008)⁶⁸. According to the most widespread definition, sustainable development is the “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”⁶⁹. A sustainable construction can be called in this way only if it holds a sustainable design for all the lifecycles of a building, from the planning phase, to the designing, building construction, building operation and demolition phases. Environment friendly construction is a branch of the sustainable construction who takes care of environmental protection and human health. All the pavilions of the Expo 2010 were built following the main principles of the environment friendly construction, even if some of them were temporary buildings, destined to be demolished after the event.

An example of new green technologies used in the construction of the Expo are in the three wetland parks located on the Expo’s waterfront. Two of them were formed reclaiming

⁶⁸The sustainable construction is the result of the application of sustainable development in the construction field.

⁶⁹ Definition popularized by the Brundtland Commission Report (*Our Common Future*, 1987).

industrial brownfields and transforming them into green spaces to purify the water and the air. The other one was an already existing wetland, restored because endangered. During the exhibition, all of them were accessible.

One of them, the most successful green land project of 14-hectare of the Expo, is called Houtan Park, and it is located in Zone C in the Pudong side. It is one of the two urban reclaimed wetlands along the Huangpu River. The other one is called Paotaiwan Wetland Park, located in Baoshan District (home to Baosteel, China's biggest steel maker). Both are reclaimed from polluted shipyards and steel industries sites and are part of a major environmental remediation project of the city to be green for the Expo and after the event.

Houtan park is the best example of urban reclamation along the Huangpu River. It was designed by Professor Yu Kongjian from the urban planning department of Peking University and it opened in April 2010. Some of the educational buildings created in the park were retained from the previous industrial site. Among the new green technologies used in the construction of the Expo facilities, here visitors can find pollutant filtering systems that allows the soil to produce 2,400 m³ of non-potable water to be used in the Expo, saving \$500,0000 in treatment of polluted water (Shanghai Daily, 2010).

Paotaiwan Park occupies a site once used as steel slag dump. The clear-up operation started in 2000 and, from an encroached, dirty and dangerous site, it opened in 2008 as a green park with vegetation, animals, hills, rivers and entertainment facilities.

The natural one is Dongtan Wetland Park or Chongming Dongtan Birds National Natural Reserve, a national wetland nature reserve for the protection of migratory birds and their habitat, located on Chongming Island. After the remediation works began in 2003, the main pond was cleaned from polluted water and the whole area has been replanted with new aquatic plants, that purify the water, and restocked with new birds and marine animals. Today, the reserve counts more than 150 species of birds, and some endangered alligators also live there. Because of its location, the reserve is suitable for producing wind energy and it generates electricity with 12 bird-friendly⁷⁰ slow-moving turbine blades. In this park, you can find a natural spring of drinking water. Chongming Island is the third largest island in China and was entirely declared ecological island in 2003 by Shanghai Government, that encouraged local people to protect the island.

⁷⁰ Turbines are built far from the major nesting bird populations and their speed is slow enough not to harm the birds. Moreover, they are silent.

Thanks to the changes occurred in the urban green system of the islands, the heat of those areas has been mitigated and the NDVI⁷¹ has increased (Cui & Shi, 2012).

Talking about the pavilions and the renewable energies, the all Expo site was constructed as the major contemporary urban centre, with the first large-scale wind direction simulation in China (Dou, 2009). The architecture of the building was adjusted after a simulation was made and the southeast wind was used as the prevailing one. The overall architecture of the Expo is following the wind direction, channelling the wind when it is weak and blocking when it gets too strong. In addition to the wind direction system, the solar energy technology was used in a great part of the site. All the permanent pavilions (China Pavilion, Theme Pavilion, Expo Center and Performance Center) were provided with solar energy equipment. Expo became the largest area utilizing solar energy in the urban districts of Chinese cities with a total power generated by solar energy of 5,000 KW (Dou, 2009).

The Expo Axis, instead, benefitted of the sunlight, saving a lot of energy. The Sunny Valley is the name of the structure located on one of the topsides of the Axis that absorbs sunshine, air and rain. As a matter of fact, the two underground floors can benefit of the light entering from the Sunny Valley. Moreover, pipelines built under the foundation of the Axis make it possible to collect rainwater to be reused. Finally, territorial heat and river waters help to achieve the effect “cool in summer and warm in winter” (Dou, 2009).

The LED technology, called the “green energy” of the 21st century, was used in most of the facilities of the UBPA (Urban Best Practices Area), the first time it was used extensively in a city⁷².

In the Expo were used three kinds of vehicles that used clean energy for transportation in the site: a trackless trolleybus, a super capacitance vehicle and a super capacitance hybrid vehicle with storage battery. The example Expo was trying to give and to leave after the event itself was that of a zero-emission centre, provided with new and green technologies for alternatives energies and with ecologic means of transportation. Ten years after, today, the use of hybrid vehicles is normal in big cities in China. The Expo 2010 was the perfect moment to showcase the latest technologies that could help to achieve the objective of the Expo’s theme.

⁷¹The NDVI is the “Normalized Difference Vegetation Index”, an index that assesses the presence and the quantity of vegetation from a space platform.

⁷² See the section “4.3.2 Science and Technology” for more information about the LED technology.

According to the questionnaires above and to the green examples already presented, it is clear that the Expo organizers tried to minimize all the problems that normally occur while preparing and during a mega-event: destruction of the physical and natural environment and ecosystem, pollution of air, water and noise. Moreover, with the expansion of the infrastructure⁷³, the organizers aimed not only at serving all the people expected to visit the Expo, but also at reducing the problem of traffic congestion and disturbance by visitors to benefit all citizens, and to contribute to the beautification of the city through the reclamation of the Huangpu riverside. Moreover, the Expo organization aimed at reducing solid wastes and at treating the rubbish of the event. All the daily use items were made with recyclable material to reduce the pollution. The problem is, now, the pollution that could derive from the dismantlement process, which, apparently, it is still going on.

However, urbanization, especially a fast urbanization like in the case of Shanghai, also creates a lot of problems in the city regarding environmental pollution, such as higher temperatures, water and air pollution. In Shanghai, the growth of UHI⁷⁴ is due to the increase construction of buildings, paved roads, to the waste heat released from any type of facility and to other human activities that leads to higher temperature in urban districts than the surrounding areas (Cui & Shi, 2012). According to recent studies, in the past decade the garbage produced has increased, together with the waste gas emission and the wastewater, causing several important implications on people's living standards. However, it is not proper to talk about numbers and percentages and about their evolution in the years, since it is not clear how much the Expo contributed to increase these negative environmental effects by speeding up the urban transformation. It is important to know that urbanization caused and is still causing environmental pollution, even if the total area of green space and the sustainable development activities in Shanghai are increasing in parallel with the urban expansion.

4.2.2 Science and Technology

In addition to the green technologies used to save energy in the facilities and pavilions, the Expo site was also provided with a Meteorological Hall that, with a vertical meteorological

⁷³ See "3.2.3 Infrastructure developments" section.

⁷⁴ UHI means "Urban Heat Island" and indicates an urban or metropolitan area that is a lot warmer than its surrounding rural areas due to human activities. See <https://www.nationalgeographic.org/encyclopedia/urban-heat-island/>.

observation system and advanced meteorological services, provided detailed weather forecast every day.

One of the innovative projects of Shanghai World Expo 2010 is the use of a high-quality LED (Light-emitting diode) lighting equipment in most of the lighting facilities, especially in the Urban Best Practices Area (UBPA) and in the main pavilions, included the Expo Axis.

Already used during the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games, Shanghai planned to use it for the Expo to demonstrate its energy-saving characteristic as the first time that a semi-conductor light source was used extensively in a community of a city. LED is the green energy of the 21st century and it is demonstrated that 70% of energy would be saved if LED replaced neon lighting in the landscape lighting and that 80% of energy would be saved if LED replaced the incandescent lights in the traffic lights (Dou, 2009). In the case of the Expo, as LED was extensively used, a lot of energy was saved, and emissions reduced. LED is environment friendly, efficient and has a longer life than fluorescent (10 times) and incandescent lamps (100 times), counting about 100,000 hours. Moreover, LED is a more technological type of lighting, since it can control the colour change of every single point precisely. The effects of LED lighting system were already tested when used in important occasions and on iconic buildings. For example, the electricity consumption of the Shanghai Oriental Pearl Tower was reduced by 75% when the lighting of the upper and lower ball structures was replaced with LED.

The Expo 2010 became the World's largest LED demonstration area, with a six-months exhibition showing the effects of an urban low-carbon life indoor and outdoor saving more than 60% of the energy, especially in the night.

4.2.3 Culture

Mega-events may impact culture in different ways. They can have negative influences on the traditional lifestyles of the community and on their values, they can even arise conflicts between residents and visitors because of the different approach they have towards the city and because of purchasing power gaps. On the positive side, they can help broadening citizens' minds, introducing the concepts of new cultures and societies, increasing tourism and improving the cultural exchange and the international perspective of the city and its residents. The image the city builds of itself is very important: it has a worldwide impact and it can be beneficial in attracting tourism and foreign investment.

According to the questionnaires above, Shanghai's citizens seemed to agree to have a more international mindset, welcoming different cultures in their cities. One of the reasons for this support could be Shanghai already met the foreign civilization in the last century and, today, is worldwide known to be an international city, where visitors can find a mix of cultures. Shanghai's culture has been influenced by the last century's colonization and it is today a combination of Oriental and Western cultures. Respondents were proud of the economic and financial role of Shanghai and of the fast-economic growth that achieved in those years. Its Chinese market-oriented culture was recognised as a milestone of the Chinese culture. The Expo helped to recognize its international status and helped citizens to be more conscious about the latest achievements in technology in different countries and about a more sustainable development. One of the objectives of the World Expo was also to preserve and showcase the local culture, not to destroy or change it.

With the last Master Plan, the remained old historical buildings were preserved, as well as the local traditional culture (food, dialect, entertainment). Moreover, it was created a series of landmark buildings in Pudong district⁷⁵. The Expo 2010 did not affect a lot residents' traditional lifestyle and did not have a negative impact on local culture. Instead, local people could take advantage of free access to cultural facilities, such as museums, libraries, theatres and others. It is not a case that some of the pavilions and main centres of the Expo were used as cultural facilities after the event.

4.2.4 Economy

Economy normally is influenced both in positive and negative way by mega-events. Many sectors of the economy of the hosting city can benefit from the organization of a large-scale event, such as import and export, tourism, hotels, caterings, transport, infrastructure, manufacturing, construction and many other industries. In the case of Shanghai, Expo 2010 was a great opportunity not only to speed up the urban construction of the city, but also the development of the city economy. Good results have been achieved in the infrastructure, in the public transport system and on the urban image of the city. In details, the economy activities carried on for the World Expo can be divided into three kinds: those organized by the host city for the preparation to the event during the preparatory phase (construction and real estate); those

⁷⁵ See "3.2 Urban changes generated by 2010 Expo in Shanghai" section.

destined to get the right resources for the consumption phase (tourism, catering, commercial retail, transportation); and those for the development of the regional economy even after the Expo (tourism, commercial real estate) (Dou, 2009).

To maintain the unemployment rate around 4,5% and to sustain the accelerated urbanization and the fast-economic development it was planned to create 500,000 new job opportunities (China Daily). Figure 16 shows the unemployment rate of Shanghai city decreased in the years before the opening of the Expo and it grew a little bit during the same year⁷⁶. After 2010, it met a sudden decline and it rose again in the following years. In December 2018, the unemployment rate was around 3,57%⁷⁷.

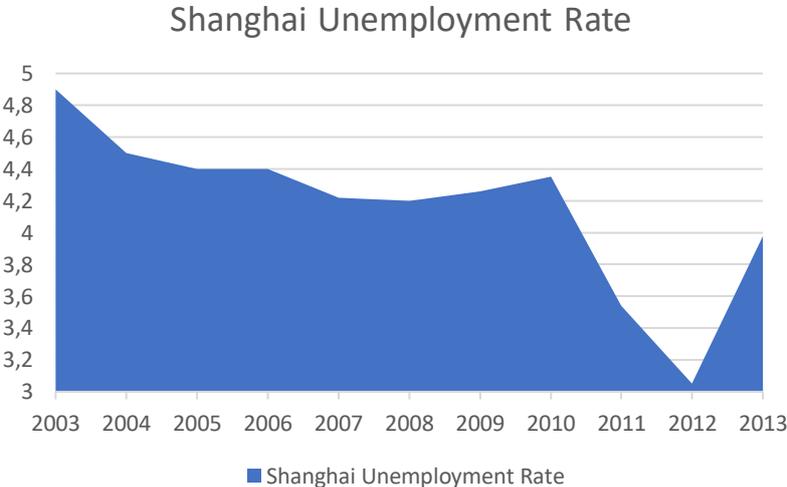


Figure 16 Shanghai Unemployment Rate. Source: <https://www.ceicdata.com/en>

The World Expo 2010 stimulated the development of tourism not only in the Yangzte Delta Region, but in the whole China. A big part of the tourists came from the neighbouring province of Zhejiang, especially from the city of Hangzhou. Tourism is working together with other industries, such as catering, hotel, commerce, insurance, financial service, entertainment, transportation and other industries related to the tourism. Each one boosts the growth of the other and their mutual relations are indispensable. Tourism is also an essential component of

⁷⁶ Data do not include millions of migrant workers (workers without an 户口 hukou, that is China’s household registration system). Data may change and the rate might be higher if include migrant workers without hukou. For more information about see: <https://mronline.org/2019/03/14/china-has-an-unemployment-problem/>.

⁷⁷ For more details about the unemployment rate, see <http://www.shanghai.gov.cn/nw2/nw2314/nw2319/nw18462/index.html>.

the identity building. The strategy of Shanghai with the propaganda of the Expo was to minimize all the negative perceptions about relocations, demolitions and other negative impacts and to divert all the attention to its role on urban harmonization and city beautification. Tourists are the first ambassador of the city, for this reason, it was important to maintain a good public image. In Figure 17 you can see the incremental number (million) of overseas visitors' arrival (orange) and the incremental number (million) of foreigner visitors (light blue) in Shanghai. Tourism revenue exceed \$45 billion by the end of 2010.

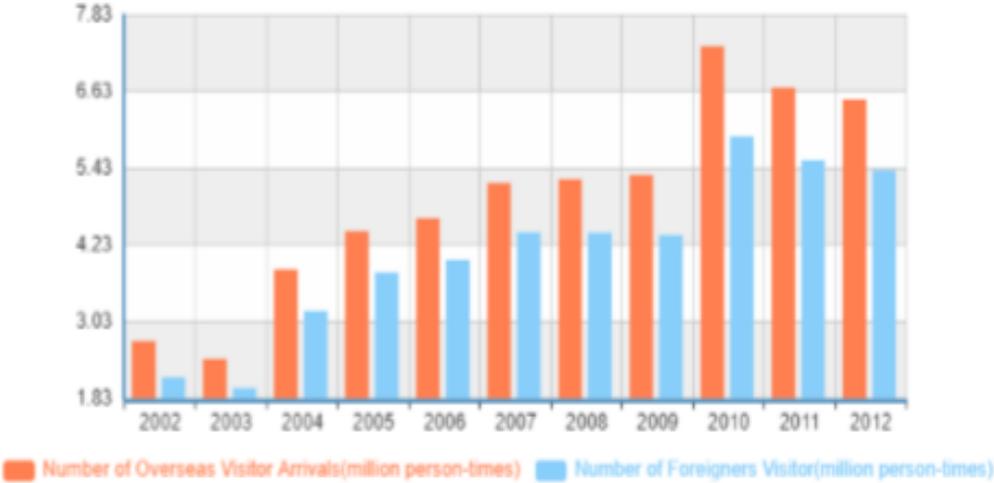


Figure 17 Number of Overseas Visitors Arrivals (orange) and Number of Foreign Visitors Visitor (blue) in million person-times (National Bureau of Statistics of China)

4.2.5 Life conditions

Mega-events can bring some advantages and some disadvantages to the life of residents. In some cases, disadvantages are more than expected. Residents may suffer from the relocation of their houses, from the increase numbers of visitors that could cause an increase of phenomena like crimes, alcoholism and prostitution, from the traffic congestion, from more disturbance, from short-term job opportunities, wealth inequalities, increase of prices, from the increase of the real estate princes and from the gap between urban and rural areas. Concerning the advantages, mega-events can improve the knowledge of the people, especially the World Expos. In the case of Olympics, residents might be inspired by the sport event and start promoting and doing sport activities as well, because they understood the importance sport has. When they are integrated into an urban project and helps to accelerate the urban process of a city, like in the case of Shanghai, residents can benefit from both social and economic improvements, such as

a better social security system, more cultural and entertainment places, an improvement in medical service and public hygiene, more convenient shop, an enhanced public transport system and developed infrastructures. With World Expo 2010 and its theme “Better City, Better Life”, one of the objectives was to let visitors and virtual visitors be aware of the importance of environmental protection by showing them a low-carbon and energy-efficient city in the Expo. Events of this kind can stimulate their interest and push them to be more conscious and to adopting environment friendly behaviours like a sustainable consumption.

Shanghai World Expo 2010 attracted around 560,000 applications for volunteering for the event (China Daily, 2010). The online applications were opened from May 2009 until the last day of the same year. Shanghai Municipal People’s Government finally chose 70,000 volunteers to work inside the Expo site and about 130,000 volunteers to work at 1,000 service sites around Shanghai. The applicants were aged 16 to 99 and included foreigners, but most of them were young people coming from the neighbouring provinces, especially Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces. All the volunteers helped visitors with organizational activities, information, translation, site management, city management, exhibition operations and reception services. Their training started on January 22nd, 2009 and lasted until the opening of the Expo. This is the result of one of the effects of mega-events, that is the improvement of civic pride and the increase of awareness of taking exercise among citizens. In the same way, Beijing 2008 Olympic Games chose 100,000 volunteers out of 930,000 applicants.

According to the questionnaires, most of the respondents resulted to be supporters of the 2010 World Expo, with more perceived benefits than costs and disadvantages. It is true that the event brought millions of visitors in the city in few months and that it could have led to an increase of the crime rate, social disorders, traffic congestion and disturbance. However, to contrast all the collateral effects of hosting this event, the Shanghai Municipal People’s Government, in collaboration with all the systems and bodies in charge of the urban renewal of the Huangpu riverbank and of the city, at the same time improved the social security of the whole city, expanded the public transportation system and strengthened the infrastructure in order to be able to fully sustain the new huge wave of expected visitors and avoid social disorders. As you can see from Figure 18, the crime rate of the whole China kept a constant decreasing path throughout the years.

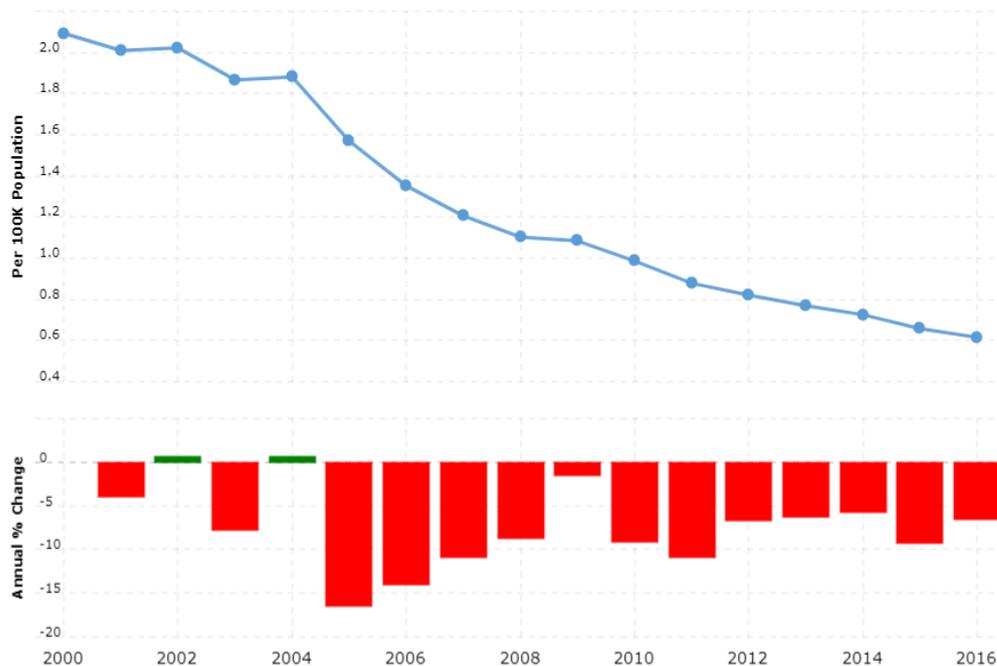


Figure 18 China crime rate. Source: [Source](https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/CHN/china/crime-rate-statistics)

For this Expo, we are not given to know of any other special measure taken, like in the case of Beijing Olympic Games in 2008, when many companies were forced to change their workers' shifts timetables to avoid traffic jam. Moreover, visiting Beijing in that period was a bit more difficult for tourists, as it was implemented a special and strict Visa policy for foreign businessmen that influenced them too.

Regarding the household's relocation problem, as already anticipated in the previous chapter, there was an overall improvement of the living conditions and quality of the relocated people, as they were provided with new, bigger and better houses than the previous ones. It is not emerging any specific complaint, except for the fact that the new residential districts were built farther from the original place and from the city centre. Moreover, since the relocation happened before the public transportation system was well developed, at the beginning there was a feeling of dissatisfaction and discomfort among the relocated residents.

In addition to this, it has to be taken into consideration the emotions connected to the loss of their houses and living place and the stress they had to face for this relocation. It could be associated to the same difficulties people meet when they move, with the difference that in this case it is not a voluntary initiative but a forced act involving the emotional range. However, a common saying among low-income people is "The poor get rich through relocation" (穷人翻

身靠动迁 qiongren fanshen kao dongqian). It often happens in the relocation process that some residents take advantage of the compensation process (Zhang, 2013). Some residents might be already satisfied with their current house at that moment and just want to profit as much as possible from the compensation or to be relocated in a new house. In the case residents choose the relocation, they can increase the number of resident permits in the households (only people with hukou count in the relocation process) by marriage, for example, in order to maximise their interests and to have the right to receive a better treatment with bigger spaces and more rooms (Zhang, 2013). In the case of monetary compensation, residents often find arguments and motivations to protest and to defend their situation or to ask for their house to be classified as a building to be preserved. This has a precise scope, that is to procrastinate the relocation process and to get a higher compensation. The last family to leave is usually the one that gets the highest compensation. The first families, instead, who lack motivations to argue with, get the lowest compensation and are often not able to re-buy a house in the original district (Zhang, 2013).

Another effect of mega-events and one of the main negative effects of Shanghai World Expo 2010 was the increase of the price of real estate and of good and services. It emerged from the results of the questionnaires that some of the respondents wondered if it was really necessary to spend a huge amount of money on Expo's facilities because, while the Expo organizers were "wasting" money on the event, they had to pay the consequences of the increasing living costs and increasing prices of real estate. These costs gained the lowest score in the questionnaires, both before and after the event. Foreign investment, increase of tourism, increase of attractiveness, increase of the population of Shanghai and other factors all caused the increase of prices of real estate and the general living costs in this city. It results from the questionnaires that before the event local people were concerned about the gap between these high prices and their income. Figure 19 shows the increase of the Residential Housing Price in US dollars per square metre in Shanghai in the years before the Expo, which the author tries to put in relation with the Public Expenditure. In terms of growth, the Price Index of Real Estate Leasing grew from 103.9 in 2002 to 139.3 in 2010 (2000=100), and the Price Index of Real Estate Sales grew from 104.4 in 2001 to 185.0 in 2008 (2000=100)⁷⁸.

⁷⁸ Shanghai Statistical Yearbooks. Data provided by the National Bureau of Statistics in Shanghai.

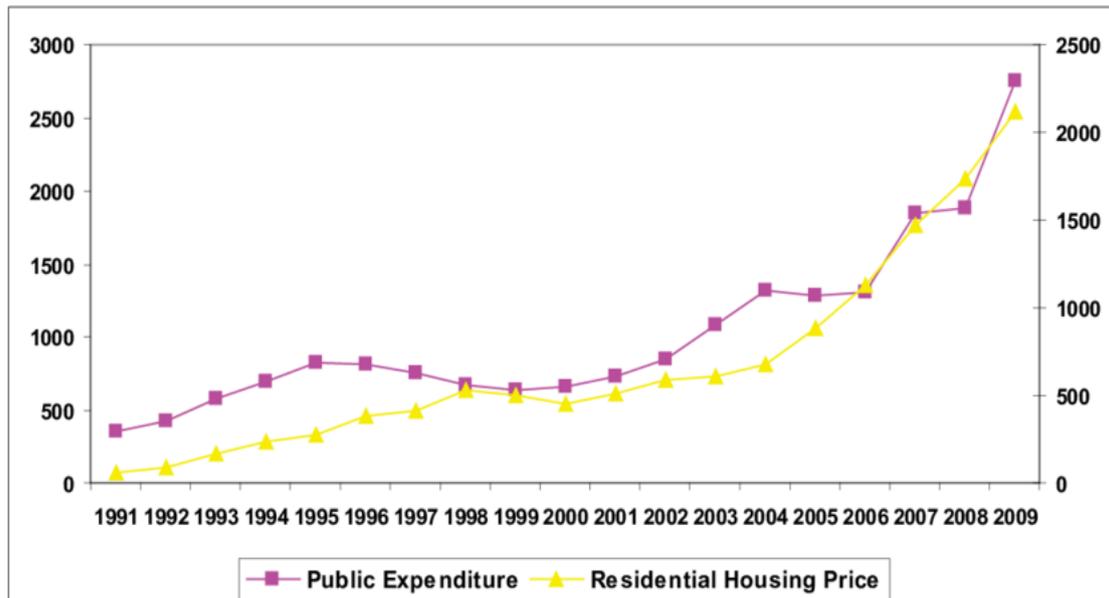


Figure 19 Public Expenditure and Residential Housing Price in Shanghai (Li, 2010)

4.2.6 Community in urban and rural regions

One of the items of the questionnaires that got the lowest score according to residents' perceptions is the social cohesion and the harmonization between urban and rural regions. Residents put high hopes in the improvement of their social conditions with the hosting of the Expo, but they have been disappointed. Instead of increasing the harmonization in the local communities, which is also one of the main goals of mega-events, it worsened the already precarious situation. With the development project of the Huangpu riverbanks and the relocations, Shanghai Municipal People's Government aimed at controlling the urban landscape. All the attentions were concentrated in the urban districts and just a limited part of the suburban areas served as relocation place for people and factories and was linked to the city centre after few years. As dealt with in the section "4.2.4 Economy", many new jobs were created and even people from rural areas had the chance to come working in the city. However, we can consider most of these new jobs fixed-term employments, as there was an urgent need of working people just before, and during the event. As a matter of fact, one of the reasons why the process of dismantlement is still in progress could also be a drastic decrease in the working people right after the end of the event.

"Better City, Better Life", the theme of the Expo, also focused on the better life conditions that can derive from a more developed city, but it was not taking into high consideration the rural area. Most of the respondents acknowledged thanks to the Expo, now they have better

public behaviour as residents, more respect for the environment, more comfortable and safe lifestyles and better relationship in neighbourhood. However, they stated the harmonization between the rural and the urban areas is not accomplished yet and the Expo did not play its role in it. Urban areas were characterized by a much faster wealth accumulation rate than rural areas (Li, 2018) because of the concentration of investment and means of production in the hands of few individuals in urban districts, worsening inequalities in the sharing outcome of social production and aggravating the income and wealth inequalities situations. The harmonization of the society is difficult to achieve, and a large-scale event can only set some steps more in this long process. Hypothesis of how to achieve it and what was wrong in the World Expo 2010 are addressed in the “5. Conclusions” section.

4.3 Relocation and Protests

Through a quick research on the net is it possible to discover many cities who won the bidding for hosting a mega-event had to deal with critics and opposition, from small marches to large-scale and continuous protests or event boycotts against the environmental pollution, against the forced eviction, against some political events, against violations of human rights and against any other related impact that could influence negatively the citizens.

In the case of Shanghai, as far as it is possible for us to know, 2010 World Expo’s organization was quite smooth and free of any important obstacle, almost. Some protests occurred in the months before the Expo and it is worth to explain what happened.

The Daily Telegraph talked about the first registered episode in the article “Middle class protestors march over World Expo threat to Shanghai homes”, published on February 2010⁷⁹: a middle-class protest of about 1000 people in Beijing at the end of January 2010. The demonstrators travelled in small groups to reach the capital because the police were trying to prevent them from going, and finally intercepted or detained 200 of them on the way. Those who managed to reach Beijing were allowed to protest for twenty minutes in front of the State Council and, after that, half of them was sent to Ma Jia Lou (Beijing’s main detention centre) and the other half was taken to Beijing South Station. They were protesting for the forced eviction of people, one of the most sensitive problems in China. According to Shanghai

⁷⁹ See <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/7189446/Middle-class-protestors-march-over-World-Expo-threat-to-Shanghai-homes.html>.

interviewed residents in the Expo site, at least three people have set themselves on fire to protest and some others have not been compensated for the relocation and are still homeless. An interviewee was in the situation of not having been compensated and, because of his complaints, to his son it was refused the entrance to the university and to the army. All the members of his family were unemployed, and they barely survived with 500 yuan a month. Many other people in similar situations, instead, were prevented from the police to attend the interview. Some of the protestors stated their houses were demolished suddenly one day when they left home, some others were left without water and electricity for a long time. According to the newspaper, Shanghai government released a statement in response: *“The relocation and demolition work on the Expo site have been strictly in accordance with the relevant laws, regulations and rules of the People's Republic of China and Shanghai. During the process, the interests of the evictees have been taken into full consideration. Open and transparent approaches have been adopted to provide resettlement and compensation for those relocated. 99.64 per cent of the 18,452 households that were moved have signed a relocation contract”* (The Telegraph, 2010).

Another protest episode happened a month before the starting of the Expo: a group of NGOs (non-governmental organizations) protested for the 18,000 or more⁸⁰ households object of the relocation for the construction the Expo site. In particular, the dissident Feng Zhengzhu⁸¹ was detained in April for threatening to seek redress in courts for the relocated people. The Congressional-Executive Commission on China (CECC), an independent agency of the U.S. government who monitors human right and rule of law developments in the People’s Republic of China, stated that Shanghai authorities used the Expo as a tool to supervise and launch detention campaign against members of the Falun Gong spiritual group.

According to another article of the South China Morning Post “Displaced residents vow to sue organizer of expo in Shanghai”, published in June 2009⁸², 50 residents in Shanghai, whose houses have been demolished, stated they would have filed a lawsuit against the BIE. The interviewed Sandy Shen Ting, director of the League of Chinese Victims, stated a lot of residents whose houses were destroyed did not receive a proper compensation. Moreover, who refused to leave was beaten or detained by the police. According to the newspaper, the BIE’s

⁸⁰ According to some non-official accounts, the households and the total people relocated were much more.

⁸¹ Feng Zhengzhu is a Chinese economist and scholar based in Shanghai, who always fought for the human rights and focused especially on the forced evictions. At the moment of his imprisonment, he had just returned to Shanghai for two months, after he went to Japan for medical treatments in April 2009 and had been refused to return to China several times.

⁸² See <https://www.scmp.com/article/682680/displaced-residents-vow-sue-organiser-expo-shanghai>.

general secretary replied saying the housing issue was an internal affair not of its own responsibilities. As an independent public organization, it is not directly obligated to solve this kind of problems, since Shanghai has been chosen as a host city by the bureau's 155 countries. For this reason, Ms Shen wanted to have an open and fair meeting among Shanghai government and residents to compensate them equitably. Ms Shen was offered to settle her case in private in return of abandoning the lawsuit, but she refused.

On July 2010 in Geneva, an international coalition of 38 human rights groups asked the United Nations to investigate on the Shanghai 2010 World Expo, fearing a violation of human rights for the forced eviction of about 18,000 families. These non-governmental organizations addressed the request to the United Nations chief Ban Ki-moon, to the United Nations Habitat director Anna Tibaijuka and to the United Nations housing rights investigator Raquel Rolnik and stated that China breached four articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The appeal was organized by Hillel Neuer (director United Nations Watch based in Geneva), who complained about the United Nations as major sponsor of the Expo, and by Yang Jianli.

According to the newspaper, supporters of the evictees held protests in Shanghai, Beijing, Los Angeles and New York. The following is the joint NGOs appeal (UN Watch, 2010):

JOINT NGO APPEAL FOR 18,000 VICTIMS OF FORCED EVICTION BY 2010 SHANGHAI WORLD EXPO

22 July 2010

Dear UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon,

Dear UN Habitat Executive Director Anna Tibaijuka,

Dear UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Adequate Housing Raquel Rolnik,

We urge you to investigate the forced eviction of 18,000 families to make way for the 2010 World Expo in Shanghai, China, which is running now through October, and to take action to redress the serious violations of human rights inflicted upon them.

The Shanghai Expo's slogan is "Better City, Better Life." This is supposed to represent the common wish of humankind for better living in future urban environments. Yet all of this is lost on the thousands of victims who were forcibly removed from their homes-without compensation or fair notice-in order to make room for the exposition.

Many of the evicted have since been detained by the Chinese government. Others are kept under close surveillance and intimidated into silence. We are further alarmed by the reported mistreatment and intimidation of a group of women housing activists who have been prevented from leaving their homes.

The Universal Declaration on Human Rights, under Article 12, guarantees that no one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his home. Article 25 guarantees the right to adequate housing. Article 17 guarantees that no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property. Articles 19 and 20 guarantee the right to peaceful protest. All of these rights appear to have been grossly violated in this case, creating a situation that requires the United Nations-and specifically your offices-to investigate and intervene.

This responsibility is particularly acute given that the United Nations itself, as you know, is actually a major participant in the Shanghai Expo, being the sponsor of a 32,000-square-foot pavilion. In fact, it is UN Habitat, the agency on urban development, which is coordinating the world body's presence at the Expo. Executive Director Anna Tibaijuka herself opened the pavilion.

Our global civil society coalition calls your attention to such victims as Ms. Hu Yan, whose home was forcibly demolished in 2005 to clear land for the Expo. She petitioned the Chinese government to address her forced eviction but was met with ridicule, intimidation, and harassment. She left China in April 2010 and has held a daily vigil outside UN Headquarters calling for Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon to hear her case. Her letter to the Secretary-General is attached.

Ms. Yan also petitioned Under-Secretary-General Anna Tibaijuka, the director of UN Habitat, asking for an explanation as to "how the United Nations and UN Habitat, organizations with missions to improve the lives and dignity of human beings, can not only participate in such degradation of humanity but actually praise it." (Letter attached.)

Moreover, Chinese human rights activist and Tiananmen Square survivor Yang Jianli has also written to Under-Secretary General Tibaijuka (letter attached), noting that the 18,000 families were forcibly evicted "without fair compensation or any due process for redressing their grievances." The ground upon which the Shanghai Expo structures sit, he wrote, is "littered with the pulverized remains of the homes and hopes of citizens who were forcibly evicted to make room for these projects."

We urge you to exercise your United Nations responsibilities to investigate and redress the grave violations caused to these 18,000 innocent families. They deserve justice, fair compensation and the restoration of their dignity.

Sincerely,

- 1. Hillel C. Neuer, Executive Director, UN Watch, Switzerland*
- 2. Jim Geheran, Director, Initiatives for China, USA*
- 3. Nguyễn Lê Nhân Quyên, Delegate, Vietnamese League for Human Rights, Switzerland*
- 4. William F. Mei, President, Asia-Pacific Human Rights Foundation, USA*
- 5. Zohra Yusuf, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, Pakistan*
- 6. Ibrahima Niang, Human Rights Commission, Mouvement Citoyen of Senegal, Senegal*
- 7. Amina Bouayach, Présidente, l'OMDH, Morocco*
- 8. Abdurashid Abdulle Abikar, Chairman, Center for Youth and Democracy, Somalia*
- 9. John J. Suarez, Human Rights Director, Directorio Democrático Cubano, USA*
- 10. Alim Seytoff, Director, Uyghur American Association, USA*
- 11. Michael Craig, Chair, China Rights Network, Canada*
- 12. Fengsuo Zhou, President, Chinese Democracy Education Foundation, USA*
- 13. Guelord Mbaenda, Executive Director, ADECOP, Democratic Republic of Congo*
- 14. Jonathan Cao, President, Coalition for Citizens Rights, USA*
- 15. Omar Lopez, Director, Foundation for Human Rights in Cuba, USA*
- 16. Fatiha Azzabi, Director, Africa Women in Development, Germany*
- 17. Jiehmei Li, Officer, Deng Liberty Foundation, Taiwan*
- 18. Naomi Ichihara Røkkum, VP, International Federation of Liberal Youth, Norway*
- 19. Dr. Sev Ozdowski, Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, Univ. of Sydney, Australia*
- 20. Dr. Ahmed Subhy Mansour, President, The International Quranic Center, USA*
- 21. Nathaniel Ngwu, Officer, Legal Resources Consortium, Nigeria*
- 22. Dickson M. David Ntwiga, Executive Director, Solidarity House International, Kenya*
- 23. Mamadi Kaba, President, Raddho-Guinee, Guinea*
- 24. C. Gautam, Nepal International Consumers Union, Nepal*
- 25. Harris O. Schoenberg, President, UN Reform Advocates, USA*
- 26. Bell Wong, President, Alliance for a Democratic China, USA*
- 27. Fei Liangyong, President, Federation for a Democratic China, Germany*
- 28. Huang Hebian, President, Allies of the Guard of Canadian Values, Canada*
- 29. Nazanin Afshin-Jam, President and Co-Founder, Stop Child Executions, Canada*

30. *Christina Fu, President, New Hope Foundation, USA*
31. *Kok Ksor, President, Montagnard Foundation, USA*
32. *Obinna Egbuka, President, Youth Enhancement Organization, Nigeria*
33. *Rev. Bob Fu, Founder and President, China Aid Association, USA*
34. *Sharon Gustafson, President, International Council of Jewish Women, USA*
35. *Wang Shujun, President, Hu Yaobang & Zhao Ziyang Memorial Foundation, USA*
36. *Aleksander Smolar, Chairman, Stefan Batory Foundation, Poland*
37. *Eliel Masson, Secretary General, ARTZA-Switzerland, Switzerland*
38. *Anne Shay, PBVM, Lismore Presentation Congregation, Australia*

The joint NGOs appeal to the U.N. corresponds with the activities of the Sparrow Initiative (Initiatives for China), a coalition of citizens and victims of forced evictions caused by the Chinese government. This coalition counted virtual groups in every province of China and started a series of protests that escalated very fast with its peak in New York City inside the UN Headquarters in August 2010. The protesters demanded the Chinese government to compensate the families whose houses were demolished for the Expo.

5. Conclusions

This research study aims at understanding to what extent mega-events can generate urban transformation or help to speed up urban renewal projects already in progress in a city and what are the effects on the hosting city. It also aims at pointing out some of the main drawbacks of the case study and to come up with suggestions especially addressed to China to direct future mega-events.

The evolution of mega-events and their roles towards a catalyst of social and urban transformations have reflected in an increasing number of requests to participate in the bidding process. All the impacts, effects, influences and variables directly affecting a city are the key factors that help determining the importance mega-events have today in reshaping landscapes, urban spaces and habits and they should be analysed carefully case by case. A brief presentation of some successful examples of implementation of urban policies through mega-events in the world was helpful to have a basic background guiding to the conclusion of this study, which is mainly based on Shanghai 2010 World Expo case study, reference point for all the chapters. The choice of the case study was strongly driven by the awareness just few studies have been conducted on World Expos, if compared to the multitude of studies on sport event, such as the Olympic Games (Li, 2018). Moreover, Shanghai 2010 has been selected among all the other expos because it is the most recent mega-event held in a developing country. The limited availability and accessibility of sources about this case study was among the factors that contributed to this choice. By analysing the mechanism and the history of the World Expo, this study has shown the importance World Fairs have not only as exhibition of new inventions and technologies, but also as catalyst of urban regeneration and progress.

2010 World Expo in Shanghai is the example of how a mega-event was strategically integrated into an urban project and how it helped to develop an area in need to be reclaimed and to create a new urban centre, propelling the implementation of the Shanghai Master Plan 1999-2020 (Li, 2018). One purpose of this study was to present all the essential details of the event necessary to have a clear understanding of the pre-event situation of the city and of the important relevance between the theme and the role as an urban renewal catalyst. The theme, “Better City, Better Life” (Chengshi, rang shenghuo geng meihao 城市, 让生活更美好) appears to be in line with the purposes Shanghai Municipal People’s Government had when implementing the Master Plan. The fundamental factor that caused the Expo to be integrated in the Master Plan was the choice of the location. The Huangpu riverbanks were object of an urban

project in the plan and the event was the perfect opportunity to implement that project. For this reason, this study also highlights the importance of the location choice.

The industrial and the residential relocation are inevitable consequences of the remediation of the chosen site. With regard to Shanghai, the Expo helped the remediation of the Huangpu riverbanks and the creation of a new urban centre. Through its theme, it also promoted a sustainable urban development, the type of development that was trying to achieve the city of Shanghai. However, one of the main factors helping the evaluation of the sustainability of the event was the dismantling process. The after-Expo use of the facilities helps to evaluate if World Expo 2010 was successful in the implementation of its goals, and after an analysis of the impacts and effects, it is possible to determine what the Expo really achieved.

It has been ascertained the role this event had in improving the urban landscape of the city, in contributing to the awareness of the importance of sustainability, in developing infrastructures and connections among all the districts and in enhancing the life quality of residents to some extent. For this reason, it can be concluded that mega-events are important factors to consider when planning and implementing urban regeneration projects. However, it is not possible to know what it would have been realized without the opportunity of the Expo and how long it would have taken to implement the Huangpu River Development Project without it, but we can affirm changes would not have been as big and important as the ones brought by the Expo. The latter was a critical event, triggering the remediation of the area and the relocation of industrial firms and residential districts. Probably, without that chance, Shanghai should have been waiting for another huge opportunity to do it. It has to be recognized the essential role 2010 World Expo had in transforming the Huangpu riverbanks in Shanghai into a new urban area, together with the benefits it brought and the awareness it shared among citizens.

However, the Expo failed in achieving other goals. One of the main concerns of the organization of the event was the harmonization, or better, the creation of a social cohesion among local people coming from different socio-demographic backgrounds. As a matter of fact, a cohesive sense of integration among citizens would help to develop trust in the society and would help to minimize negative impacts of mega-events, such as the displacement, and factors that would harm their image, such as protests and other forms of disapproval. Through the analysis of a sample of questionnaires conducted before and after the 2010 Expo, it is possible to have a general overview of the effects this large-scale event had on the city and of the

perceptions of citizens. According to the results, it is also possible to think the event probably even intensified already existing discrepancies and gaps between rural and urban region, between low-income and middle-income people. One of the aims of this conclusion is trying to find an explanation to this failure by bringing out some advices of researchers, some actions governments and event organizers should follow and take to really achieve the harmonization of different groups in a society and among societies. Keeping in mind questionnaires' respondents were just a tiny and not representative part of the local people subject of the direct effect of the Expo and they were distributed during a limited period of time, and adding the fact some opposition cases might have been concealed by the propaganda, it must be underlined the results of these studies are generalized and should not be applied to all the local communities. However, from the analysis of the questionnaires it emerges a mismatch between people's expectations and the implementation of the Expo legacy. One of the items that got the lowest score was the harmonization and social cohesion in the communities and between urban and rural regions, something that has not been accomplished yet but that the country promised when advertising the event. Harmonization is a concept that reflects sustainability, which in the Chinese culture means harmonization between people, society and nature (Ye et al., 2012). Many researches proposed different solutions to this mismatch problem. Several agreed on the fact that host countries should increase the pride of the people by protecting the local traditions, tangible and intangible cultural heritage and the environment. People are a powerful means of propaganda. In the Chinese context, their perceived well-being may be used instrumentally to give to the world a clean public image and increase the country branding. In the case of Shanghai, the mismatch between the identity of the city branded by the Central Government and the experiences of the public testifies Expo 2010 did a great job in changing the physically appearances but not in changing the cohesion of the city. The city's identity needs to be integrated in an efficient way into propaganda and into the implementation practices, focusing more on the residents and on their social well-being. The reason why this happens is to be attributed to a lack of communication between the government and the public. Except for the Residents' Committee, which appears to be the body giving voice to local people during the relocation but without real communication functions, there is not an official way to represent residents and their needs.

A solution to this system and to the absence of communication would be, according to studies conducted on the questionnaire, a wider public participation in the decision-making process. There should be common goals between the two parts and the only way to understand

local people's perceptions and satisfactory level and represent their values, experiences and desires is to let them participate in the public policy through the establishment of new issue-based institutional mechanisms. In this way, governments would not only give voice to the residents, but it would also reduce the number of opponents and minimize the negative effects. A reduction of social disorders would also mean a reduction of political and social costs for the government. Residents will be more willing to support mega-event and to participate in the decision-making process if they believe expected benefits exceeds the expected costs and negative impacts (Wu, Ma & Peng, 2018). The strategy future mega-events should follow is to use a direct top-down and bottom-up development planning approach to better understand residents' needs and to get more support from them. Through longitudinal studies it is possible to have a deeper understanding of residents' opinions and advices and to plan and organize a more successful mega-event, a mega-event that meets most of the requirements and benefit everyone. More interactions between the developers and the community is not the only way possible to minimize negative impacts. Increasing benefits and sharing awareness among people could lead the community to have more interest in participating in the decision-making process (Lamberti et al., 2010). Researchers believe a better understanding and evaluation of the local government or of the developers and of the mega-events increase the number of residents supporting an event; the same do residents who perceive high benefits and low costs and who are attached positively to their hometown's image and identity (Ye et al., 2012). As a result, Shanghai's government and other cities in the world should learn from the drawbacks of the previous event and take into considerations new approaches in organizing future mega-events, in order to become effective tools for urban renewal strategies and in the light of the fact that mega-events can be considered only in their urban context.

6. Bibliography

BIE. Available from: <https://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/all-world-expos> [Accessed 14th June 2019].

Brombal Daniele, Wang Haiyan, Pizzol Lisa, Critto Andrea, Giubilato Elisa, Guo Guanlin. (2015) Soil environmental management systems for contaminated sites in China and the EU. Common challenges and perspectives for lesson drawing. *Land Use Policy – ScienceDirect*. 48, p. 286-298. Available from: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0264837715001556> [Accessed 3th September 2019].

Broudehoux Anne-Marie. (2017) *Mega-Events and Urban Image Construction: Beijing and Rio de Janeiro*, New York, Routledge – Taylor and Francis Group.

Carta Silvio. (2013) The image of the Shanghai 2010 Expo the contribution of single pavilions to Shanghai's global image. *Science Direct*. 2, (4) 387-399. Available from: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2095263513000435> [Accessed 10th August 2019].

CEIC Data. Available from: <https://www.ceicdata.com/en> [Accessed 25th June 2019].

Chaberek-Karwacka Grażyna, Ziólkowska Julia. (2017) The Impact of Mega Events on the Local Environment Development through the Development of Social Capital. 7 (4), 25-31. *Journal of Geography, Politics and Society*. Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/322499057_The_impact_of_mega_events_on_the_local_economic_development_through_the_development_of_social_capital [Accessed 18th July 2019].

Chan Kelly – South China Morning Post. (2009) *Displaced residents vow to sue organizer of expo in Shanghai*. Available from: <https://www.scmp.com/article/682680/displaced-residents-vow-sue-organiser-expo-shanghai> [Accessed 25th August 2019].

Chappelet Jean-Loup. (2012) Mega sporting event legacies: a multifaceted concept. *Papeles de Europa*. 25, 76-86. Available from: <https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/PADE/article/view/41096>. [Accessed 10th June 2019].

- Chen Yawei, Spaans Marjolein. (2009) Mega-event strategy as a tool of urban transformation: Sydney's experience. Delft University of Technology. *The New Urban Question – Urbanism beyond Neo-Liberalism*, Delft, The Netherlands. Tu Delft. pp 99-110.
- Chen Yawei, Tu Qiyu, Su Ning. (2014) Shanghai's Huangpu Riverbank Development Beyond World Expo 2010. Delft University of Technology. *From control to evolution*. Delft, The Netherlands. Tu Delft. pp 1-16.
- China Daily - Xinhua. (2010) *Shanghai selects 70,000 volunteers for World Expo 2010*. Available from:
http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009worldexpo/201001/19/content_9345264.htm
 [Accessed 25th August 2019].
- City Population. *Shanghai*. Available from:
<https://www.citypopulation.de/en/china/shanghai/admin/> [Accessed 25th June 2019].
- CNKI 刊编辑部 – 课题组(China Academic Journal Research Group). (2009) 2010 Shibohui yu Shanghai chengshi xingxiang de xiangguanxing yanjiu 2010 世博会与上海城市形象的相关性研究 (The Correlation of 2010 World Expo and the Shanghai urban image). *Advertising Panorama – China Academic Journal Electronic Publishing House*. (12), 147-161. Available from:
<http://new.oversea.cnki.net/KCMS/detail/detail.aspx?dbcode=CJFQ&dbname=CJFD2009&filename=GGDG200912058&v=MjgwMDdmYitSbUZ5em5WNzNPSWlyUGFiRzRIIdGp-OclK5QWJJUjhlWDFMdXhZUZdEaDFUM3FUclDNMUZyQ1VSTE8=> [Accessed 25th August 2019].
- Cui Linli, Shi Jun. (2012) Urbanization and its environmental effects in Shanghai, China. *Urban Climate – SciVerse ScienceDirect*. 2, 1-15. Available from:
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2212095512000156> [Accessed 20th August 2019].
- Deng Ying. (2013) Conceptualizing mega-event flagships - A case of study of China Pavilion of Expo 2010 Shanghai China. *SciVerse ScienceDirect*. 2 (1), 107-115. Available from:
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2095263512000805> [Accessed 10th March 2019].

Dou Ziwen 窦子文 著, Xu Huafeng 许华锋 译. (2009) Expo 2010 Shanghai China – China and World Expo. Beijing, China Intercontinental Press.

Encyclopedia. *Master City Plan of Shanghai in 2001*. Available from:

<https://www.encyclopedia.com/international/international-magazines/master-city-plan-shanghai-2001> [Accessed 25th July 2019].

Foreign Language Press. (2010) The World Expo 2010 Shanghai – China's 159-year endeavour. Beijing, Foreign Language Press.

Fudan University Research Group 复旦大学 – 课题组. (2011) Hou shibo wenhua yichan yu Shanghai wenhua chanye fazhan yanjiu 后世博文化遗产与上海文化产业发展研究 (A study of post – World Expo cultural heritage and Shanghai 's cultural industry development). *China Academic Journal Electronic Publishing House*. 6, 26-41. Available from:

<http://new.oversea.cnki.net/KCMS/detail/detail.aspx?dbcode=CJFQ&dbname=CJFD2011&filename=KXFZ201106005&v=MTY2Nzh2TEExqWE5kTEc0SDIETXFZOUZZWVI4ZVgxTHV4WVM3RGgxVDNxVHJXTTFGckNVUkxPZmIrUm1GaW5sVzc=> [Accessed 25th August 2019].

Gruneau Richard, Horne John. (2016) Mega-Events and Globalization. Capital and Spectacle in a Changing World Order – Chapter 1: A Critical Introduction. London, Routledge – Taylor & Francis Group.

Gubić Ilija. (2010) The impact of Expo 2010 on urban development of Shanghai. *PhIdac*. 1-6. Available from:

https://www.academia.edu/10021900/The_Impact_of_EXPO_on_Urban_Development_of_Shanghai [Accessed 18th July 2019].

He Shenjing. (2018) Three waves of state-led gentrification in China. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*. 110 (1), 26-34. Available from:

<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/tesg.12334> [Accessed 20th August 2019].

Hiller H. Harry. (2000) Towards an Urban Sociology of Mega-Events. *Constructions of Urban Space*. Bingley, Emerald Insight, 181-205.

Hiller Harry H. (1998) Assessing the Impact of Mega-events: A Linkage Model. *Current Issues in Tourism*. 1 (1), p. 47-57. Available from:

- <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13683509808667832> [Accessed 22th February 2019].
- Hu Ping, Jie Yang, Gu Yingkan. (2010) A Structural Equation Model of Residents' Support for Mega-Event. *Chinese Journal of Population, Resources and Environment*. 8 (1), 71-80. Available from: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10042857.2010.10684968> [Accessed 25th May 2019].
- Hubbert Jennifer. (2019) Better City, Better Life? Urban Modernity at the Shanghai Expo. *The Asia-Pacific Journal*. 17 (3), 1-20. Available from: <https://apjjf.org/2019/04/Hubbert.html> [Accessed 25th August 2019].
- Judith Rubin - InPark Magazine. (2011). *Saudi Pavilion reopens on Shanghai Expo 2010 site*. Available from: <http://www.inparkmagazine.com/saudi-pavilion-reopens-on-shanghai-expo-2010-site/> [Accessed 20th August 2019].
- Lamberti Lucio, Noci Giuliano, Guo Jurong, Zhu Shichang. (2010) Mega-events as drivers of community participation in developing countries: The case of Shanghai World Expo. *ScienceDirect – Tourism Management*. 32 (2011), 1474-1483. Available from: https://www.academia.edu/30055419/Mega-events_as_drivers_of_community_participation_in_developing_countries_The_case_of_Shanghai_World_Expo [Accessed 18th September 2019].
- Lee Catherine. (2006) Housing Relocation Practices: Case Study of Shanghai. *Isocarp*, The Hague, The Netherlands. ISoCaRP. pp 1-17.
- Li Lingyue 李凌月. (2018) Dashijian yu qiyejia chengshi kongjian chonggou – Shanghai shibo zai renshi 大事件与企业家城市空间重构 – 上海世博再认知 (Mega-Event and Entrepreneurial City Restructuring: A Case Study of Shanghai Expo). *Xiandai Chengshi Yanjiu 现代城市研究 - China Academic Journal Electronic Publishing House*. (12), 76-83. Available from: <http://new.oversea.cnki.net/KCMS/detail/detail.aspx?dbcode=CJFQ&dbname=CJFDL AST2019&filename=XDCS201812012&v=MjIwNDdTN0R0MVQzcVRyV00xRnJDVVJ MT2ZiK1JvRmkvblVMM0pQU25JZmJHNEg5bk5yWTIFWm9SOGVYMUx1eFk=> [Accessed 10th May 2019].

- Li Lingyue. (2018) *Urban Planning and Mega-Events Projects: Lessons from Expo 2010. An Overview of Urban and Regional Planning Shanghai*. London, IntechOpen, pp. 123-138.
- Li Lingyue. (2019) A mega-event approach to glurbanization: Insights from Expo 2010, Shanghai. *Journal of Geographical Research*. 2 (1), 1-12. Available from: <https://ojs.bilpublishing.com/index.php/jgr/article/download/188/426> [Accessed 18th July 2019].
- Li Yichen. (2012) *Wildscape in Shanghai, A case study of the Houtan Wetland Park – Expo 2010 Shanghai*. Urban Wildscapes. New York, Routledge – Taylor and Francis Group, pp. 111-119.
- Liang Y. Samuel. (2014) *Remaking China’s Great Cities – Space and culture in urban housing, renewal, an expansion*. New York, Routledge – Taylor and Francis Group.
- Lonely Planet. (2011) *Shanghai Post World Expo*. Available from: <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/articles/shanghai-post-world-expo> [Accessed 25th August 2019].
- Loscertales Gonzalez Vicente – World Expo Museum. (2015) *A pillar of the success of EXPO 2010: the Theme Development*. Available from: http://www.expo-museum.org/en_US/info/bieAndExpos/details/000000004c9b77ee014ca27b1f43003b.shtml [Accessed 12th June 2019].
- Lu Xiaolin 陆泉麟, Wang Yuan 王苑, Zhang Jingxiang 张京祥, Huang Fuyue 皇甫玥. (2011) *Quanqiuxing dashijian jiqi yingxiang xiaoying yanjiu pingshu 全球性大事件及其影响效应研究评述 (Research Review on the Global Mega-events and Its Effects)*. *UPI – Guoji Chengshi Guihua 国际城市规划*. 26 (1), 66-71. Available from: <http://www.cnki.com.cn/Article/CJFDTTotal-GHCX201301009.htm> [Accessed 18th July 2019].
- Luo Qiujiu 罗秋菊, Tong Juanjuan 童娟娟. (2014) *Shanghai shibohui dui youke de guojia xingxiang renzhi xiaoguo yanjiu – jiyu yicheng shezhi shijiao 上海世博会对游客的国家形象认知效果研究 – 基于议程设置视角 (Research on the Communication Effect of Mega-events on National Image Cognition: Based on Agenda-setting Theory)*. *Tourism Tribune*. 29 (6), 46-56. Available from: <http://new.oversea.cnki.net/KCMS/detail/detail.aspx?dbcode=CJFQ&dbname=CJFD2014&f>

ilename=LYXK201406009&v=MjU5NzlQS1RUVFpiRzRIOVhNcVk5RmJZUjhlWDFMd
XhZUZdEaDFUM3FUclNMUZYQ1VSTE9mYitSb0ZpL2dVYno= [Accessed 10th August
2019].

LV Kangjuan, Mosoni Gyula, Wang Mengyi, Zheng Xiaosong, Sun Yan. (2017) The Image of the 2010 World Expo: Residents' Perspective. *Inzinerine Ekonomika-Engineering Economics*. 28 (2), 207-214. Available from:
<http://inze.ko.ktu.lt/index.php/EE/article/view/3048> [Accessed 15th May 2019].

Malcolm Moore - The Telegraph. (2010) *Middle class protestors march over World Expo threat to Shanghai homes*. Available from:
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/7189446/Middle-class-protestors-march-over-World-Expo-threat-to-Shanghai-homes.html> [Accessed 25th July 2019].

Mills B. M., Rosentraub M. S. (2013), Hosting mega-events: A guide to the evaluation of development effects in integrated metropolitan regions. *Tourism Management – SciVerse ScienceDirect*. 34, 238-246. Available at:
http://www.brianmmills.com/uploads/2/3/9/3/23936510/3mills__rosentraub_-_hosting_mega_events_tm_2013.pdf [Accessed 15th June 2019].

Müller Martin. (2015) What makes an event a mega-event? Definitions and sizes. *Leisure Studies*. 34, (6), 627-642. Available from:
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/273348925_What_makes_an_event_a_mega-event_Definitions_and_sizes [Accessed 11th May 2019].

National Bureau of Statistics of China. Available from: <http://data.stats.gov.cn/index.htm>
[Accessed 25th June 2019].

Pedranti Wayne. (2012) Olympics and Other Mega-Events As a Tool For Urban Development. *Academia – United States Sports Academy*. P. 1-19. Available from:
https://www.academia.edu/4253273/Olympics_and_Other_Mega-Events_As_a_Tool_For_Urban_Development. [Accessed 15th June 2019].

Roche Maurice. (1994) Mega-events and urban policy. *Annals of Tourism Research – ScienceDirect*. 21 (1), 1-19. Available from:
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/0160738394900027> [Accessed 15th June 2019].

- Shin Hyun Bang. (2012) Unequal cities of spectacle and mega-events in China - City: Analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action. *LSE Research Online*. 16 (6), 728-744. Available from:
http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/46536/1/_lse.ac.uk_storage_LIBRARY_Secondary_libfile_shared_repository_Content_Shin,%20H%20B_Unequal%20cities_Shin_Unequal%20cities_2014.pdf
 [Accessed 15th June 2019].
- PopulationStat. Shanghai. Available from: <https://populationstat.com/china/shanghai>
 [Accessed 25th June 2019].
- Qi Hongxia 齐红霞, Cai Libin 蔡礼斌. (2014) Guowai dashijian shehui yingxiang yanjiu pingshu 国外大型事件社会影响研究评述 (A Review of Social Impacts of Overseas Mega-events) . *Tourism Tribune*. 29 (5), 116-128. Available from:
<http://new.oversea.cnki.net/KCMS/detail/detail.aspx?dbcode=CJFQ&dbname=CJFD2014&filename=LYXK201405017&v=MDg3MDk5WE1xbzIWFWTRSOGVYMUx1eFITN0RoMVQzcVRyV00xRnJDVVJMT2ZiK1JvRmkvZ1VyckpLVFRUWmJHNEg=> [Accessed 10th August 2019].
- Roche Maurice. (2017) *Mega-events and social change – Spectacle, legacy and Public Culture*. Manchester, Manchester University Press.
- Shanghai Daily. (2010) *Wonder of Reclaimed Wetlands*. Available from:
http://www.china.org.cn/environment/2010-05/13/content_20033154.htm [Accessed 25th August 2019].
- Shanghai Municipal Science and Technology Commission 上海市科学技术委员会 编.
 (2011) *Foreseeable future 预见未来-2010 年上海世博会科技启示录*. Shanghai, Shanghai Educational Publishing House 上海教育出版社.
- Shanghai People's Municipal Government. Available from: <http://www.shanghai.gov.cn/>
 [Accessed 25th July 2019].
- Shi Qian, Gong Ting. (2008) Life-cycle Environmental Friendly Construction of a Large 2Scale Project: A Case Study of the Shanghai World Expo 2010. *Journal of Sustainable Development*. 1 (3), 17-20. Available from:
<https://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/dlc/bitstream/handle/10535/7176/2-1-PB.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> [Accessed 10th August 2019].

- SINA English – China Daily. (2011) *Foreign pavilions at Shanghai Expo demolished*. Available from: <http://english.sina.com/china/p/2011/1020/406783.html> [Accessed 25th August 2019].
- The State Council of the People’s Republic of China. Available from: <http://english.www.gov.cn/>. [Accessed 25th August 2019].
- The World Bank. China. Available from: <https://data.worldbank.org/country/china> [Accessed 25th June 2019].
- Tim Winter. (2013) *Shanghai Expo – An international forum on the future of cities*. New York, Routledge – Taylor and Francis Group.
- UN Watch. (2010) *38 Rights Groups Urge U.N. to Investigate Shanghai Expo Eviction of 18,000 Families*. Available from: <https://unwatch.org/38-rights-groups-urge-un-to-investigate-shanghai-expo-eviction-of-18000-families/> [Accessed 25th August 2019].
- Wang Huachun, Xiaokaiti Maerhaba, Zhou Yue, Yang Yi, Liu Yingmei, Zhao Rui. (2012) Mega-events and City Branding: A Case Study of Shanghai World Expo 2010. *Journal of US-Chins Public Administration*. 9 (11), 1289-1293. Available from: <http://www.davidpublisher.org/Public/uploads/Contribute/556822de4b802.pdf> [Accessed 25th June 2019].
- Wu Liyun, Ma Ming, Peng Shuzhen. (2018) Impact of Mega-Events on Community Residents. *Journal of Landscape Research*. 10 (2), 103-105. Available from: <http://www.cnki.com.cn/Article/CJFDTotol-JLDR201802024.htm> [Accessed 18th July 2019].
- Xiong Shu-yi. (2014) Identify the costs and benefits of bidding for the hosting of a mega-event. *China Academic Journal Electronic Publishing House*. 254-256. Available from: <http://cn.oversea.cnki.net/kcms/detail/detail.aspx?DbCode=CFJD&dbname=CJFDLASN2015&filename=XYYY201434223> [Accessed 18th July 2019].
- Xu Jian 徐剑 编, Zhang Aihua 张爱华 译. (2010) *World Expo 2010 Shanghai China*. Shanghai, Shanghai Jiaotong University Press 上海交通大学出版社.
- Yang Jie, Zeng Xuehui, Gu Yingkang. (2010) Local Residents’ Perceptions of the Impact of 2010 Expo. *Journal of Convention & Event Tourism*. 161-175. Available from:

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/15470148.2010.502030> [Accessed 25th August 2019].

Yang Shunyong, Zhao Jinjie, Cao Yang. (2014) The Research is about the Follow-up Effect on City and Society which was Exerted by World Expo based on the Investigation of Inhabitants' Perception in Shanghai. *Applied Mathematics & Information Sciences*. 8 (3), 1217-1223. Available from:
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/274368197_The_Research_is_about_the_Follow-up_Effect_on_City_and_Society_which_was_Exerted_by_World_Expo_based_on_the_Investigation_of_Inhabitants'_Perception_in_Shanghai [Accessed 25th August 2019].

Yat Hung Chiang, Lennon H. T., Choy and Jing Li. (2012) Public Expenditure and Property Cycle: The Case in Shanghai. *Journal of Construction in Developing Countries*. 17 (1), 85-99. Available from:
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/282996696_Public_Expenditure_and_Property_Cycle_The_Case_in_Shanghai [Accessed 20th August 2019].

Ye Xinliang, Scott Noel, Ding Peiyi, Huang Yanling. (2012) Residents' attitudes toward the 2010 World Expo in Shanghai prior to and during the event. *Journal of Sustainable Development*. 20 (8), 1087-1105. Available from:
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/254367249_Residents'_attitudes_toward_the_2010_World_Expo_in_Shanghai_prior_to_and_during_the_event [Accessed 15th September 2019].

Zhang Kai. (2013) Who is relocating whom in the renovation of Shanghai's old city? *China Perspectives*. (1), 29-39. Available from:
<https://journals.openedition.org/chinaperspectives/6102> [Accessed 15th June 2019].

Zhu Dajian 诸大建, Jiang Fuming 姜富明, Zhu Bian 主编. (2004) Shibohui dui Shanghai de yingxiang he duice 世博会对上海的影响和对策. Shanghai, Tongji Daxue Chubanshe 同济大学出版社.