

ABSTRACT

Current research on the impacts of mega events have focused on the residents of the host destination despite the potential spillover effects of the impacts from the host destination to neighboring communities. This study adopts a mixed method approach to investigate the views of non-host residents from the five major cities (i.e., Qiqihar, Harbin, Mudanjiang, Jiamusi, and Daqing) in neighboring Heilongjiang province, a tier-one winter destination in China that is expected to benefit from the spillover effects of the upcoming Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic. This study contributes to the literature by highlighting the relevance of mega events for non-host tier-one destinations, and by providing policymakers with insights into economic, socio-cultural, environmental, tourism development, knowledge development, and residents' quality of life considerations that are relevant for garnering the support of residents beyond the host destination.

Keywords: Olympics; destination management; tourism marketing; residents; host-guest relations

INTRODUCTION

The impacts of mega events on host communities is an important research area (Getz & Page, 2016). Mega events may provide host destinations with opportunities to develop the economy and enhance its destination image (Lee et al., 2013). They could also can foster a sense of pride not only for the host destinations, but also for the citizens of the country in general (Prayag et al., 2013). Mega events are oftentimes considered as a driver for economic mobility and social cohesion (Walker et al., 2012).

Current research, however, have mainly focused on the impacts of mega events on the residents of the host destination (Moon et al. 2019), despite the potential spillover effects of the impacts from the host destination to neighboring communities (Beccio & Baloglu, 2002; Liu, Broom, & Wilson, 2014). For instance, as a mega event in sports, the Olympics Games could potentially promote the development of non-host cities and enhance the image of neighboring areas as a regional tourism destination (Karadakis, Bopp, & Gassman, 2019). Yet, despite the breadth of research on the benefits of mega events on destination marketing and management, studies on the impact of mega events from non-host residents' perspectives remains comparatively limited in the literature.

In light of this research gap, the objectives of this study are to identify non-host residents' views of the impacts of a mega event and to examine the differences in perceptions among non-host respondents. More specifically, this study focuses on the upcoming Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games and uses an *ex ante* survey to assess the views of non-Beijing residents from neighboring Heilongjiang province, a tier-one winter destination in China that is expected to benefit from the spillover effects of the Winter Games (Beesley & Chalip, 2011).

This study is relevant for several reasons. From the perspective of sports and culture, the Winter Olympics could potentially drive the development of a public sports concept, spread a sports spirits, and provide communities, within and beyond the host destination, with more interactions and leisure opportunities (Mao & Huang, 2016). Mega events could also bring the public's attention to environmental conservation and restoration (Al-Emadi et al., 2016). Winter sports competitions depend on professional knowledge and technology, which could spillover to non-host residents through increased participation in sports programs and leagues (Kaplanidou, 2012). Mega events could generate economic impact for both the host destination and non-host surrounding areas through major investments and improvements in public transportation (Jakobsen et al., 2013).

Overall, this study contributes to the literature by highlighting the relevance of mega events for non-host tier-one destinations. It also gives a voice to non-host residents who are oftentimes neglected in research, despite the potential impacts on them from spillover effects. From a managerial perspective, this study provides policymakers with insights into the

factors beyond economic impact (e.g., socio-cultural) that are considered relevant for garnering the support of residents beyond the host destination.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Impacts of Mega Events

Mega events can impact local residents and host communities in a number of ways. This may include economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts, as well as impacts on tourism development, knowledge development, and residents' quality of life, particularly in the context of a mega sports events such as the Olympic Games.

Economic

There are significant economic impacts from mega events. Mega events could increase job opportunities for local residents and promote the host city as a major tourism destination (Vierhaus, 2019). Mega events could also attract private and public investments for developing the local transportation and infrastructure, as well as public services (Jakobsen, Solberg, Halvorsen, & Jakobsen, 2013). For instance, the host community of FIFA 2014 upgraded the provision of public services and improved the public service quality in Brazil to contend to the needs of both tourists and local residents (Wise, 2019).

There are also longer term, legacy economic impacts from mega-events. They could stimulate urban development and regeneration (Konstantaki & Wickens, 2010). For instance, the host government of the 2022 FIFA World Cup aimed for a railway network to connect outlying towns together and build a larger international airport (Scharfenort, 2012). Nevertheless, there could also be long-term negative economic impacts. Taxes could increase to cover the costs associated with mega events (Ritchie, Shipway, & Cleeve, 2009), which may include building new venues such as the stadiums and convention centers (Du Plessis & Maennig, 2012).

Socio-cultural

A mega event could generate significant socio-cultural impact for the host community (Liu, Hautbois, & Desbordes, 2017; Pranić, Petrić, & Cetinić, 2012). In the perspective of a mega event in sports, these impacts could be assessed from two main perspectives: sports and culture (Mao & Huang, 2016).

In terms of sports, the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games could popularize and inspire more citizens to participate in winter sports. For instance, policymakers in China are seeking to break the geographical limitations of winter sports by providing citizens in southern provinces with more opportunities to partake in winter sports (Zhu & Liu, 2016). In the long

term, the Olympic Games could inspire more local sports events; for instance, there may be more winter sports events and competitions jointly hosted by universities in China in the future (Zhang, 2019). Furthermore, the Olympic Games could enrich residents' professional knowledge of winter sports; it could provide both teachers and students with more opportunities for professional training as universities set up winter sports programs (Li, 2018).

With respect to culture, mega events could provide residents with more leisure opportunities in daily life and promote community cohesion (Mao & Huang, 2016). In this view, community bonds could be strengthened under the influence of mega events, and civic and national pride could be promoted. For instance, Xie (2018) suggested that the Olympic Games could promote national brands to the overseas market, enhance the international influence of a nation, and foster the national pride amongst citizens.

Environmental

A number of studies have investigated the impacts of mega events on the environment. Since mega events may attract a large number of tourists, it could lead to land, water, and noise pollution (Jakobsen et al., 2013; Lee et al., 2013). Despite the negative impacts, there is potential for mega events to enhance residents' environmental awareness and behaviors (Preuss, 2015). For example, they could encourage residents' environmental behaviors, such as protecting the natural environment and restoring the landscape (Chen & Tian, 2015). Residents may also become more conscious about environmental changes and become more willing to protect the environment after a mega event in the community (Li, Wang, Yin, & Li, 2019).

Tourism Development

From a tourism perspective, mega events could improve the reputation of a destination. Tourism destinations in the host country could enjoy the benefits brought by mega events, such as increased awareness and enhanced destination image (Hahm, Tasci, & Terry, 2019). Mega events could also appeal to a vast number of tourists and increase arrivals (Khan, Hakeem, & Afzal, 2018). There is also potential for residents to interact and show their hospitality towards tourists, which is critical for host-guest relations (Tung, 2019; Tung, King, & Tse, 2020). For example, Gaudette, Roullet, and Lefebvre (2017) noted that the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympic Games attracted significantly more visitors to Sochi and other neighboring areas. Mega events could also enhance the international reputation of other relevant tourism destinations in the host country in the long run (Valek, 2019). According to Ishak (2020), the international reputation of many tourism destinations in Malaysia were strengthened long after holding the Commonwealth Games and the F1 Grand Prix in 1998 and 1999.

Knowledge Development

Mega events could help develop more knowledgeable leaders (e.g., in sports) for future generations term. For instance, the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games could encourage the government to standardize the sports training market and promote the growth of more professional trainers in order to meet the requirements of developing the sports industry (Guan, 2017). For example, with the upcoming Winter Olympic Games, the Chongli winter sports resort which is located in Hebei Province has been developing very quickly (Xie, 2018). In this regard, the potential success of the Chongli winter sports resort could provide other districts with valuable experience and know-how to develop winter sports activities and resorts.

Residents' Quality of Life

Finally, mega events could impact residents' personal quality of life. They could facilitate residents' sense of belonging and further promote residents' personal relationships. Residents living in the same community could enhance their relationships through participating in various social activities, and build pride in their community (Pfitzner & Koenigstorfer, 2016). Moreover, sporting events and activities could increase residents' health levels, particularly in the domain of stress reduction as it could reflect a temporary escape from daily life (Inoue, Sato, & Nakazawa, 2018).

In the long term, mega events could improve the residents' living standards (Ma & Kaplanidou, 2017). This may be done through tangible investments in urban development, which could provide residents with a well-maintained infrastructure system and improve residents' personal safety (Pfitzner & Koenigstorfer, 2016). From a spirituality perspective, mega sports events could also enhance people's spirituality as it could be a lens in which some individuals experience sports (Trothen, 2018).

METHODOLOGY

This study seeks to identify and measure Heilongjiang residents' perceptions of the impacts of the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games. Heilongjiang province is a suitable research context as it is a famous winter sports destination in China that could further develop under the Winter Olympics. To achieve the research objective, this study adopted a mixed method approach with qualitative interviews and a quantitative ex ante survey questionnaire.

Phase 1: Qualitative interviews

In the first phase, in-depth interviews were conducted with Heilongjiang residents in order to receive insights into local residents' unique perceptions of the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games. In-depth interviews are effective in collecting detailed information related to a

person's ideas and views (Liu & Tung, 2017). A total of 12 participants were recruited with the help of Heilongjiang-Hong Kong University Student Association. These included six mature-aged students from Heilongjiang and temporarily studying in Hong Kong. Each of these students were then asked to recommend one non-student, Heilongjiang adult.

Data was collect online via WeChat for the interviews to be more convenient for interviewees. The interviews were conducted in Chinese and translated to English. In terms of process, the lead author first translated the transcripts from Chinese to English. Next, the second author refined the text so that it is more readable. There were two sections in the interview. In the first section, interviewees were asked to share their views on the perceived impacts (e.g., economic, socio-cultural and other factors, as per the literature review) of the Olympic Games. This section aimed to gather residents' views on the extent to which the impacts generated from the literature could be relevant to the context of Heilongjiang. The second section consisted of open-end questions that sought to identify additional impacts of the Olympic Games from the perspectives of residents. For instance, interviewees were asked: "Based on the context of Heilongjiang, what other impacts do you think would be brought by the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games on the province?"

In terms of data analysis, thematic analysis was used for interpreting the transcripts (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The validity of the content and key quotes that were extracted were considered in relation to the impacts of mega events from the literature review. However, instead of simply repeating elements that were already discussed in the literature review (e.g., "more job opportunities" as an economic impact), this study sought to identify novel and additional elements that were considered unique to the context of Heilongjiang and the Winter Olympics discussed by the interviewees. For example, an additional element discussed by interviewees under socio-cultural impact is that the Winter Olympics could help "develop the local education system" for Heilongjiang. This socio-cultural impact from the interview was combined with insights from the literature review to form a list of perceived impacts to be examined in the quantitative survey.

Phase 2: Quantitative survey questionnaires

In the second phase, quantitative survey questionnaires were distributed to a total of 450 residents from five main cities in Heilongjiang: Qiqihar, Harbin, Mudanjiang, Jiamusi, and Daqing. This was done with the help of the Heilongjiang-Hong Kong University Students Association. Similar to the first phase, a total of 225 mature-age university students from Heilongjiang and currently studying in Hong Kong were divided into groups based on their hometowns, then asked to distribute the questionnaire to another non-student adult in the province.

Data was collect online with the Jinshuju platform. The questions in the questionnaire were presented in Chinese. As previously discussed at the end of the methodology of Phase 1,

these questions were developed by combining the results of the in-depth interviews with existing impacts of mega events from the literature. For instance, three items were used for measuring the knowledge development gained from organizing the events, improvement of sports skills and knowledge, and the creation of professional knowledgeable leaders who can train young generations. (Al-Emadi et al. 2017). Seven items were used to assess the impact of mega events on residents' quality of life, such as their standard of living, and sense of belonging in the community (Pham, Andereck, & Vogt, 2009). Other items under the economic, socio-cultural, environmental, and tourism impacts covered the education system, economic situation, natural environment, the opportunities for recreation, and public services (Prayag, Hosany, Nunkoo, & Alders, 2013; Vargas-Sánchez, Plaza-Mejía, & Porras-Bueno, 2009). The questionnaire had 36 questions in total and items were measured using a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Table 1 summarizes the list of items in the survey.

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RESULTS

Phase 1: Interviews

All of the interviewees generally acknowledged that the types of impacts derived from the literature review could be relevant to Heilongjiang. However, interviewees also shared some unique perceived impacts from the Winter Olympic on Heilongjiang as well. These additional impacts mainly focused on economic, socio-cultural and tourism aspects.

In terms of economic impact, an interviewee suggested that many businesses could rush into the marketplace when new opportunities appear. At an interviewee explained:

“[When] new opportunities appear in the market, many people would rush into the business. As a result, some fake or low-quality products could come into existence. As the 2022 Winter Olympics approach, businesses related to winter sports equipment could expand rapidly. If strict regulations are not launched on time, the market environment would worsen, [leading to] negative impacts on future economic development in Heilongjiang province.”

The same concern was put forward by another interviewee who explained that:

“While the market could flourish in in the short term, this issue could lead to confusions in the market when a breadth of low-quality products appear alongside other established goods from the province.”

An interesting socio-cultural impact on Heilongjiang was derived from the in-depth interviews. Nearly half of the interviewees emphasized that the Winter Olympics could have a profound impact on the education system in the province. A possible reason is that the interviews contained students who focused on education. As the interviewee explained:

“Because of the unique geographical location and history, Heilongjiang’s education system is more complex than other districts in China. Currently, the government is paying more attention to the sports industry than before, and in the high school entrance examination, students could take 50m running, 1000m running as the compulsory exam and choose swimming or skipping rope as an elective exam. Hence, Heilongjiang’s education contains some unique elements in the nationwide [system] but there is not enough financial and policy support to further develop the localized education system. Thus, the 2022 Winter Olympic could enhance the winter sports industry in Heilongjiang province and could also further develop the localized education system in Heilongjiang province.”

Finally, in terms of impact on tourism, nearly all the interviewees agreed with general impacts such as “improving the image of the destination.” However, an interviewee suggested that:

“The Winter Olympics would not only improve the image of the province as an ice and snow destination, but also change the reputation of the whole tourism industry for the better. For instance, China Snow Town in Heilongjiang used to be a nationally famous destination in 2017 due to an entertainment show. However, Snow Town started suffering from ‘over-tourism’ and the service quality started declining. As a result, the reputation of the destination deteriorated. The Winter Olympics could give Heilongjiang a chance to improve its reputation once again.”

Phase 2: Surveys

A total of 450 residents from Heilongjiang participated in the ex ante survey. Among the respondents, 43.8% are male and 56.2% are female, with 43.1% of the participants between 18-22 years old, 9.1% between 23-29 years old, 22.7% between 30-39 years old, 19.8% between 40-49 years old, 5.3% older than 50 years old. The mean age is 30.6 years old. There were 90 respondents (i.e., 20%) from each of the five main cities in Heilongjiang: Harbin, Qiqihar, Mudanjiang, Jiamusi, and Daqing.

Table 2 shows the mean and standard deviations for all items in the study. Items under each impact were combined to calculate a composite mean (i.e., overall average). For instance, seven items were used for economic impact and the composite mean was 3.87. Similarly, Cronbach’s alpha was computed based on the seven items to assess reliability. Table 3 shows the composite means and reliability results for the different impacts.

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--- Insert Table 3 here ---

Paired sample t-tests were used to assess significant differences in terms of residents' perceived impacts from the Winter Games. Socio-cultural impact ($M = 4.12$, $SD = .96$) and knowledge development ($M = 4.11$, $SD = 1.01$) were rated the highest. Respectively, they were significantly higher than impact on tourism development ($M = 4.04$, $SD = 1.00$), $t(449) = 3.297$, $p = .001$ and $t(449) = 2.824$, $p = .005$, as well as residents' quality of life ($M = 3.91$, $SD = 1.08$), $t(449) = 6.534$, $p < .001$ and $t(449) = 5.302$, $p < .001$, which reflected the next two highest rated impacts.

Interestingly, economic impact ($M = 3.87$, $SD = 1.00$) was rated significantly lower than socio-cultural ($M = 4.12$, $SD = .96$), $t(449) = -9.215$, $p < .001$; tourism development ($M = 4.04$, $SD = 1.00$), $t(449) = -6.812$, $p < .001$; and knowledge development ($M = 4.11$, $SD = 1.01$), $t(449) = -7.749$, $p < .001$. Environmental impact was rated lower than all the other impacts ($M = 3.79$, $SD = 1.03$).

Finally, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted with the five different cities (i.e., Qiqihar, Harbin, Mudanjiang, Jiamusi, and Daqing) as factors and the six different impacts of mega events as dependent variables. The results were nonsignificant: economic, $F(4, 449) = .746$, $p = .561$; socio-cultural, $F(4, 449) = .956$, $p = .432$; environmental, $F(4, 449) = .419$, $p = .795$; tourism development, $F(4, 449) = .647$, $p = .629$; knowledge development, $F(4, 449) = .574$, $p = .682$; and residents' quality of life, $F(4, 449) = 1.192$, $p = .314$. These results suggest that non-host residents across the major cities of Heilongjiang perceived the extent of these impacts in a relatively similar extent (see Table 4).

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DISCUSSION

This study utilized an ex ante survey to examine non-host residents' views of the impacts of the upcoming Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games. These residents were from neighboring Heilongjiang province, a tier-one winter destination in China that is expected to benefit from the spillover effects of the Winter Games. In doing so, this study offers a number of relevant theoretical and practical implications.

Theoretical Implications

This study contributes by showing that intangible impacts are influential for non-host residents. Intangible impacts are related to residents' changes in terms of habits, traditional values and social identities in daily life. Non-host residents showed a high level of agreement that the socio-cultural impacts and knowledge development, including the spreading of sports cultural value and enriching sports knowledge, were more significant than economic impact. According to Zhuang, Yao, and Li (2019), most of the changes in the habits and values of residents are typically long-term and gradual. In this regard, it is possible that non-host residents believed that they could receive socio-cultural impacts brought by mega events more readily than economic returns, which would be more relevant to Beijing rather than Heilongjiang. This finding corroborates with Ramos, Stoddart, and Chafe (2016) who suggested that individuals could be influenced by socio-cultural impacts much readily, given that tourists could acknowledge the community's identity and culture through daily interaction with the local people.

Additionally, this study contributes by showing that non-host residents preferred to pay more attention to their personal quality of life than just economic impact. For example, the result showed that non-host residents held expectations on the impacts of the Olympic Games on improving their sense of belonging to the community and personal relationships. This finding provides support to the idea that personal quality of life is becoming the primary concern for residents in today's society (Vila-Lopez, Boluda, & Marin-Aguilar, 2020). This finding also corroborates with the suggestions by Ouyang, Gursoy, and Chen (2019) that residents generally believe that tourism development could become a contributor of personal quality of life in their local communities.

This study also contributes by showing that non-host residents are potentially more concerned about the short-term than long-term impacts when the impacts are associated with economic and social development. This suggests that non-host residents may believe in short-term impacts on economic development where the legacies are more visible in the community. In other words, although the Winter Games would potentially generate economic impacts for Heilongjiang in the post-Games period, non-host residents remained relatively conservative on the actual economic benefits of the mega event, which depends largely on future development strategies. In this regard, non-host residents may not be able to predict whether the impacts brought by the Olympic Games are strong enough to be able to truly influence the economic development of their communities after the event. Nevertheless, non-host residents are cognizant of the short-term impacts of the Olympic Games on Heilongjiang's economic and tourism development as mega events may lead to increases in total tourist arrivals in a short period after the event (Fourie & Santana-Gallego, 2011).

Additionally, this study contributes by showing that non-host residents may view long-term environmental impact as more relevant to them than short-term environmental impact from a mega event. Short-term environmental impacts include waste, air and noise pollution which are typically associated with the construction of event facilities (Mirzayeva, Turkey,

Akbulaev, & Ahmadov, 2020). Non-host residents may feel that construction activities are less relevant to them in Heilongjiang; instead, environmental impacts such as improvements in conservation behaviours and awareness of protecting the environment may be long-term benefits that spillover to their province from the Winter Games. As discussed previously, impacts on values and habits are a gradual process; hence, non-host residents may have high expectations on raising overall environmental awareness over the long-term.

Finally, the findings in this study could have implications for tourism development in the COVID-19 era. Future economic and social conditions will likely remain unpredictable for several years due to the pandemic, and these uncertainties could influence residents' judgements on the impacts brought by mega events such as the Olympic Games. For instance, many major Japanese corporations have invested heavily in technology to drive innovation for the 2020 Tokyo Summer Olympic Games; however, given the outbreak of the pandemic, the Summer Games have been postponed thereby significantly affecting tourism in Japan (Dooley & Yamamitsu, 2020). At this point, the long-term economic impacts on Japan from the Summer Games remains difficult to predict, and such uncertainty could potentially affect the views of Chinese residents on the subsequent Winter Games in China as well.

Practical implications

There are practical implications from this study for destination marketing organizations (DMOs) and public policymakers at non-host destinations to leverage the impacts of a mega event. For instance, online channels have become an important way for the public to access information related to winter sports tourism (Qu, 2019). DMOs such as those in Heilongjiang could spread the news of the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games and encourage the public to participate in winter sports through multi-channel promotion such as Weibo, WeChat and TikTok. Furthermore, DMOs could digitalize traditional winter sports activities by using technologies such as virtual reality to allow tourists to experience winter sports in a creative way. In addition to online promotions, DMOs could use offline methods to promote the destination image of non-host cities. The DMOs at Heilongjiang could arrange more winter sports activities in communities, schools, and clubs, and hold provincial-level winter sports competitions regularly.

From an economic perspective, policymakers could leverage the short-term impacts of mega sports events to further develop the local economy for non-host residents. For instance, they could transfer the economic benefits from the mega event to local residents, so that the public could enjoy the benefits of economic development through subsidized access to sports facilities in their neighborhoods, for example.

Tourism policy planners could also play a constructive role in environmental protection. For instance, the Changbai Mountain Biosphere suggested that they would make environmental protection a priority and continually pursue a strategy of sustainable development when it

develops local tourism resources in the future (Guo, 2019). These behaviors not only creates a responsible image but also encourages both tourists and residents to facilitate a better environment for tourism development.

With respect to socio-cultural impact, policymakers could pay more attention on students' education and employment potential in sports and tourism. For instance, policymakers could consider adding winter sports into the curriculum to enrich students' professional knowledge of winter sports. Policymakers could also establish more winter sports vocational colleges to nurture professional trainers and athletes. The goal is to encourage participation from the public as involvement from local residents is critical for tourism development. For instance, Qu (2019) suggests that winter sports have the potential to become one of the national sports in China with increased participation. For residents in Heilongjiang, this would give them more opportunities to actively participate in sports activities held in their local communities.

Finally, public policymakers could encourage non-host residents to seize the opportunities brought by mega events for more personal achievements, such as developing their own businesses or becoming professional athletes. With the development of a winter sports culture, products and infrastructure, China's winter sports tourism market will continue to grow (Li, 2019). There are tremendous opportunities for non-host residents in Heilongjiang to be employed or become entrepreneurs in the growing winter sports industry.

Limitations and future research

This study has limitations and opportunities for future research. Given that the sample was collected with the help of the student association, half of the sample were students and half were non-students, which could influence the generalizability of the results. Another limitation is that the Winter Olympics will be held in 2022 and this study was conducted in 2020; hence, social changes and other unpredictable factors in the future could influence non-host residents' perceptions. With respect to the qualitative interviews, there is potential for response bias as the interviewees may be more positive to please the researchers, thereby affecting their views of the impact of the Winter Olympics, especially on the areas of tourism and destination image (Tung, Law, & Cheung, 2018).

There are exciting opportunities for future research. Future research could examine the extent to which a social exchange lens or other attitudinal theories could affect non-host residents' attitudes, perceptions, and support for tourism. Nevertheless, a limitation of this study is that these theoretical lens were not established a priori. Future studies could design a model with three different concentric circles and compare perceptions between locals (host-city), regional (host-city plus neighboring communities), and national (large-scale cities far from the host-territory) in the 2022 Winter Games. In doing so, future research could have empirical data to support the spillover effects in the concentric model. It would also be exciting to investigate

if these spillover effects could potentially exist beyond the Olympic Games, given the rise of non-mega (Taks, 2016) and non-traditional sport events (e.g., swimming) (Derom, Taks, Snelgrove, Potwarka, & Wood, 2018). Finally, this study measured non-host residents' perceptions of the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games in its current stage and it is worthwhile to continue the research to see how non-host residents' perceptions may change as the mega event begins. Future research could also track how non-host residents' views of the impacts of the Winter Games could change several years after the event.

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