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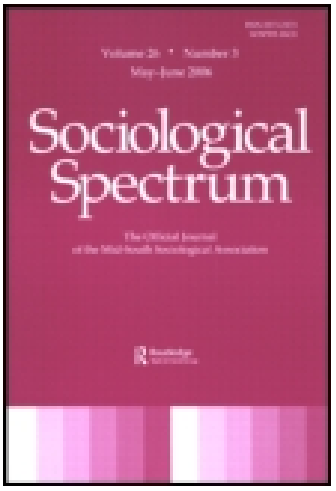

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Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/usls20

Olympic Boomtown: The Social Impacts of a One-Time Mega-Event in Utah's Heber Valley

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Published online: 25 Feb 2015.

To cite this article: Michael R. Cope, Jeremy Flaherty, Kirk D. Young & Ralph B. Brown† (2015) Olympic Boomtown: The Social Impacts of a One-Time Mega-Event in Utah's Heber Valley, Sociological Spectrum: Mid-South Sociological Association, 35:2, 136-160, DOI: 10.1080/02732173.2014.1000553

To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02732173.2014.1000553

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Sociological Spectrum, 35: 136–160, 2015
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ISSN: 0273-2173 print/1521-0707 online
DOI: 10.1080/02732173.2014.1000553

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We extend the research on the individual and community-level impacts of rapid growth development (boomtowns) to include communities that have been affected by a short-term, yet large-scale ''mega-event''—the Olympics. Testing the assumption of generic similarities of social impacts between these two types of communities, we examined longitudinal survey data from six survey years (between 1999 through 2003, and 2007), gathered in Utah's Heber Valley (the site of the February 2002 Soldier Hollow Salt Lake City, Utah Olympic cross-country skiing venue), to test for differences across established indicators of social disruption. We find that the Olympics had an important positive effect on residents' community satisfaction during the year of the Olympics. While the literature on rapid growth communities provided a useful framework for the study of mega-event impacts on communities, our conclusions indicate a need to establish a more robust model for assessing how hosting an event can potently alter the relationship residents have with their community. Specifically, future research should focus on understanding the social-psychological effects of mega-event social disruption.

The boomtown literature is emblematic of sociologists' attempts to understand the consequences of social change through the lens of the local community. Scholars from this tradition have argued that rapid community growth is linked to patterns of social disruption (e.g., England and Albrecht 1984), that disruptions are further linked to the psychological well-being of

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residents (e.g., Smith, Krannich, and Hunter 2001), and that given sufficient time, residents display a resilience to disruptions as demonstrated by a return to pre-boom levels in community satisfaction and attachment (e.g., Brown, Dorius, and Krannich 2005).

The boomtown literature represents perhaps the most comprehensive framework by which to examine disruptions to local communities, but not all ''shocks'' to communities, economic and otherwise, (Besser, Recker, and Agnitsch 2008) can be characterized as *booms*. Another well-known type of disruption to a community is the one-time short-term ''mega-event.'' Such events are large in scale in terms of construction of facilities, attendance, financial investment, media coverage, recognition, as well as potential economic benefits for host communities (e.g., Chalip 2006; Hall 1997; Roche 1992). Examples of mega-events include world expos (Deng, Li, and Shen 2013), FIFA World Cup (Ohmann, Jones, and Wilkes 2006), conventions (Hiller 1995), ICC Cricket World Cup (Lorde, Greenidge, and Devonish 2011), and the Olympic Games (Hiller and Wanner 2011). Mega-events tend to be highly public—everyone knows *about* the event—yet the short- and long-term impacts of the event on intergroup relations within the communities in which it occurs are largely unstudied (e.g., Kaplanidou et al. 2013; Ward and Berno 2011).

The purpose of the present study is twofold: (1) to assess the extent to which individual- and community-level impacts in the context of hosting a mega-event follow a similar pattern to those explicated in the more established and more localized but less public boomtown literature, and (2) to explore the impacts of hosting a mega-event on residents' sense of community. We attend to these goals by longitudinally studying the effects of a one-time short-term mega-event—the 2002 Winter Olympics—on Heber City, Utah, before, during, and after the event itself. Besser et al. (2008) argue that it is easier to document and understand the consequences of the social disruptions in small communities because of their relatively lower scale of complexity than in more comprehensive large metropolitan areas. Consequently, the Heber Valley is an ideal location to study the similarities and differences between boomtowns and mega-event communities in terms of the scale of the setting. Taken together, this study helps to extend the literature on mega-events generally (e.g., Hall 1992; Roche 2000) and contributes specifically to how such disruptions potently shift residents' relationship with their community as measured through attachment and satisfaction (e.g., Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Kaplanidou et al. 2013).

BACKGROUND

Existing literature on mega-events has focused on resident attitudes regarding tourism and development (e.g., Chalip, Green, and Hill 2003; Essex and Chalkley 1998; Gursoy and Rutherford 2004) or event support (e.g., Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Lee and Krohn 2013; Prayag et al. 2013). In fact, in their systematic review of event impact studies, McCartney et al. (2010:4) found that ''the outcomes most commonly assessed in studies on the impacts of major multi-sports events were economic growth and employment.'' As such, mega-event research has been underpinned primarily by Social Exchange Theory (e.g., Blau 1964; Emerson 1976; Gouldner 1960; Malinowski 1922) for understanding the nuanced shifts of residential perceptions and reactions. Within the Social Exchange framework, cultural, economic, social, and environmental impact variables have been identified and tested as contributing factors to residential support of events as well as tourism related development (e.g., Fredline and Faulkner 2000; Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Gursoy and Rutherford 2004; Twynam and Johnston 2004).

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Social Exchange Theory allows for the investigation of both positive and negative residential attitudes regarding mega-event related development (Ap 1992). In this context, Social Exchange Theory assumes that the perceived benefits of event-related development will positively influence residential support (e.g., Andriotis and Vaughn 2003; Sutton 1967). Conversely, if host communities perceive they are unduly facing greater costs than benefits, support for the event may diminish (e.g., Harrill 2004; Sutton 1967). Therefore, Social Exchange Theory assumes that mega-event host communities are willing to ''exchange'' some impacts in ''exchange'' for a positive legacy (Hritz and Ross 2010; see also McGehee and Andereck 2004). Unfortunately, as noted by Gursoy and Kendall (2006:608), ''because of the intense competition to host these events, political leaders and organizers frequently ignore the negative impacts and glorify the expected benefits.''

Social Exchange Theory, within the context of the mega-event lifecycle, is not without its limitations. For example, such a framework assumes that business owners and community residents welcome events/tourists with the sole purpose of benefiting economically (Hritz and Ross 2010) and fails to account for situations where host communities remained supportive knowing they have nothing to gain (Andereck and Vogt 2000; McGehee and Andereck 2004). Furthermore, Social Exchange Theory assumes that involved parties have reached a degree of understanding which enables them to enter the exchange believing they have made the correct choice when, in actuality, it is common for those involved to lack necessary information (McGehee and Andereck 2004). To this end, Challip, Green, and Hill (2003:230) note that an ''increasing demand for accountability requires event organizers and destination marketers to demonstrate that their events add value to the life of the community in which they are held.'' Additionally, it is important to note that support for, and perception of, a mega-event can fluctuate over time as residents reevaluate costs/benefits and the exchange process (Waitt 2003) or after experiencing the event and related outcomes (Hiller and Wanner 2011).

Given the enormity of investment for hosting a mega-event, Exchange theory–based discussions of ''worth it'' are germane; however, such evaluations do not consider how the presence of such events shift the ''holistic nature of everyday social interaction articulated in a locality'' (Brown et al. 2000:434). Such considerations are critical given that residents of host communities ''may experience first-hand the impacts of mega-events during the preparation, operation, and legacy stages'' (Turco 2008:69). Ward and Berno (2011) contend that, despite the predictive validity, Social Exchange Theory lacks explanatory power found in conceptual frameworks focused on intergroup relations. Accordingly, we incorporate the boomtown model of social disruption and recovery into the realm of mega-event studies to examine the impact life-cycle of hosting an event on resident's perceptions of their community—*not* their perception of the *event*.

Boomtown Social Disruption and Recovery

In 1973 the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) enacted an oil embargo which effectively quadrupled the price of oil by 1974. Seeking alternative sources, the United States began to expand and explore oil fields within its own borders (Smith et al. 2001). Such activities triggered rapid growth in many areas, often doubling community populations within a few years (Freudenberg and Krannich 2003). Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, numerous impact studies were conducted, mostly of Intermountain West communities

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associated with energy production (see e.g., Freudenberg, Bacigalupi, and Landoll-Young 1982; Thompson 1979; Gilmore 1976; Gilmore and Duff 1975; Gold 1974), to better understand the social consequences of large population growth within these communities. Since the projects and the changes they begat existed for a finite amount of time, these previously isolated communities became known as ''boomtowns.'' The lifespan of many boomtowns consists of four different stages constituting an impact-cycle specific to boomtowns: *pre-boom, boom, bust,* and *recovery* (Brown et al. 2005; see also England and Albrecht 1984; Krannich and Greider 1984; Thompson and Blevins 1983; Murdock and Schriner 1979).

Many boomtown studies demonstrate that large-scale community development projects are generally accompanied by social-psychological impacts on residents' attitudes towards their communities (see e.g., Krannich and Greider 1990; Brown, Geertsen, and Krannich 1989; Krannich, Berry, and Greider 1989; Freudenburg 1986a; Krannich, Greider, and Little 1985). During rapid development, boomtown residents' outlooks have often been shown to encompass four stages of adjustment to potential changes within their communities: *enthusiasm; uncertainty; panic*; and *adaptation* (see e.g., Brasier et al. 2011; Thompson and Blevins 1983; Freudenburg 1981; Little and Lovejoy 1979; Gilmore 1976).

During the pre-boom phase of development, the typical boomtown community's population has been fairly homogenous and has either remained unchanged or has experienced small but steady fluctuations in population size (England and Albrecht 1984). Research has shown that it is often that case in a boomtown that expectations are relatively positive, and residents tend to demonstrate *enthusiasm* towards the anticipated project (see e.g., Gulliford 1989; Thompson and Blevins 1983). Often, such enthusiasm culminates in what Gulliford (1989:197) refers to as ''boomtown euphoria'' or a ''stimulating blend of greed, opportunity, esprit de corps, and joie de vivre.'' Fueled by an enthusiastic euphoria, community residents often assume a bright outlook on a redeemable future.

In many cases, enthusiasm gives way to *uncertainty* as boom-related expectations go unfulfilled, unanticipated disruptions arise, and prolonged interruptions to routines are endured (see e.g., Brasier et al. 2011; Gulliford 1989; Thompson and Blevins 1983; Little and Lovejoy 1979). For example, uncertainty can arise due to existing infrastructure being unable to handle the added demands of a growing population, requiring the renovation and/or replacement of many existing facilities in order to serve the new in-migrants (Isserman and Merrifield 1987; Freudenburg et al. 1982; Gilmore 1976). However, it should be noted, Brown and colleagues (1989) showed in the case of Delta, Utah, that declines in community satisfaction and integration began to take place *before* significant numbers of new residents began to move into the community, concluding that many of the impacts were due to anticipatory shifts—residents psychologically readjusting their relationship to their imagined community—rather than demographic ones.

Residents' attitudes can swing towards *panic* as the full magnitude of unexpected impacts is realized and new social relationships must be established as a large influx of new in-migrant laborers begin to arrive in the community. Often the new in-migrants harbor different ideas and customs and consequently dilute the relative homogeneity of the community (England and Albrecht 1984). An account such as this posits that the influx of population has resulted in declines in the overall density of acquaintanceship within the community (Freudenburg 1984). Previous research has shown that often as boomtowns experience population growth, their density of acquaintanceship decreases (see e.g., Hunter, Krannich, and Smith 2002; Krannich et al. 1989; Freudenburg 1986b). Hence, during this stage, residents may feel particularly threatened

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as ''large numbers of new inhabitants must be integrated into the community; new role relationships must be worked out'' (England and Albrecht 1984:230). There is generally considerable strain, and in some instances, conflict within the community at this stage, as it is often accompanied by a significant reduction in community satisfaction and attachment as the community they are experiencing increasingly fails to match the previously unchallenged ideal residents had of it (Brown et al. 2005).

In some cases, residents were shown to assume an attitude of *adaptation*, adjusting to the changes that are accepted as permanent (e.g., Brown et al. 2005; Freudenburg 1981; Gilmore 1976). According to Brown et al. (2005), as the boom-development phase winds down and the project begins to operate in its intended capacity, the slide in community satisfaction and attachment slows dramatically as the new structure begins to be accepted by the residents and increasingly becomes a normalized part of the social landscape of the community. However, satisfaction and attachment levels can remain lower than pre-announcement levels due to the newness of the project and to some degree, the demographic shifts that have occurred in the community. And while the project may attempt to hire local residents, a significant portion of the workforce will likely come from outside the community often creating a local population that is less homogenous than it was before.

In some cases adaptation to disruption continues, and eventually residents' attitudes recover from boom-related disruptions. Brown and colleagues (2005) identify such a recovery in the returning to pre-boom levels of residents' community satisfaction and community attachment. In such a case, residents who were seen as newcomers during the first stages of the event life-cycle often become more fully integrated into the local community. Similarly, the project itself, having become more incorporated into the community, is often no longer viewed as ''new.'' Thus, in the case of boomtowns, *time* becomes a key variable, generally working through stages that can last over a couple of decades; the initial shock is softened and levels of residents' attachment and satisfaction to their community return to pre-announcement levels.

While we know that this pattern differs both quantitatively and qualitatively from typical community growth patterns (e.g., Finsterbusch 1980; Jirovec 1979), how does it differ from impacts on a mega-event community where time, as a key variable, is radically different and the audience to the event is not just local? Existent literature on the impacts of mega-events on communities deals almost exclusively with increased tourism and potential economic growth associated with the event (see Maennig and du Plessi 2009; Jones 2005; Hiller 2000; Perdue, Long, and Kang 1999; Roche 1992) rather than monitoring shifts in residents' relationship to their community and to the larger society *through* their community as measured through community attachment and satisfaction, respectively (see also Lankford and Howard 1994; Brown et al. 2000). Because there is little information on social change in mega-event communities, it is not possible to examine a variety of other cases and come to a firm conclusion regarding their impact life-cycle. Thus, a next-best approach is to compare them with what we know about boomtowns. We attempt to do this through an analysis using these same indicators measured across time in the communities of the Heber Valley of Utah.

History of Wasatch County and the Heber Valley

The early settlers of the Heber Valley were in search of farmland with an abundant water supply. By the spring of 1859 the first permanent settlement was established (see Embry 1996; Ellsworth

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1985; and Mortimer 1963) with three major communities (Heber, Midway, and Charleston) incorporated not long after, with additional smaller communities emerging in time (e.g., Daniel and Center). As these communities grew, they developed a strong relationship with their neighbor, Park City. This link between these two areas separated by a hill would come into play over 100 years later, after Park City became known as a world famous winter recreation destination. Once Park City was selected to host the majority of the downhill skiing events for the 2002 Winter Olympics and a location was sought for a suitable Cross-Country Skiing and Biathlon venue, Park City's neighboring settlements in the Heber Valley were an obvious choice.

The epicenter of Olympic activity in Heber Valley was Soldier Hollow, a venue specifically designed, built, and paid for—at a cost of $22 million—by the Salt Lake Organizing Committee (SLOC) for the 2002 Winter Olympics (SLOC 2002). Despite better financing and more politically popular bids from other locations, the site for the construction of Soldier Hollow was selected by SLOC officials and members of various other international Olympic committees based on its proximity to venues in Park City as well as its geological altitude and average snowfall (Cates 1997). The Soldier Hollow venue covers 134 acres, and includes approximately 20 miles of trails, a biathlon range, and a central lodge. Over the course of the 2002 games, Soldier Hollow hosted more competitive events than any other venue, 41 in total.[1] Additionally, throughout the games, it is estimated that more than 182,500 spectators physically attended events at Soldier Hollow (SLOC 2002).

With a resident population in Wasatch County of approximately 16,000 at the time of the games, a mega-event of this magnitude would have significant impacts on county resources as they were stretched beyond capacity for the duration of the Olympics. To offset potential disruptions in the years leading up to the Olympic Games, Heber Valley, and the narrow canyons leading to and from it, experienced extensive revisions to outdated and overtaxed infrastructure. Additionally, as a consequence of Soldier Hallow being located an estimated two to two-and-a-half hours from Salt Lake City at the time of the Games (SLOC 2002), 42 four-bedroom homes were constructed as part of the Soldier Hollow Alternate Housing (SHAH) program for athletes and officials who desired accommodations closer to the Soldier Hallow venue. These homes, originally purchased by the Utah Housing Corporation with financial assistance from the U.S. government, were presold to low-income Native American households who were permitted to take possession after the conclusion of the Olympic Games.

In the years preceding the 2002 games, the community leaders from Heber Valley expressed concern that with ''the eyes of the world'' upon them they needed to ''put their best face forward'' (Utah Transportation Commission 1999). To this end, beautification efforts were undertaken throughout the valley, including major renovations to Heber's dilapidated Main Street. These efforts would be displayed during the Olympics as communities hosted ''a whirlwind of games, celebrations, and camaraderie'' (*Wasatch Wave* 2001:A2). Wasatch County received $100,000 from SLOC to help cover the costs of these community festivities. Initially, the communities in Heber Valley were expected to cover the full costs of these activities with an anticipated influx of capital from transient room taxes (TRT). However, when county officials explained that little TRT dollars would be raised due to the majority of hotel rooms being rented

[1]The 41 competitive events hosted at Soldier Hollow consisted of 8 Biathlon events, 12 Cross-country ski events, 3 Nordic combined events, 4 Paralympic Biathlon events, and 14 Paralympic Cross-Country events.

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''tax-exempt'' to athletes, SLOC personnel, and law enforcement agencies, the $100,000 was made available to them (Dahmen 2002). Above and beyond the Olympic events hosted at Soldier Hallow, there were daily/nightly activities including, for example, fireworks, concerts, Wild West show, an Indian inter-tribal powwow, dances, plays, various sporting events, and faith-based activities. While community leadership was generally supportive of these efforts, analysis of local newspapers demonstrated that residents' opinion of mega-event related activities were more mixed over time (Cope, Flaherty, and Brown 2011), many going so far as to leave town on vacation for the duration of the Olympic Games (Wynn 2002). Widespread rumors of road closures and traffic congestion prompted the Wasatch County Commissioner to specifically delineate where and when to anticipate traffic-related disruptions, advising residents to ''consider how this will affect your activities during the games and make adjustments as necessary'' so as to ''avoid some frustration'' (Kohler 2002:A2). Accordingly, a theoretical framework, similar to the one found in the boomtown literature, should bolster our understanding of the impacts of mega-event–associated social disruptions, because, like boomtowns, different perceptions of the disrupting events may change residents' attitudes toward their community.

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DATA AND METHODS

Sample

We use survey data gathered in six different years from 1999 through 2007 to investigate how the residents of Heber were affected by the 2002 Winter Olympics, and then compare these results with what has been published about boomtowns. The principle unit of analysis is residents of Heber, Utah. These data consist of information gathered through telephone surveys administered by the Brigham Young University Survey Research Center (BYU SRC) once a year over a five-year period from February 1999 through February 2003, with an additional wave of data gathered in February 2007. The longitudinal data allow us to effectively measure change over time. Surveys were administered to individuals randomly selected each year from phone number databases including unlisted phone numbers through random dialing. Each year the survey was directed toward self-designated heads of households as the principle sampling unit. Sample sizes ranged from 216 to 415 (see Table 1 for a description of the variables' measurement, and Table 2 for descriptive statistics).

These data include similar—and in many cases the same—survey questions that have been administered in previous boomtown studies in western boomtowns, making a comparison with findings from the boomtown literature straightforward.

Model

Our approach is an elaboration of Kasarda and Janowitz's (1974) systemic model of community, which has been used in much of the boomtown literature (e.g., Brown et al. 2005; Brown et al. 1989; Krannich and Greider 1984). Our goal is to measure the effect of social change on social ties, attachment, and satisfaction, which we do by estimating their mean levels for each wave of the survey. Significant changes in these means may be indicative of social changes precipitated

TABLE 1
Variable Descriptions

Variable	Description
Dependent Variables	
Attachment	Scale based on two separate items: ''On a scale of 1 to 5, where a 1 means poorly and a 5 means well, how well do you feel that you fit into your community?'' and ''On a scale of 1 to 5, where a 1 means nothing and a 5 means everything, how much do you have in common with most of the people in your community?''
Satisfaction	Scale based on two separate items: ''Imagine the ideal community in which you would like to live. On a scale from 1 to 5, where a 1 means the worst and a 5 means the best, where would you rank your present community compared with your ideal community?'' and ''On a scale of 1 to 5, where a 1 means dissatisfied and a 5 means satisfied, how satisfied are you with living in your community?''
Desirability	''Over the past 5 years would you say that, in general, your community has become more desirable, stayed about the same, or become less desirable as a place to live?''
Social Ties	Scale based on three separate items: ''About what percentage of your adult relatives, including those of your spouse, live in your community or within an hour's drive from where you live?'' ''About what percentage of your closest friends are living in your community or within an hour's drive?'' and ''About what percentage of adults in this community would you say that you know on a first name basis?''
Independent Variables	
Length of Residence	Proportion of life resident–years resident/age
Age	Measured in years
Children	0 to 6+
Education	0 through 18 years
Sex	1, Male; 0, Female
Race	1, White; 0, Other
Religion	1, Latter-day Saint; 0, Other
Marital Status	1, Married or Widowed; 0, Other

by the mega-event, but they may also be a consequence of compositional shifts in the population. Thus, we replicate Kasarda and Janowitz's model by controlling for length of residence, lifecycle stage, and social position, as well as race and sex.

Dependent Variables

Social Ties

Social ties were measured three different ways in the surveys assessing a range of stronger to weaker ties (Granovetter 1973). The first two, *friends* and *family*, are measures of the percentage of the respondents' ''closest friends'' and ''adult relatives'' who live in the community or within an hour's drive. These were measured on continuous scales ranging from 0% to 100%, but were recoded into quartiles (0% to 24%, 25% to 49%, 50% to 74%, and 75% to 100%) to be consistent with the third measure of social ties, *acquaintances*. *Acquaintances* measured the density of acquaintanceship by asking what ''percentage of adults in this community'' the respondent reported knowing ''on a first name basis.'' Because the models estimated separately for each measure of social ties were so similar, they were combined into a single scale for the analysis

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TABLE 2
Descriptive Statistics

	1999 ($N = 235$)		2000 ($N = 253$)		2001 ($N = 287$)		2002 ($N = 221$)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Dependent Variables								
Attachment	3.66	0.97	3.72	1.02	3.67	0.96	3.76	0.87
Satisfaction	3.83	0.95	3.83	0.93	3.77	0.97	4.00	0.84
Desirability	1.87	0.84	1.83	0.87	1.86	0.85	2.28	0.81
Social Ties	2.47	0.78	2.42	0.84	2.44	0.79	2.44	0.81
Independent Variables								
Length of Residence[a]	0.46	0.35	0.48	0.36	0.43	0.37	0.38	0.34
Age[b]	45.36	17.45	49.23	18.95	47.97	17.77	47.64	18.37
Children	1.69	1.69	1.59	1.70	1.66	1.61	1.69	1.71
Education[c]	13.57	2.72	13.75	2.58	13.77	2.21	13.93	2.67
Sex (% male)[d]	46.38		45.85		43.90		40.45	
Race (% white)	96.58		94.05		93.01		93.12	
Religion (% Latter-day Saint)	81.70		80.72		74.91		77.42	
Marital (% married/widowed)[e]	79.49		79.76		83.86		83.56	

	2003 ($N = 216$)		2007 ($N = 415$)		Overall ($N = 1,627$)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Dependent Variables						
Attachment	3.68	1.05	3.76	0.92	3.71	0.96
Satisfaction	3.85	1.04	3.91	0.91	3.86	0.94
Desirability	2.08	0.83	1.95	0.88	1.97	0.86
Social Ties	2.30	0.77	2.39	0.78	2.41	0.80
Independent Variables						
Length of Residence[a]	0.37	0.34	0.41	0.35	0.42	0.35
Age[b]	52.48	20.83	52.57	18.44	49.52	18.75
Children	1.63	1.69	1.54	1.68	1.62	1.68
Education[c]	13.90	2.91	14.25	2.43	13.90	2.57
Sex (% male)	37.50		34.22		.40.77	
Race (% white)	92.06		94.15		93.87	
Religion (% Latter-day Saint)	77.25		75.00		77.48	
Marital (% married/widowed)	79.91		90.00		83.58	

Note. Sample sizes are for the entire sample. Missing data varies across variables, from 0.1% missing for sex and social ties to 3% missing for length of residence.

[a]Length of residence varies significantly between survey years ($F[5, 1573] = 3.49$, $p < .01$). A Bonferroni test revealed significant differences in length of residence between 2000 and 2002, and between 2000 and 2003.

[b]Age varies significantly between survey years ($F[5, 1585] = 6.42$, $p < .01$). A Bonferroni test revealed significant differences in age between 1999 and 2003, 1999 and 2007, 2001 and 2007, and between 2002, and 2007.

[c]Education varies significantly between survey years ($F[5, 1594] = 2.66$, $p < .05$). A Bonferroni test revealed a significant difference in age between 1999 and 2007.

[d]Sex varies significantly between survey years ($\chi^2[5] = 15.281$, $p < .01$).

[e]Marital status varies significantly between survey years ($\chi^2[5] = 19.968$, $p = .001$).

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presented below. The scale was created by taking the mean of the three variables. The reliability of the social ties scale is weak (*alpha* = .472), but the results are consistent with those found when using each individual variable.

Social ties mediate the effect of length of residence on community sentiments (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974); consequently, the social ties scale is also included as independent variables in the models for the other dependent variables.

Community Attachment

Community attachment is a scale based on two indicators well established in the community disruption and general community well-being literature (e.g., Brown 1993; Brown et al. 2000). The first measures the extent to which the respondent feels (s)he ''fits'' into the community. The second measures how much the respondent believes (s)he has ''in common'' with other members of the community. Both indicators are measured on a five-point ordinal scale where higher scores indicate a higher level of attachment to the community. The *alpha* reliability of the attachment scale is acceptable at .740. The scale is calculated as the mean of the scores on the two variables.

Community Satisfaction

Community satisfaction is also a scale based on two indicators, again, well established in the community disruption literature (see Brown 1993; Brown et al. 2000). The first assesses how closely the community matches the respondents' ideal community. The second is measured with the question ''how satisfied are you with living in your community?'' These are both measured on five-point ordinal scales where higher scores indicate higher levels of satisfaction. The *alpha* reliability for the satisfaction scale is acceptable at .772. The scale is calculated as the mean of the scores on the two variables.

A separate measure of satisfaction, labeled here as ''community desirability,'' consists of respondents' assessment of whether the community has become ''more desirable, stayed about the same, or become less desirable as a place to live'' in the five years preceding the survey. ''More desirable'' was coded as 3 and ''less desirable'' as 1.

Independent Variables

Community Change

Our primary independent variable is community change. Following the example of Brown et al. (1989) and Brown et al. (2005), multiple survey years are a measure of community change as it relates to our dependent variables. Because we did not expect a perfect linear or curvilinear relationship, we dummy coded the survey year. The models shown below were estimated with 1999 as the reference category, but it is also important to indicate whether the levels of the dependent variables differ significantly between the year of the Olympics—2002—and the rest of the survey years. Those differences are also indicated in the tables below. Thus, the coefficient for each dummy variable represents a measure of the difference in the dependent

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variable between the first year of the survey and each of the subsequent years of the survey, but we also indicate with notes (daggers and a section mark) whether each survey year differs from the year of the Olympics.

The control variables include those commonly used to the boomtown literature, justified by Kasarda and Janowitz's (1974) elaboration of the systemic model of community. According to Kasarda and Janowitz, the primary determinants of attachment to a local community are length of residence, lifecycle stage, and social position.

Length of Residence

We measure length of residence as the proportion of one's life residing in the community (i.e., the quotient of the number of years resident in the community divided by age). Most studies use the raw number of years resident in the community to measure length of residence, but doing so conflates the effects of length of residence and age, which we also control for (see Goodsell et al. 2008; Flaherty and Brown 2010). While age is relatively strongly associated with years of residence ($r = .454$, $p < .001$), its association with proportion of life in the community is weak ($r = .061$, $p = .016$). In our data, with rounding, length of residence ranges from 0 to 1.

Lifecycle Stage

Three variables are used to control for the effect of lifecycle stage. Age, which we measure as a continuous-level variable; number of children living in the respondent's household, which we truncated at six or more; and marital status, which we coded as 1 for respondents who were married or widowed, and 0 for all others.

Social Position

To measure a respondent's social position, we use the number of years of schooling they reported having completed.

Religion

Miller (2001) points out that religious affiliation and membership in a particular racial or ethnic group provides a ''significant source of identity'' for members of a community (27). Furthermore, religious involvement provides an opportunity for individuals to establish additional social relationships. The community attachment literature has also made clear the impact of religious affiliation on community sentiments (e.g., Liu et al. 1998), including studies in which, like Heber, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons or LDS church) are predominant (Stinner et al. 1990; Dorius 2004; see also Krannich and Greider 1984). We measure religion in this study by distinguishing Latter-day Saints from all others (1 = LDS, 0 = other).

We also control for race (1 = white, 0 = other) and sex (1 = male, 0 = female).

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Modeling Strategy

Ordinary least squares regression is used to estimate the models with social ties, community attachment, and community satisfaction as dependent variables, as these scales are measured continuously. Community desirability is measured on an ordinal scale, thus we estimate those models using ordinal logistic regression. For the community desirability models, we present odds ratios. Odds ratios of 1.0 indicate no relationship between the dependent and independent variable, while anything below 1.0 indicates a negative relationship and anything above 1.0 indicates a positive relationship.

For all of the models, the independent variables that are not dummy-coded are mean-centered for the sake of making the models' constants more easily interpretable. Thus, the constants indicate the estimated value of the dependent variable in 1999 for non-white, female, non-LDS respondents who are neither married nor widowed and who are of the overall mean length of residence, age, education, and have the mean number of children and social ties. The overall means are displayed in the last columns of Table 2.

Before moving to the regression models, we look at some variation across survey years in the independent variables.

RESULTS

Brief Analysis of the Independent Variables

Five of the independent variables vary significantly over time within our sample (Table 2). A significant decline in length of residence from 2000 to 2002 and 2003 is evident, with some recovery afterward. The Olympics may be related to a temporary influx of short-term residents who were leaving by 2007. However, Heber's population increased dramatically in the 1990s (from 4,782 to 7,291) and the first decade of the twenty-first century (to 11,362 by 2010),[2] which is inconsistent with any notion of a recovery in length of residence. Thus, we suspect the temporary decline in length of residence in our sample is not indicative of a real change in the population. This suggests up front a very important distinction between Heber, as an example of a mega-event city, and the boomtown model we are comparing it to. Essential to the boomtown model is the influx of migrants associated with the economic project at hand. The in-migrants create a decline in a community's residential stability, diminish the overall web of social ties within the community, and are themselves not well woven into the local social fabric. Heber has no apparent sudden influx of residents, or any who are associated with the Olympics are diluted by the otherwise already relatively high population growth characteristic of the area. Instead of a wave of immigrants characterizing a mega-event community, the visitors are temporary spectators, who come and then go. Any impact of the mega-event, thus, is unlikely to be a consequence of new residents.

The average age and education of Heber residents in the sample appear to be increasing over time. Based on Census data, there appears to be no important increase in age, as the median age increased between 2000 and 2010 only from 28 to 28.5 years.

[2]The higher rate of population growth began about 1993 (Heber City 2013:13).

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Women make up an increasing proportion of the sample across all six years, and the proportion of married and widowed respondents increases dramatically in 2007 from the overall mean of 83.6% to 90%. According to Census data, marital status holds steady between 2000 and 2010, as does the proportion of women in Heber. Thus, this variation, also, is likely not representative of the population.

REGRESSION MODELS

Table 3 presents the regressions of social ties on social change and the control variables. The first model is effectively a bivariate model, equivalent to an analysis of variance, including only the dummy variables for survey year, and measuring only the change in the mean level of social ties across time. The only significant finding is that the mean level of social ties was significantly lower in 2003 (2.47–0.17 = 2.30) than in 1999 (2.47). The mean level of social ties for 2002, the year of the Olympics, was statistically indistinguishable from any other survey year in this unconditional model.

In the second model, the control variables are included. Several of the control variables are significantly related to social ties, as expected. Length of residence, in particular, is an important determinant of social ties, with respondents who have lived more of their lives within Heber reporting more social ties, but white, LDS, and female respondents also tended to report higher levels of social ties. Social ties do not differ, however, between 1999 and any other year once these other variables are controlled for. Likewise, the mean level of social ties in 2002 is still

TABLE 3
Change in Social Ties Over Time

	β	SE	β	SE
2000	−0.046	0.072	−0.029	0.067
2001	−0.027	0.070	0.050	0.065
2002	−0.027	0.074	0.066	0.070
2003	−0.171*	0.075	−0.054	0.070
2007	−0.075	0.065	−0.003	0.061
Length of Residence			0.643***	0.055
Age			−0.005***	0.001
Children			0.010	0.012
Marital Status			0.034	0.052
Education			0.004	0.007
LDS			0.358***	0.048
Race			0.234**	0.083
Sex			−0.144***	0.038
Constant	2.470***	0.052	1.950***	0.100
N	1,625		1,544	
R^2	0.004		0.176	
Adj. R^2	0.001		0.169	
F	1.320		25.170	
P	0.251		<.001	

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.

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statistically indistinguishable from any other year. Likely, the significant difference in social ties between 1999 and 2003 in the unconditional model can be explained by the lower length of residence and higher proportion of men for that year in our sample.

Table 4 presents the regression models for community attachment and satisfaction. No significant changes appear over time in levels of community attachment, either in the unconditional or conditional models, either with 1999 or 2002 used as the reference year. Thus, in our sample, community attachment does not vary over time from 1999 to 2007.

Community satisfaction, on the other hand, does vary over time. In the unconditional model, we can see that the mean level of community satisfaction is significantly lower in 1999 (3.828) than in 2002 ($3.828 + .175 = 4.0$), but that 1999 does not differ from any other survey year. When 2002 is used as the reference year, it is clear that satisfaction is higher in 2002 than in any year preceding the Olympics. Most of these effects disappear, however, in the conditional model, where the only difference in satisfaction over time appears between 2002 and 2001. Nonetheless, with both the conditional and unconditional models, when graphed, the year of the Olympics appears to be a point at which community satisfaction spiked (Fig. 1).

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TABLE 4
Change in Community Attachment and Satisfaction Over Time

	Community attachment				Community satisfaction			
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
1999	–	–	–	–	–†	–	–	–
2000	0.064	0.087	0.073	0.079	0.002†	0.085	0.015	0.083
2001	0.015	0.085	0.022	0.077	−0.061‡	0.083	−0.063†	0.081
2002	0.104	0.090	0.115	0.082	0.175*	0.088	0.137	0.087
2003	0.018	0.091	0.051	0.083	0.024	0.089	0.055	0.087
2007	0.098	0.079	0.076	0.072	0.078	0.077	0.052	0.076
Length of Residence			−0.096	0.068			−0.194**	0.072
Age			0.004**	0.001			0.002	0.001
Children			0.018	0.014			0.007	0.015
Marital Status			0.222***	0.062			0.156*	0.065
Education			0.023**	0.009			0.026**	0.009
Latter-day Saint			0.691***	0.058			0.362***	0.061
Race			0.069	0.098			0.204*	0.100
Sex			−0.091*	0.045			−0.002	0.047
Social Ties			0.294***	0.030			0.179***	0.032
Constant	3.660***	0.063	2.910***	0.120	3.828***	0.061	3.236***	0.130
N	1,620		1,541		1,623		1,544	
R^2	0.002		0.221		0.006		0.087	
Adj. R^2	0.000		0.214		0.003		0.079	
F	0.600		30.890		1.870		10.460	
P	0.698		<.001		0.096		<.001	

Note. The results shown set 1999 as the reference year. Because our interest is showing the effect of the Olympics, significant differences between 2002, the year of the Olympics, and the other survey years are also indicated using daggers instead of asterisks.

$^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$.

$^{\dagger}p < .05$, $^{\ddagger}p < .01$, with 2002 set as the reference year.

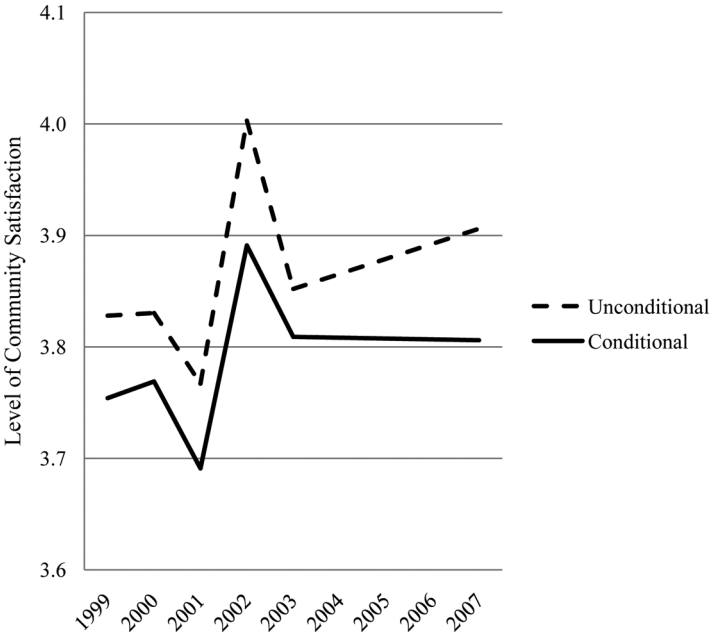

FIGURE 1 Change in levels of community satisfaction over time. Conditional estimates shown for married, white, female, Latter-day Saint respondents with mean levels on other variables.

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An important detail for each of the unconditional models above is that the *F*-tests are all non-significant. While some of the *t*-tests for individual coefficients were significant, the overall findings of those models suggest there is no significant amount of change over time. However, in a separate model, analysis of variance shows that community satisfaction was significantly higher in 2002, the year of the Olympics, than in the rest of the years pooled together ($F[1, 1621] = 5.5$, $p = .019$).[3] Thus, there is good reason to believe Heber residents' community satisfaction was relatively high during the year of the Olympics.

Table 5 displays the results of the ordinal logistic regression models for community desirability. In the unconditional model, the odds of finding the community more desirable are estimated to be significantly higher in 2002 and 2003 than in 1999. For example, the odds of reporting that the community is more desirable were nearly 2.4 times as high in 2002 as in 1999, and were 54% higher in 2003 than in 1999. This is indicative of a spike in the odds of finding the community more desirable around the time of the Olympics. Indeed, it is clear when 2002 is set as the reference year that the desirability of the community—that is, the sense that the community is more desirable as a place to live than it was five years previous—peaks in 2002. Community desirability is significantly higher in 2002 than in every other year. This same pattern persists when other variables are controlled for, and is quite evident when graphed. In Figure 2, we see the probability of reporting the community as more desirable reaches above

[3]No significant differences were found for social ties and attachment when 2002 was compared to the rest of the years pooled together, either for the unconditional or conditional models.

TABLE 5
Change in Community Desirability Over Time

	OR	SE	*OR*	SE
1999	–§	–	–§	–
2000	0.891§	0.152	0.940§	0.167
2001	0.964§	0.159	0.889§	0.153
2002	2.392***	0.423	2.296***	0.431
2003	1.542*†	0.269	1.390‡	0.254
2007	1.164§	0.178	1.115§	0.180
Length of Residence			0.339***	0.053
Age			0.987***	0.003
Children			0.985	0.033
Marital Status			1.101	0.155
Education			0.985	0.020
Latter-day Saint			1.034	0.135
Race			0.413***	0.098
Sex			0.789*	0.080
Social Ties			0.929	0.064
N	1,580		1,502	
Pseudo-R^2	0.013		0.049	
LR Chi^2	45.15		158.40	
P	<.001		<.001	

Note. See Table 4 notes.
*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.
†$p < .05$, ‡$p < .01$, §$p < .001$, with 2002 set as the reference year.

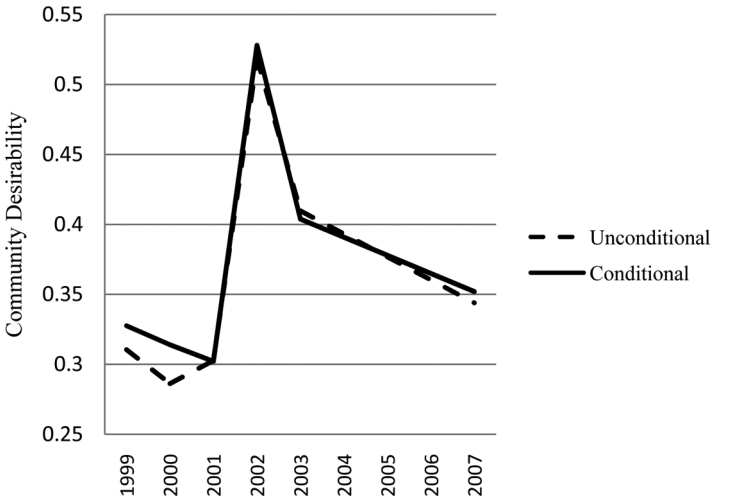

FIGURE 2 Change over time in the estimated probability of reporting that the community is a more desirable place to live than five years previous. Conditional estimates shown for white, married, female, non-Latter-day Saint respondents with mean levels on other variables.

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.50 in 2002, whereas it is well below .40 for every other year except 2003 (when, perhaps, the afterglow of the Olympics was yet to wear off).

An interesting pattern across the dependent variables is the effect of length of residence. The literature on the effects of length of residence on social ties and attachment is extensive, and regular patterns are well established (e.g., Kasarda and Janowitz 1974, Theodori and Luloff 2000, Flaherty and Brown 2010). Longer-term residence is generally associated with more local social ties and higher levels of attachment. In our data, longer-term residents do report more social ties, but their levels of attachment are not significantly different from shorter-term residents'. However, when social ties and religion[4] are removed from the model, the effect of length of residence on attachment becomes positive and significant ($\beta = .311$, $p < .001$).

Less work has been done on the relationship between satisfaction and length of residence. Still, the negative effect of length of residence on satisfaction and desirability in our data is surprising. For satisfaction, without the mediating effect of social ties and religion, length of residence has no effect. For desirability, with or without social ties and religion included in the model (model without social ties not shown), longer-term residents are significantly less likely than shorter-term residents to report that the community is a more desirable place to live than five years earlier. For example, the odds of reporting the community was more desirable is estimated to be about 72% higher[5] among residents who reported living half their lives in Heber than for those who reported living their entire lives in Heber. Various interaction effects were tested between length of residence and survey year to see if this association changed over time in ways that suggest a relationship with the Olympics, but no such effect was found. Consequently, we suspect longer-term residents' lower opinion of change over the previous five years with regard to the desirability of Heber as a place to live is related to the long-term, consistent pattern of high levels of growth in Heber that began in the early 1990s. Longer-term residents are generally more averse to change in Heber City.

DISCUSSION

Pierre de Coubertin, founder of the modern Olympics, affirmed that ''holding the Olympic Games means evoking history'' (quoted in Davis 2012:5). For communities—large or small—that are home to Olympic venues, such a notion can be daunting to say the least. With the whole world watching, ''evoking history'' can entail a burdensome responsibility: success of city and Olympic planners will assure glory, while failure imbues their Olympic stewardship with ignominy. With such high stakes for hosting a mega-event such as the Olympics, it is surprising that the short- and long-term social-intergroup psychological impacts of the event on community residents remain largely unstudied. Existing literature on mega-event communities deals almost exclusively with economic growth and increased tourism associated with the event, failing to account for shifts in residents' subjective perceptions of their communities (see

[4]LDS respondents, on average, have significantly higher levels of social ties ($t = 11.524$, $p < .001$) and have a significantly higher average length of residence ($t = 8.593$, $p < .001$) than non-LDS respondents. Consequently, part of the social-ties variables' mediating effect between length of residence and community attachment is being picked up by the religion variable.

[5]$0.72 = (0.339^{0.5}/0.339^{1}) - 1$, where .339 is the odds ratio for a one-point increase in length of residence (Table 5), and the exponents 0.5 and 1 represent the proportion of one's life lived in Heber.

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e.g., Maennig and du Plessi 2009; Jones 2005; Hiller 2000; Perdue et al. 1999; Roche 1992). We addressed this shortcoming by measuring changes in patterns of community satisfaction and attachment associated with community disruption resulting from a one-time mega-event. We did this by drawing comparisons between the life-cycle of mega-event and boomtown communities, arguably the most comprehensive literature on small-community disruptions.

Our analysis focuses specifically on the similarities between boomtowns and mega-events in terms of the sequencing of community disruption and correlated shifts in attachment and satisfaction. In so doing we acknowledge that the short-term 2002 Winter Olympic mega-event departs from the established boomtown framework in several specific ways. First, in the later stages of the boomtown model industry-related investments in infrastructure often becomes obsolete and burdensome to the community. This was not the case following the 2002 Olympic Games in Heber Valley where enhanced infrastructure remains available and welcome for public use. Second, boomtowns tend to rely on extraction of natural resources and as such often result in shifts in the natural landscape and, sometimes, environmental degradation. While the mega-event in Heber Valley did result in some modifications to the natural landscape, these changes were minimized as much as possible and made in such a way as to maintain the visual appeal of the area. Lastly, boomtowns are often overseen by outside corporations with no indication as to how long their presence will remain in the community. This also was not the case in Heber Valley, where local communities were aware of the specific temporal parameters of the Games. Furthermore, before, during and after the mega-event SLOC actively sought ''to have broad-based representation from all groups so that the entire community will feel ownership and pride in the process of hosting the Olympic Winter Games'' (SLOC 2002:11) and to ''encourage the greatest amount of community participation'' (14); such open communication would be a rarity in a boomtown context. These differences notwithstanding, the generic similarities between these two types of communities, in terms of temporal sequencing of disruptions and correlated social impacts, still warrants consideration.

Our analysis shows that the 2002 Winter Olympics in the Heber Valley had no significant effect on social ties. Similarly, the Olympics appear to have had no effect on community attachment.

Contrary to the boomtown literature, which reports declines in community satisfaction during the early stages of the boom-development cycle (see e.g., Brown et al. 2005; Brown et al. 1989; Isserman and Merrifield 1987; Freudenburg et al. 1982; Gilmore 1976), during the buildup to the Olympics, no discernible change was observed in community satisfaction or desirability. Both satisfaction and desirability then spiked during the year of the Olympics, however, and then declined to levels not significantly different from our baseline year of 1999. Thus, we find with both measures of community satisfaction that it appears the Olympics did have an important but temporary effect on residents' satisfaction with the community, as residents reported higher levels of satisfaction in the year of the Olympics. These findings make sense given Brown et al.'s (2000) argument that community attachment primarily captures one's sense of rootedness to a community while community satisfaction captures more how one experiences the larger society and its institutions *through* their community. Unlike boomtowns, residents of mega-event communities experience the impacts of the event more publicly and in a shorter time-frame. Thus, for two weeks and perhaps a little beyond, the ''idea'' of Heber is in the public gestalt. Once it fades, because no one is watching any more or cares, the momentary thrill of knowing your community is ''seen'' is just that—momentary, failing to extend even five years beyond the event.

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On the one hand, mega-event communities are on world display for a brief, but frenzied period of time, usually in an attitude of celebration—they have their ''best-face on''—whereas a boomtown may experience its boom and bust event for decades largely outside of the broader public's eye and in a more troubled relationship with its local residents. Additionally, *time* functions very differently across the two types of communities. In contrast to the long-term phases of the boom, bust, recovery cycle where each stage occurs over several years, the life-cycle of a mega-event is relatively brief. Although it is also measured in years, clearly *time* is front-loaded in the mega-event community requiring a preparation phase after a community becomes aware that it will host a mega-event. It then reaches a point of fervid preparation just before the actual event itself, culminating in a quick and intense presence on the world stage, followed by a recovery. From beginning to end, the entire life-cycle may last only a few years while the event itself may last for just a few weeks. Boomtown cycles, on the other hand, may last decades (Brown et al. 2005). In this regard, boomtowns have a very different temporal sequencing to their various phases than one expects of mega-event communities. This difference in temporal sequencing is manifest in the contrast between in-migrants, characteristic of boomtowns, and visitors or spectators, characteristic of mega-event towns.

Departing further still from the boomtown literature, the mega-event itself lacks an equivalent point in the boomtown lifecycle. Boomtowns shift from development to post-development—from boom to bust—with only a brief intervening period of adjustment and stabilization. The boomtown pattern of development shows a consistent pattern of decline in community satisfaction as residents' perception of the project transitions from uncertainty to panic, reaching its lowest point during the bust stage. Anticipating that the mega-event should precede a ''bust'' if following the same pattern as a boomtown, our analysis did not reveal a pattern of declining satisfaction but rather a significant spike during the year of the event itself.[6] This finding is suggestive of community perception being encompassed by a climatic frenzy which had followed a long process of preparation for the mega-event, thereby allowing residents to overcome differences and experience a favorable attitude towards their community.

The 2002 Winter Olympics were by and large a financial success, garnering an estimated $100 million profit whereas, for example, the games predecessor—Sydney 2000—and successor—Athens 2004—were fiscal disasters, each losing an estimated $2.1 billion and $14–15 billion, respectively (Schlotterbeck 2012). In the case of the 2002 games, the financial boom allowed money to be aside to ''help finance United States sports programs and keep the sites from the Winter Olympics in shape for training and competition'' (*The New York Times* 2002), whereas in the wake of the 2004 Athens games bust as many as 21 of the 22 venues ''lie vacant and rotting'' (Schlotterbeck 2012). Soldier Hollow continues as an amenity destination, a source of community pride, and is noted by civic planners for its ''long-term attraction for world class sports and entertainment potentials for Heber City and Heber Valley'' (Heber City 2003:17). We had anticipated that once the Olympics had concluded, the residents of the Heber Valley would experience *tristesse*, a sense of loss or sadness, thereby resulting in declines in their levels of satisfaction and attachment, similar to boomtown communities during their own

[6]While this finding was inconsistent with the boomtown literature, it is consistent with mega-event tourism literature where the presumed heightening of community sentiment following the staging of a major-event has been referred to as the 'feelgood effect' (Allen et al., 2002), the 'showcase effect' (Fredline and Faulkner 1998) and the 'halo effect' (Hall 1992).

unique ''bust'' stage. This was not the case. Whereas the protracted boomtown trend enables effects to be measured over the course of many years and even decades, the effects of the temporally finite mega-event cannot be expected to persist beyond the course of a few months. In the case of the 2002 Winter Olympics, it is possible that the shorter time-frame of the event briefly presented the ''idea'' of Heber as a public gestalt. However, once the event began to fade, when no one was watching any more, the relevance of the event in the lived experiences of community residents faded as well. Unfortunately our data did not allow us to directly test this assumption.

While the literature on rapid growth communities provided a useful framework for the study of mega-event impacts on communities, our conclusions indicate a need to establish a more robust model for assessing how hosting an event can potently alter the relationship residents have with their community. Specifically, mega-event researchers should incorporate Besser and colleagues' (2008) characterization of economic shocks on residents' quality of life and social capital. This research applies a theoretical framework found in social scientific disaster literature to investigate community disruption—including those found in boomtowns—occasioned by ''sudden events that have had a significant impact on local economies'' but ''may not be economic in nature'' (581). This approach incorporates assessments of the severity as well as perception of the shock (i.e., positive outcomes vs. negative outcomes). Such an approach would be well attuned to differentiate between the more nuanced mega-event related impacts (i.e., influx of visitors) verses general long-terms shifts to the community found in the general boomtown model (i.e., in-migration). Similarly, research on severe social disruption following a disaster has demonstrated the usefulness of longitudinal data gathered over the course of months rather than years for assessing the precipitous ways residents experience society *through* their community (Cope et al. 2013). Future mega-event studies should be conducted in a similar fashion, including measures which capture periods of time in the immediate months *after* the shock has died down.

Additionally, future research should focus on understanding the temporal nature of the effects of mega-events on social disruption. Also, the mega-event experience highlights the local community's reliance on non-local social interactions and social ties for its realization of itself. Indeed, the experience of the local community is a consequence not only of local efforts, but of all the global interactions that are taking place and to which the ''local'' mega-event experience is necessarily tied, including those that give it a ''world stage'' character. As Flaherty et al. (2010) argue, the ''community'' has always been made up of the various social ties and interactions upon which individuals rely in order to conduct their daily lives. Only during the latter half of the 20th century was community redefined as merely the social interactions which remained local after modern social change. A theoretical perspective which takes seriously the elements of community that modernity has removed from the local social field[7] would provide an improved foundation for all community research, but would be particularly relevant to

[7]With regard to what has been removed from the local social field in modern life, the essential point is that our lives, in the modern western world, at least, depend largely—perhaps primarily—on social interactions that take place on a global market between strangers. In contrast, before modernity, most of our daily needs were met through interactions with more or less close social ties within local solidary communities. Flaherty et al.'s (2010) argument is that those interactions are no less essential to community for having been removed from the context of primary ties and local solidarities, though they have been defined out of the community in most contemporary theories of community.

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the study of mega-events (see also Roche 2000). By advancing a more sophisticated understanding of the community experience, researchers will be able to conduct a more nuanced investigation of the interaction between subjective actors and their assessment of mega-event impacts on their communities. The findings from such research will extend the scientific literature not only relating to mega-events, but of community sociology, generally.

AUTHOR NOTES

Michael R. Cope, upon completion of his doctoral studies at Louisiana State University, will be joining the faculty at Brigham Young University as an Assistant Professor. His research focuses on community sociology and social change, with emphasis on disasters and disruptions.

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