

CONTESTING SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT THROUGH THE
OLYMPIC GAMES IN THE ERA OF GLOBALIZATION:
THE CASE OF DAEGWALLYEONG-MYEON, HOST COMMUNITY OF THE 2018
PYEONGCHANG WINTER OLYMPIC GAMES

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This study examines community development of a small town in South Korea, PyeongChang, host community for the 2018 Winter Olympics, focusing on the global and local interaction between the Olympic Games and Daegwallyeong-myeon, the local host community. Using qualitative method, namely critical ethnography, this study involved multiple types of data collected through two extensive field visits to Daegwallyeong-myeon. Participant and non-participant observations, in-depth interviews, and field notes were analyzed to understand the influence of the Olympic-related global-local interaction on Daegwallyeong-myeon's sustainable community development. Findings suggest that Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents perceived a large gap between their position and condition and those of the Olympic Games and the POCOG. The ways in which the Olympic Games can be managed in more sustainable ways for future host communities are suggested. Communication, collaboration, and consensus are recommended as 4Cs that are necessary to achieve sustainable community development as well as glocalization through the Olympic Games. Considering that the Olympic Games are moving to the developing countries such as South Korea and China, this study advances ways in which international sport governing bodies can deliver culturally diverse mega sport-events to newer stakeholders of the events by establishing communication, coordination, collaboration, and consensus with host communities.

Key words: Sustainable community development; the Winter Olympic Games; globalization; glocalization; grobalization; the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games; Olympic host community

To the people of Daegwallyeong

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The Olympic Games are considered the most globalized and grandiose sports event in the history of sports (Lee & McGuire, 2009). As a globalized destination, they are believed to contribute to the host country's national and local development, especially economic development, due to the large influx of visitors, the requisite investment in infrastructure (Parent, 2008; Roche, 2000), and the way they brand their hosting country as a tourist destination (Singh & Hu, 2008). A significant number of public/private reports and scholarly publications have supported the claim that hosting the Olympic Games has a positive impact on host communities and nations (Burbank, Andranovich, & Heying, 2001). Perhaps most notably was the International Olympic Committee's (IOC hereafter) argument that hosting the event "acts as a vehicle and catalyst which leaves a lasting mark on the city, host country and its people through its economic, urban, social or historic influence" (International Olympic Committee, 2010, p. 11).

Nevertheless, for some countries hosting the Olympic Games is no longer seen as feasible. Due to the increasing burdens associated with winning a bid to host the Olympics and executing the event (Whitson & Macintosh, 1996), nations have been withdrawing from the process (e.g., Munich, Germany; Chicago, United States; and Stockholm, Sweden). Scholars have also begun to acknowledge that hosting and staging sport mega-events such as the Olympic Games may produce negative outcomes including increased tax burdens or poor post-management of the large facilities (Leopkey & Parent, 2012; Mangan, 2008). The astronomical financial investment needed to host the event may aggravate national and local economies due to

the overspending of limited tax revenue for event management (Chalkley & Essex, 1999). Moreover, though the facilities designed for the events are often under-utilized in their aftermath they still require maintenance, adding to the lasting financial burden (Baade & Matheson, 2002). Sport mega-events like the Olympic Games also leave substantial environmental footprints in the form of pollution and the decrease of green areas (Konstantaki & Wickens, 2010). Their impact even manifested at the social level in the form of gentrification and other such iniquitous housing issues, which negatively affect the host country's social justice index (Blumert, 2012; Dahill, 2010). Seoul 1988, Atlanta 1996, Beijing 2008, and Rio 2016 are examples of cities that evicted residents and violated housing rights in preparation for the Olympic Games (Blumert, 2012). Another is Vancouver 2010, which displaced low-income residents in the name of urban "regeneration" (Porter, 2009).

The IOC has responded to such critiques by emphasizing that its commitment to sustainability has been a foundational Olympic value over the course of the last two decades (Weiler & Mohan, 2010). The IOC added sustainability to its triple bottom line development model in 1999, which at the time only included economic, social, and environmental development, by adopting the United Nations' (UN) *Agenda 21 for Sustainable Development*. In hopes of fostering sustainable development in the 21st century, the IOC established the *Olympic Movement's Agenda 21 for Sustainable Development* (International Olympic Committee, 1999).

Agenda 21 was followed in 2014 with a new action plan, *Agenda 2020*, which focuses on the future of the Olympic Games. This plan was designed to protect the Olympic Games from the charge that it is a burden to host countries and thus addressed: (a) distributing power in governance of bidding and planning the event; (b) satisfying the needs of candidate and hosting towns; (c) reducing costs for bidding and increasing the IOC's financial support; and (d) serving

the continuously changing demands of international society (International Olympic Committee, 2014). *Agenda 2020* was so fully supported by the UN that it worked to make the two entities transnational allies, with then UN secretary-general Mr. Ban Ki-Moon calling them a “team” who share ideals of sustainability, solidarity, and the fundamental equality of all people (International Olympic Committee, 2014). These values represent the social dimension of the IOC’s sustainable development model.

The earliest studies on hosting the Olympic Games mostly focused on its economic impact and development. Dimmock and Tiye (2001) argued that “the success of a festival or event is commonly measured in terms of its economic contribution to event stakeholders, the community and the region” (p. 364). These analyses were overwhelmingly positive, and stressed the social and economic benefits of hosting the Olympics. But more recently a consensus has emerged among scholars calling for more nuanced studies on the ‘social’ outcomes of the Olympic Games and similar sport mega-events (Hall & Hodges, 1996; Minnaert, 2012; Pye, Toohey, & Cuskelly, 2015). In response, scholars have worked to examine different kinds of social and environmental outcomes and management processes of sport events (Chalip, 2004, 2006; Liu, Hautbois, & Desbordes, 2017). A few have even turned their attention to the local residents whose lives were affected by these events (Kaplanidou, 2012; Muller, 2012).

While these studies expanded the context for our understanding of how sport mega-events impact the host culture, they have been methodologically homogenous. Whether they examined local support during the pre-event period (Muller, 2012; Prayag, Hosany, Nunkoo, & Alders, 2013; Vetitnev & Bobina, 2017; Zhou & Ap, 2009) or the post Summer Games effects (e.g., Sydney 2000 and Beijing 2008), they employed quantitative methods (Chen & Tian, 2015; Muller, 2012; Toohey, 2008; Waitt, 2001; 2003). There has been thus a tendency toward one

methodological approach instead of adopting diverse lenses. However, to better understand the social influences host communities of the Olympic Games might have underwent or will undergo, the literature needs to be complemented with further studies using diversified research methods that will fill the methodological gap discussed here. Moreover, the complex structure of ‘social’ influence compared to, for example, economic influence, calls for a more explorative study (Waite, 2003).

Indeed, as a consequence of the methodological homogeneity, the concept of ‘social’ (in ‘social impact’ or ‘social development’) has not been adequately articulated in the extant literature. When compared to existing work on economic or environmental dimensions, the social side has been vague and lacks academic consensus. The studies that have been conducted, however, concluded that the social effects of hosting sport mega-events like the Olympics range from economic inequality to disenfranchisement of local residents (Beck, 2007; Gibson, 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2014; Minnaert, 2012).

The changing context of host communities is another significant issue determining social impact and development. In the last two decades, nations from so called ‘First World’ countries or the Global North have withdrawn from the Olympic bid process due to the objection of residents mostly caused by the perception that tax burden would be increased, leading post-developmental nations who previously belonged to the Third World to participate in the bid process more frequently than ever before (Black & Peacock, 2011). There is thus a stark contrast between the nations who withdrew from the Olympic bids and the nations who have newly joined the race to host the Olympics.

For the newly joined nations, pursuing the Olympic Games has been a strategic governing tactic for developing nations due to the expected dramatic transformation of

infrastructure and promotion of the nation to the world. Thus, the continuing popularity of the Olympic Games among these nations has been linked to the “exigencies and incentives of globalization” (Black, 2007, p. 261). Urban and regional units in such nations seek to win their bid for sport mega-events so as to (a) boost their tourist industry by positioning themselves as a global destination, (b) increase the international prestige of their national sports, (c) gain global political agency by showing off the nation’s ability to handle such a massive event, and ultimately, (d) establish global connections to raise their global esteem (Mangan, Collins, & Ok, 2013; Tsing, 2011).

These prospective advantages have led post-developmental nations to compete for hosting sport mega-events such as the Olympics (China, Russia, Brazil, and South Korea) and The Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA hereafter) Men’s World Cup (Russia, Brazil, South Africa, and South Korea). What these governments see in hosting the Olympic Games is the potential to globalize themselves – that is, build political and cultural connections with the global sphere (Black, 2007; Tsing, 2011).

As with the Summer Olympic Games, the Winter Olympic Games are now also shifting to nations where winter sports are not historically an integral part of their sport culture and history (Gauthier, 2016). Outside of North America and Europe, throughout the history of the Olympic Winter Games only Japan hosted them twice before the Millennial (1972 Sapporo and 1998 Nagano) (Chappelet & Kübler-Mabbott, 2008). But now that host locations for the Winter Games are changing, newer development plans are needed to meet the new needs. The IOC acknowledged this significant shift in *Agenda 2020*. As Brady (2009) and Book (2013) discussed, there are considerable differences between a “well-developed and powerful nation (Book, 2013, p. 44)” and countries like Russia and China. They argued that the 2014 Sochi

Winter Games should be understood as linked to the 2008 Beijing Summer Games rather than the 2012 London Summer Games because the nations – Russia and China – have different developmental status than the UK and therefore may have different reasons for hosting the event. Cornelissen and Swart (2006) explained that developed and developing nations use the Olympic Games for different political and social agendas. As developing nations often face an unequal condition of international power compared to their developed counterparts, they have recently utilized hosting mega-events to engage in “international activities far beyond what objective measure of their international capacity would enable” or to “compensate for the lack of sources of power and influences in the international sphere” (Cornelissen & Swart, 2006, p. 111).

Understanding the characteristics of newer host communities – those located outside of North America and Europe – is important because hosting the Olympic Games not only globalizes these hosts, but it also incorporates the local host community into the Games’ management. Since host locations have shifted to countries with less global power, the relationship between the Olympic Games and host communities has been increasingly convoluted. For example, the conditions of interaction among the IOC, the Organizing Committee of the Olympic Games, and the local community might be different due to unique local characteristics, or the globality of the Olympic Games may clash with the locality of the host communities when the two pursue different management strategies. Thibault (2009) argued that “although globalization has led to positive outcomes in sport management, it also presents important drawbacks that must be understood and respected” (p. 2). As such, the globality that hosting the Olympics offers local host communities may or may not produce positive outcomes. It is therefore important to understand the ways in which the globality of the event threatens or benefits the host community’s developmental processes. However, few studies have examined

the dynamics of contact between the global and the local, including whether the local community accepts or rejects the Olympics. Consequently, we are left without an understanding of how a host community experiences the extreme transformation that follows residents' agreeing to fully globalize, or of the repercussions of a collective action that refuses to collaborate with the Organizing Committee due to concerns of losing local specificity.

These latter concerns are especially relevant because despite the recent participation of the developing or post-developmental nations, the Olympic Games have continued to be managed according to a top-down developmental logic delivered from the IOC to the host communities (Sengupta, 2017). Although the IOC comprises members from both the Global North *and* South, the governing power has historically been located in the Global North (Edwards & Skinner, 2006). As a result, the Olympic management has been largely guided by the knowledge and culture of the Global North, particularly Europe. This tendency has also manifested in the history of IOC leadership. Since its inception in 1894 eight of the nine presidents of the IOC have been from European countries, and one came from the United States (The Olympic Museum Educational and Cultural Services, 2013). According to Thibault (2009) the IOC is a global governing body that exerts a great deal of power on Olympic management, including the process of bidding, planning, and staging the event, regardless of the locations of host community. Thus, there exists a hierarchical power dynamic between the IOC, the Organizing Committee, and the local host community through which the Eurocentric knowledge and governing strategies of the IOC's Olympic management are delivered downstream to local stakeholders.

Culture and power dynamics are especially evident within the networks of the Olympic Games planning and staging. It is necessary to consider who has the power to initiate and who

holds the hegemonic position within the process of planning and staging, as the IOC selects candidate cities to host the Olympic Games (Chappelet & Kübler-Mabbott, 2008). From the moment a city wins the bid onward, every decision is governed either directly or indirectly by the IOC and its sub-commissions, and executed by the Organizing Committee of the Olympic Games. Until the event ends, the planning and staging processes serve the Olympic development goals, including the two *Agendas* put forward by the IOC. Thus, the host community becomes a space of contestation, where groups with differential levels of power advocate for their values and needs.

As the cultural, social, historical, and political context of recent host communities change (Book, 2013), so too does the formation of a social network between the host community, the Organizing Committee, and the IOC. The role of the Organizing Committee becomes more important in this context because it acts as a mediator between the IOC and the host community (Paquette, Stevens, & Mallen, 2011). The Organizing Committee is the body whose primary responsibility is planning and staging the Olympic Games (Frawley & Toohey, 2009). This includes building and maintaining a relationship with stakeholders (Parent, 2008), and as such, the Organizing Committee may affect and be affected by its interaction with stakeholders (Freeman, 1984). For example, whether or not community stakeholders agree with the Organizing Committee's plans may affect the outcomes of the event (Friedman & Miles, 2002). Despite the Organizing Committee's significant role, there is a paucity of academic research on this organizing body and its employees (Xing & Chalip, 2009, 2012), and even less research on the relationship between the Organizing Committee and community stakeholders. Such research is imperative if we are to fully understand the effects of hosting the Olympic Games. In light of the shifts in Olympic candidates and hosts, the Organizing Committee's position holds more

responsibility for interpreting the IOC's developmental goals than ever before, as it can either mitigate the cultural and power differences between the IOC and host communities or widen the gap.

Despite differential power relations, the Olympic management process is dynamic. There is a significant level of social interaction that occurs between the IOC, the Organizing Committee, and the host community – especially with regard to developing the community. Whether interactions are direct (between the IOC and the Organizing Committee and between the Organizing Committee and host community) or indirect (between the IOC and host community), they embody the value systems and world views of each constituency involved (Chalip & Costa, 2012; Geeraert & Gauthier, 2018). We know the IOC's views and aims because they have been publicized globally. What remains to be understood are the expectations and aims of the local residents, whose perspectives have scarcely been given credence or disseminated. For example, we know that the IOC thinks of itself as promoting euphony between the global and the local through the Olympics because Paul Schmitt, the Chairman of the Sport and Environmental Commission of the IOC, advocated that “Indeed, we should ‘Think Globally, Act Locally’” (International Olympic Committee, 1999, p. 14). However, whether local residents *experience* it is euphony or cacophony has not been discussed thoroughly in the literature.

Recent studies argue that it is necessary to understand the needs and perceptions of a host community's residents in order to make events successful, particularly in the case of sport mega-events that are governed by organizations who hold global authority (Meier & Garcia, 2015). Yet, there is lack of research on the views of local residents from a long-term perspective. According to Zhou and Ap (2009), not only have there been few studies of local residents' perceptions, but those that exist were conducted in the context of developed societies: 1988

Calgary Winter Olympic Games (Ritchie & Aitken, 1984; Ritchie & Lyons, 1990), Atlanta 1996 Olympic Games (Mihalik & Simonetta, 1999), and Sydney 2000 Olympic Games (Hall, 1996; Lenskyj, 2002; Waitt, 2003).

My study aims to fill this gap by examining how hosting the Winter Olympics influences the host community's development. I am especially interested in how the global and the local continuously interact and negotiate the process of globalization. I explore the 'social' impact and development through the frameworks of globalization and community development. In other words, I examine the intersection of globalization and community development triggered by hosting the Olympic Games so as to understand the social consequences of developmental progress. Scholars of globalization have argued that 'local' and 'global' are not separate domains of experience (Mato, 1997). Thus, it is an important and necessary task to "explore the dynamic relationships, conflicts, and negotiations that exist among local, national, regional and global" dimensions (Mato, 1997, p. 169). The host community of the 2018 Winter Olympic Games, Daegwallyeong-myeon in South Korea, is the focus of this investigation. Daegwallyeong-myeon is unique in that it is a small, rural, and underdeveloped area in a post-developmental state. As such, the Winter Olympics was considered a way to globalize, transform, and develop the community.

Thus, this dissertation study's purpose is to critically explore how the global structure of Olympic management impacts (a) residents' and (b) the POCOG members' perceptions and practices (action and reaction) of globalization and host-community development. As such I diagnose problems within the current Olympic structure, its management and practices – particularly with regard to how it develops its host community – so as to suggest future strategies

for staging and better managing the event. Put differently, this dissertation project moves towards ascertaining “why this is and what can be done about it” (Madison, 2012).

1.2 Problem Statement

My project responds to Minnaert’s (2012) call for studies on the influence of events like the Olympics on what is “still an under-researched area of study . . . the potential of mega-events to increase the social sustainability of cities” (p. 370). Most literature on the effects of sport mega-events has examined the effects of the Summer Olympic Games on urban cities (Book, 2013). But the Winter Games are also significant, as Essex and Chalkley (2007) argued:

Although the Winter Olympics have received much less attention from both media and from academics, they do have an interesting story to tell. Their inputs and legacies are on a smaller scale but, for the host centers and regions affected, can be no less profound and no less controversial. (p. 58)

Since there are more studies on Summer Olympic host communities, I focus on a Winter Olympic host community: Daegwallyeong-myeon in South Korea.

I also hope to address the gap created by previous studies on Olympic host communities that overly emphasize post-impacts and post-assessment. As Cashman (2002) observed, existing research has not sufficiently engaged with local host communities through the Olympic *process*, from bidding to the planning, staging, and post-Olympic period. There is consequently a lack of monitoring and evaluation studies that examine the overall management of sport mega-events. There is also an absence of research that evaluates an event from the perspectives of local community residents and event planners (Ma, Egan, & Rotherham, 2011). My study therefore emphasizes the role of the Organizing Committee in managing community development through the Olympic Games. While South Korean scholars have conducted empirical studies about the

PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games (Chong, Kim, & Shim, 2014; Kim, 2007; Kwon, 2015; Liu, Kim, & Bae, 2013; Park, 2013), the majority of them used quantitative analysis to ascertain national and regional support for the Games from citizens as well as macro-level estimations of economic development. The field's over reliance on quantitative and macro-level approaches suggests the need for a study that makes use of experience-based qualitative methods so as to provide a different perspective on the diverse aspects of this phenomenon.

My study thus takes a different approach from previous research. Rather than focusing on economic development and outcomes of the Olympic event, I turn my attention to the social dimension. Considering that economic and social development and outcomes are symbiotic (Woolcock, 1998), my research is built on the grounding assumption that the intention to foster economic development through the Olympic Games naturally accompanies a focus on social outcomes. Despite the long-standing claim that there is no academic consensus on the meaning of 'social' (in social development), recent studies on socially sustainable development suggest that sustainable governance is a critical aspect of the 'social' (Magee, 2018). Accordingly, this study posits sustainable governance as a key goal of social development through the Olympic Games.

In order to determine how to achieve this goal, it is necessary to examine the current status of Olympic governance. The structure of Olympic governance is constituted by a wide range of stakeholders from the IOC to the local host community, respectively ranging from the global to the local. Understanding the host community is important here because it is located at the very end of the Olympics' global governing, which scales down from the IOC to the Organizing Committee and ends with the host community. In order to study this hierarchical system, I adopt the theoretical lenses of world system, globalization, and community

development, all of which will be articulated in detail in the next chapter. I use these theories as a response to the scholarly call to incorporate them into researching the phenomenon of Olympic management (Gruneau & Horne, 2016; Roche, 2000). Gruneau and Horne (2016) argued that a global perspective was needed to study such events because of their unprecedented public visibility and global popularity in the last few decades. Other scholars maintain that the impact of globalization on managing sport events on the community – and the local – level has not been sufficiently examined despite its significance (Tan & Bairner, 2011; Thibault, 2009).

The context of the Olympic Games changes every two years (every four years for the Summer and the Winter Games, but they intersect; e.g., 2018 PyeongChang Winter Games and 2020 Tokyo Summer Games; 2022 Beijing Winter Games and 2024 Paris Summer Games). This ever-changing context makes it difficult to establish a one-size-fits-all management strategy. Thus, there is a need to establish a sustainable (yet flexible) governing structure in which each host community and Olympic management mutually benefit. But the global structure of Olympic management and the size and focus of the IOC may create a distance between the global and the local, which can hinder the active communication between the two. This dilemma is the context for my study's focus on how the host community perceives Olympic-driven community development.

This study is also a response to the critique made by Olympic scholars that the field has ignored Olympic Games held in East Asia (Mangan, Collins, & Ok, 2013). Since sport has been an integral part of the political, cultural, and social development of East Asian countries (e.g., Japan, South Korea, and China), it is important to analyze the implication of the Olympic Games on East Asian societies. Moreover, as Mangan (2013) has argued, global power has been and will continue to shift from the West to the East, as evidenced in the aspiration for global agency

expressed through the East's hosting of Olympic Games. Mangan (2013) calls this phenomenon "Asia rising" (p. 4).

The key focus of my examination is the intersection of globalization and community development in Daegwallyeong-myeon, a major South Korea village hosting the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games. A major part of this study is examining the practices of globalization and community development engaged in by different stakeholder groups including the IOC, the PyeongChang Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (POCOG hereafter), and local residents through the process of bidding, planning, staging, and finalizing the event. I explore the process of globalization and community development by engaging with the local residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon and members of the POCOG, as well as by analyzing the documents published by the POCOG and the IOC. Looking at the practices of different groups involved in a specific social event is a useful way to understand the lived experiences of the people involved. As Fairclough (2007) stated: "social events are what actually is done or what happens, social practices are the way things are generally done or happen in particular areas of social life" (p. 30).

PyeongChang's decision to stage the 2018 Olympics was a strategy aimed at economic recovery. By this time an astronomical amount of financial resources had already been spent by the local government of Gangwon Province and the national government of South Korea in two previously lost bids: the Winter Games in 2010 and 2014, respectively won by Vancouver, Canada and Sochi, Russia (Chung, 2008). The South Korean governments' financial difficulties and the Gangwon Provincial government's bankruptcy had been frequently reported on by national and international media (Han, 2010). The governments' attempts to overcome their financial struggles in order to stage the 2018 Olympics was also highly publicized. What has not

received the same public attention is the impact on, and backlash from, the host community (Kim, 2007).

This study is an investigation of: (a) the residents' perceptions of and practices with and against the global Olympic management structure, and (b) their lived experiences dealing with the global influx precipitated by hosting the Olympic Games. I also pay attention to the similarities and differences between the residents' perceptions and practices, and the POCOG's perceptions and practices towards the Olympic-driven globalization and community development of Daegwallyeong-myeon. In this Olympic context, the POCOG was the main event organizer, and therefore had the most social interaction with Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents regarding community development and with the IOC regarding the Olympic management. This project aspires to identify the practices of negotiation, accommodation, and arrangement taken by the residents and the POCOG to meet the needs and requirements of the IOC. I aim to understand what, if any, differing or conflicting interests and demands existed toward Olympic-driven globalization and development of Daegwallyeong-myeon. I also want to understand differential levels of tension depending on each group's duties and commitment to the Olympic Games and the community of Daegwallyeong-myeon. To these ends I identify how the IOC's global priorities about Olympic management were embodied, materialized, and sometimes negotiated through POCOG's mediation, and the ramifications generated by those priorities on the lives of the residents. Since there are inevitable issues of power and legitimacy involved in managing Olympic-driven globalization and community development, I rely on theories of globalization (Wallerstein, 1974, 1998, 2004; Ritzer, 1995, 2003; Robertson, 1994, 1995) and of community development (Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004) to guide my exploration of community development practices occurring in the intersection of the global and the local. These

frameworks help me identify: (a) who was included or excluded in the community-level decision-making process, (b) what the ramification of the global priorities were for the local community, and (c) how the participants' perceptions and practices impacted and altered the Olympic management. In order to determine this information, I engage in an in-depth exploration of the POCOG employees' and the residents' perspectives, perceptions, and reactions to the changes unfolding in Daegwallyeong-myeon as a result of Olympic management.

This project looks at Daegwallyeong-myeon's globalization and its developmental changes through a social lens so as to study event-driven, people-centered development that is guided by values of solidarity and shaped by the participation of empowered local community residents. To this end I explore how residents organized collective action and built community solidarity within the global structure of Olympic management, as well as how sustainable Olympic governance and management enhanced the host community's agency and autonomy.

1.3 Research Questions

Through the case of Daegwallyeong-myeon and by adopting a critical ethnographic approach that includes participant and non-participant observation, in-depth interviews, field notes, and the collection of relevant documents and texts, my study aims to answer the following research questions:

RQ-1: What were the unique characteristics of Daegwallyeong-myeon as a host community of the Winter Olympic Games and how were those characteristics interwoven with the Olympic management (from before winning the bid to the post-Olympic stage)?

RQ-2: How were the value systems and world views similar or different between the global (IOC), the transnational (the POCOG) and the local (Daegwallyeong-myeon)?

RQ-2a: How did the local residents locate Daegwallyeong-myeon in the global Olympic structure?

RQ-2b: How did the residents articulate and construct multifaceted intersections between the global and the local in the context of hosting the Winter Olympic Games?

RQ-2c: How did the residents perceive, and strategically adopt, negotiate, or negate the potentially overwhelming global expectations from Olympic management?

RQ-2d: How did the members of the POCOG function as a transnational mediator to negotiate, accommodate, and arrange differing goals between the global and the local during the Olympic management?

RQ-3: What were the community development processes that occurred in Daegwallyeong-myeon in relation to the Olympic Games, and what are the implications for sustainable community development?

RQ-3a: What were the residents' needs for Olympic-driven community development?

RQ-3b: How did the residents make their way to participate to the development process?

RQ-3c: In the process, how was the solidarity among the residents impacted?

RQ-3d: How was residents' agency influenced by the community development process?

RQ-3e: What significant changes and development occurred in Daegwallyeong-myeon during Olympic management?

1.4 Significance of the Study

By answering these research questions, the present study contributes to our understanding of the process by which the most globalized sport mega-event, the Olympic Games, is managed in a locality outside the traditionally European center for winter sports. It also illuminates how the Winter Olympic Games is being managed in the social and cultural context of South Korea, one of the post-developmental states that has emerged as a strong candidate for future Olympic Games. Significantly, this study integrates global influences with the process of Olympic-driven community development to better understand the local consequences of a global event.

The findings of this study also have both practical and theoretical implications, not only for the research site but also for future Winter Olympic host communities, particularly those located outside of Europe and North America, which may face and experience a similar process of managing a massive global event in a small village. Indeed, the micro-analysis in this study will broaden our knowledge of the macro-subject, which is the global-local nexus in general. Thus, this research will ultimately provide significant theoretical and practical implications for sustainable community development through the planning, managing, and staging of the Olympic Games and other mega sporting events. By identifying how such global events can best work with local community development towards mutual benefit, this study contributes to the literature as well as practices in the field.

Finally, when another mega-event is hosted and staged in Daegwallyeong-myeon in the future, the results of this study will provide meaningful knowledge for the residents and the Organizing Committee on how to use the event for sustainable community development. This knowledge can be incorporated in the event management process to optimize the outcome of community development. The findings of this study may also function as a point of comparison that can help better measure and evaluate the impacts of sport mega-events with different scales (i.e., global, international, national, and regional), sizes (i.e., number of participants, number of sports played, and number of stadia constructed), and expectations of their own.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THEORIES AND LITERATURE

The epistemological and methodological paradigm of this study is grounded in critical theory. The purpose, design, and process of the study is fundamentally grounded in theories of globalization, community development, and agency. To better understand the macro dynamics of the Olympic Games I draw from Wallerstein's (1974, 1998, 2004) world-systems theory and sub-concepts of globalization, including glocalization and grobalization (Ritzer, 1995, 2003; Robertson, 1994, 1995). I put these in conversation with Bhattacharyya's theory of community development (1995, 2004) so as to assess the Olympic Games' interaction with a local host community. These theories thus inform the more specific research questions of the study. Coupled with these theories, previous literature of related areas such as the global Olympic management structure, the Olympic Games and the development of the host community, and the South Korean context are introduced in this chapter to establish the background and context for this study.

2.1 Critical Theory

Critical theory guides this study's epistemological and methodological paradigms. It also shapes the design, process, and goal of the study. According to Kincheloe and McLaren (1998), since its development in Frankfurt, Germany over 70 years ago, critical theory still retains its ability to "disrupt and challenge the status quo" (p. 260). The Frankfurt school constitutes a group of writers associated with the Institute of Social Research at the University of Frankfurt (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1998). While many divergent traditions exist within critical theory, Kincheloe and McLaren (1998, p. 263) offer a general definition of criticalists:

We are defining a criticalist as a researcher or theorist who attempts to use her or his work as a form of social or cultural criticism and who accepts certain basic assumptions: that all thought is fundamentally mediated by power relations that are social and historically constituted; that facts can never be isolated from the domain of values or removed from some form of ideological inscription; that the relationship between concept and object and between signifier and signified is never stable or fixed and is often mediated by the social relations of capitalist production and consumption; that language is central to the formation of subjectivity (conscious and unconscious awareness); that certain groups in any society are privileged over others and, although the reasons for this privileging may vary widely, the oppression that characterizes contemporary societies is most forcefully reproduced when subordinates accept their social status as natural, necessary, or inevitable; that oppression has many faces and that focusing on only one at the expense of others (e.g., class oppression versus racism) often elides the inter-connections among them; and, finally, that mainstream research practices are generally, although most often unwittingly, implicated in the reproduction of systems of class, race, and gender oppression.

In contemporary academia, they go on to explain, critical theory is endemically hybrid because the boundaries between academic disciplines are not stable (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1998). In its most general sense, critical theory challenges the positivist conceptualization of science and instrumental rationality.

Studies informed by critical theory generally empower individuals because they seek to extend academic research in ways that address and challenge social injustice within particular contexts. Instead of adhering to the notions of scientific or academic neutrality, critical research

resists hegemony and struggles for a better world (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1998). In fact, critical researchers often consider their work as “a first step toward forms of political action that can redress the injustices found in the field site or constructed in the very act of research itself” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1998, p. 264). This statement echoes early critical theorist Max Horkheimer’s (1972) insistence that critical theory and research should do more than accumulate knowledge (Quantz, 1992).

As Frisby, Crawford, and Dorer (1997) have pointed out, sport management researchers rarely adopt a critical perspective, and so their work has functioned to reinforce the status quo. In the last two decades this critical blindness has begun to shift, as sport studies scholars has taken up critical race theory (Singer, 2005), critical feminist theory (Kane & Maxwell, 2011), critical sport management (Frisby, 2005), and critical policy analysis (Chalip, 1996). Traditions of critical theory are embedded in questions of epistemology, ontology, and methodology. Yet despite its obvious significance to critical social science, these theoretical frameworks with a critical lens are underutilized in sport management (Frisby, 2005). Consequently, sport management research has struggled to understand how society operates “in a wider culture, economic, and political context characterized by asymmetrical power relations that are historically entrenched” (Frisby, 2005, p. 6). Cunningham and Fink (2006) have also found that there are discrepancies between topics of study and the epistemological, ontological, and methodological paradigms in sport management studies. Their literature review on diversity studies in sport management showed that although “diversity” is best understood from a critical and interpretive perspective, most studies were shaped by a positivist paradigm. Thus, scholars like Shaw and Frisby (2006) have called for more studies grounded in critical theoretical frameworks capable of addressing the complexities and inequalities in sport.

In order to explain the potential impact of theory on the field, Frisby (2005) referred us to Alvesson's and Deetz's (2000) three stages of critical social science in sport management: insight, critique, and transformative definition. Insight entails questioning the knowledge that has been taken for granted and examining the relationship between localized forms of domination and the broader context in which they are situated. The second stage, critique, involves studying the "forms of domination, asymmetrical power relations, and distorted communications" (Frisby, 2005, p. 7) that serve the interests of certain groups. This stage aspires to debunk the politicalized nature of knowledge production, often believed to be based on truth and objective experiences. When knowledge production and circulation are seen in these ways "subordinates" often come to accept their situations as natural or inevitable (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000) – or worse, justifiable. The last stage brings a transformative redefinition in our ways of thinking, which opens a path for developing "new ways of operating" (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000, p. 21). This stage involves action components that work to advance individual and social transformation (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1998). My study reflects the processes of inquiry represented by these steps in its use of critical theory and the methodological traditions embedded in critical ethnography.

A number of perspectives can shed light on our understanding of how major sport events participate in localized social development and social sustainability, or namely, socially sustainable development (Smith, 2009). These varying perspectives cover a broad chronology and range of contexts, including the shift from a modern to a post-modern society (Hiller, 2006), and the impact of sport mega-events on social change. Critical theory is one such perspective. From a critical theoretical perspective, sport mega-events are usually regarded as representations of neo-liberalism, where urban and rural governing bodies must compete for investment (Smith,

2009). They are understood as phenomena intended to meet the interest of stakeholders outside the local host communities. Simultaneously, these events function to pacify and distract local residents through entertainment. Sport mega-events are thus apparatuses of hegemonic power that “shift attention away from everyday social need and cover up ‘real social problems’” (Smith, 2009, p. 111). Harvey (1989) has similarly argued that such events are a ‘smokescreen’ or ‘carnival mask’ disguising inherent social problems. According to Waitt (2004), large sport events may also create new collective identities so as to weaken existing identities that threaten the interests of dominant groups – that is, political and business elites.

2.2 Theories of Globalization

In order to render the contemporary conditions of our world legible – including political, social, economic, and cultural contexts – scholars have made extensive use of a concept termed ‘globalization’. However, despite its being a pivotal term for describing the transformations and changes that have unfolded over the last two decades (Şener, 2010), there is no single definition. In lieu of a static classification, Turner (2011) has described some of the theory’s main contours:

(1) the growing frequency, volume and interrelatedness of cultures, commodities, information, and peoples across both time and space; (2) the increasing capacity of information technologies to reduce and compress time and space (giving rise to notions such as the global village); (3) the diffusion of routing practices and protocols for processing global flows of information, money, commodities, and people; (4) the emergence of institutions and social movements to promote, regulate, oversee, or reject globalization and (5) the emergence of new types of global consciousness or ideologies

of globalism that give some expression to this social interconnectedness such as cosmopolitanism. (pp. 9-10)

Under the flow of globalization societies in different geographical regions become ever more connected, intersected, interpenetrated, and interrelated. This process simultaneously produces a chain of influence whereby societies are being influenced by and influencing others (Khondker, 2013). Since globalization encompasses convoluted dynamics of interaction between actors, scholars have developed abundant theories to explain the characteristics of the process.

Among existing theories my study pays particular attention to (a) the structural formation of nations in the global sphere and (b) the encounter, intermingling, and integration between the global and the local. The first refers to world-systems theory, a tradition initiated by Immanuel Wallerstein that considers the world, as a globe, one large system in which nations are categorized into three different groups: core, semi-periphery, and periphery. The second refers to theories of glocalization and globalization, which capture the contrasting dynamics of cultural heterogeneity and homogeneity resulting from the global-local encounter.

2.2.1 World-Systems Theory

Despite Immanuel Wallerstein's recent claim (2012) that the world is a system, world-systems analysis is more than a theory; it is a knowledge movement seeking to understand the global structure and hierarchy of nations both in general and in particular fields of inquiry.

World-systems theory – or world-systems analysis, as described by Babones and Chase-Dunn (2012) – sees the human world as a singular, complex system that includes political, economic, social, and cultural subsystems. Wallerstein (2010) defined a world-system as “a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence” (p.

205). He insisted that the world-system is distinguished from other social systems – like tribes, communities, and nation-states – in that they are relatively large. In other words, world-systems signify the ‘world’, which is interchangeable with the ‘global’.

World-systems theory emerged as early as 1974, with Immanuel Wallerstein’s *The modern world system: Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world economy in the sixteenth century*. Wallerstein argued that the modern world system has been essentially capitalist in nature since the crisis of the feudal system. The rise of Western European supremacy stemmed from its having established capitalism as a world economy so as to ensure its continued material growth. He argued that globalization is the expansion of the capitalist system around the globe, resulting in a global power structure largely grounded in Western liberal philosophy.

In his book, Wallerstein (1974) described four core presuppositions of world-systems theory. The first is that there is a single set of fundamental processes in the world-system to which all economies are subject. Although the nation – or the nation-state – is an important developmental factor, it is “not the only level of analysis in understanding processes of development” (Roberts, Hite, & Chorev, 2015, p. 100). Instead, Wallerstein argued, there are global processes that function as key determinants for worldwide development and change.

The second core principle is that the global world system is a hierarchy consisting of three conditions, or zones: the core, semi-periphery, and periphery. The core of the world system “extracts wealth and, through various types of relationships, controls nations in the periphery, which are dependent on trade and relationships with the core” (Roberts et al., 2015, p. 100). The semi-periphery zone includes nations in Asia, South America, and South Africa where both rich and poor countries exist. Semi-periphery nations act as intermediaries in the process by which periphery nations are exploited by the core nations. Although Wallerstein (1974) suggested that

world-system theory allows for the possibility that nations can demonstrate mobility within the hierarchy, most nations have not been able to move up.

The third premise is that there are particular processes by which wealth is extracted from the periphery nations and relocated to core nations. These processes include “unequal exchange, active or subtle repression, and the control of marketing and the high value ends of commodity chains” (Roberts et al., 2015, p. 101). Power differences between the core and periphery nations function to quicken the extraction of wealth from the latter to the former, thereby concretizing the world system. This process perpetuates the imbalance of economic and political power, which is why Wallerstein (1974) doubted that nations could move up in this hierarchy. The last core premise of this theory is that capitalism is the most influential factor in maintaining the world-system because it recruits an increasing number of nations to participate in capitalist trade and exchange, accelerates commodification, and polarizes socioeconomic classes.

World-systems theory was initially based on an economic analysis of the world, but scholars have since extended it to the cultural domain. By doing so the term ‘core’ has begun being used interchangeably with the term ‘center’ as a counter signifier to ‘periphery’. For example, Kapur (1991) argued:

The concept of the center-periphery as a kind of political geography of world culture is based, surprisingly, on a base-superstructure type of model. Advanced industrial cultures (the First World) constitute the center. Post-colonial, underdeveloped or economically dependent, cultures (the Third World) form the periphery. (p. 10)

Between the center and the periphery is the semi-periphery, which plays a key role in the process by practicing a cultural hybridization that can lead to the cultural homogenization of the center, the semi-periphery, and the periphery.

Although Wallerstein (1974) was skeptical about the mobility of nations in the world-system, other scholars insist that mobility is possible. Chase-Dunn, Kawano, and Brewer (2000) similarly ascribed to the core, semi-periphery, and periphery model, but argued that a few nations have been able to move up the global hierarchy despite the solidity of the world-system:

Core countries have greater economic and political/military power (the United States, Europe, and Japan), while peripheral countries are poor and have weak states (most countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America). In between is a group of countries (the semi-periphery) that has intermediate levels of power either because of their large size or because of intermediate levels of development (e.g., Brazil, Mexico, India, Taiwan, Korea). The core-periphery hierarchy is a relatively stable structure with most countries maintaining their relative positions over the centuries, but there are a few cases of upward and downward mobility within the structure. The United States is perhaps the most dramatic example of upward mobility. (p. 79)

While Chase-Dunn et al. (2000) positioned the United States as the key example, Alice Amsden (1979, 1989, 2001) looked to some Asian countries' unusual ascendance in the world system:

The Asian Tigers. The Asian Tigers include Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore, all of which are "late" developers because they industrialized over a century after Western (the Global North) powers. These nations industrialized under different conditions than Europe because the agents promoting their industrial revolutions were influenced by foreign "ideologies, motives, and institutions" (Hill, Park, & Saito, p. 1). Thus, the upward mobility of the Asian Tigers should be analyzed and understood differently from the United States by incorporating the specific social, political, and historical context of the nations.

The South Korean site for this study's inquiry is semi-periphery (Amsden, 1989; Chase-Dunn et al., 2000). According to Wallerstein (1979), the semi-periphery zone is not the result "merely of establishing arbitrary cutting-points on a continuum of characteristics" (as cited in Roberts et al., 2015, p. 137). Rather, semi-periphery nations are needed to make the world system run smoothly. They are assigned a specific dual economic and political role in the world system: both exploited and exploiter. Put differently, semi-periphery nations differentiate themselves from periphery nations by serving as a mediator between periphery and core nations while simultaneously striving to become a core nation.

As with other semi-periphery countries, South Korea includes 'underdeveloped' conditions and regions. In *The development of underdevelopment* (1991) Andre Gunder Frank argued that there can be a large gap between one nation's developed metropole areas and its underdeveloped "hinterlands" (as cited in Roberts et al., p. 106). This is because the developed area of a nation is "only one part of the economy and society," one that has been "importantly affected by intimate economic relations with the 'outside' capitalist world" (as cited in Roberts et al., p. 106). In other words, the metropolitan areas of periphery nations became modern, capitalist, and relatively developed due to their contact with outside regions. Since other parts of the country are "isolated, subsistence-based, feudal, or precapitalist" they are "therefore more underdeveloped" (as cited in Roberts et al., p. 106).

This study incorporates the world system structure with Andre Gunder Frank's configuration of developed/underdeveloped areas within a nation, so as to better understand periphery and underdeveloped areas within semi-periphery nations (e.g., regional units). This designation is important because as semi-periphery nations continue to grow their major cities, they tend to be as gigantic and global as metropolitan cities in the core nations. This leaves

enormous developmental gaps, however, between cities and non-city areas so that while cities resemble core nations, non-cities resemble periphery nations.

The geographical focus of this study is Daegwallyeong-myeon, located in PyeongChang County, Gangwon Province. Gangwon Province is considered the most underdeveloped province in South Korea due to its geographical condition and political/diplomatic history. Based on Wallerstein's (1974, 1998, 2004) theory and Andre Gunder Frank's analysis (1969, 1991), I situate Daegwallyeong-myeon as a periphery region with an aspiration to globalize and development its community.

The utility of the world-systems theory has been supported by scholars in sport mega-event studies. For example, Castro, Starepravo, Coakley, & Souza (2016) argued that this theory provides a useful lens with which to understand sport mega-events such as the Olympic Games in the context of globalization. Lee (2016) utilized the theory from a post-colonial perspective to conceptually analyze the meaning of the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games to South Korea. The theory's utility comes from its ability to describe the development of a capitalist global system that disadvantages a significant proportion of people, particularly those in comparatively less developed countries. The theory was also used by Harris and Wise (2017) in examining Brazil's host cities of sport mega-events and the national-local geopolitics. They argued that the core-periphery structure could also be applied to understand how economic, political, social, and cultural transformation through sport mega-events have difference influences in the core and peripheral cities in a nation.

2.2.2 Globalization: Glocalization or Globalization, or Both?

The encounter, intermingling, and integration of the global and local has been an important academic subject due to the dynamic nature of these interactions. Oftentimes, the interaction between the global and local results in perplex consequences, like forming unique global-local relations in different geographical areas. However, due to the physical and cognitive distance between the global and the local, unraveling the interaction between them has been difficult. Thus, scholars studying the social interaction and cultural change wrought by globalization have struggled to disentangle the dynamics of ‘being influenced by’ and ‘influencing’ others (Khondker, 2013). There have been different, sometimes contrasting, approaches to understanding this interaction. Some scholars seek connections between the global and local while others focused on disconnections (Burawoy, 2000). The differing directionalities of globalization have also produced scholarly debate. Some scholars have argued that globalization ‘as a global force’ has dominated, and sometimes threatened local cultures, politics, and economies. This group of scholars sees the process of globalization as unilaterally and unidirectionally beneficial. On the other hand are scholars who insist that the global and the local can intervene in each other’s unfolding without standardizing or homogenizing. These researchers argue that globalization is a bidirectional or even multidirectional process resulting in cultural hybridity. Since these contrasting arguments have been substantially theorized, I make use of both as theoretical frameworks in my study.

2.2.2.1 Glocalization

Glocalization describes something “formed by telescoping *global* and the *local* to make a blend” (Tulloch, 1991, p. 134). As a practice, glocalization began as ‘global localization’

strategies executed by Japanese corporations such as Sony to market products to different parts of the globe (Robertson, 1995). This strategy entailed increasingly customizing and advertising products and services on a global basis to differentiated local destinations. As such, when the practice began, glocalization was utilized as a term to denote a micromarketing strategy that tailors to differing local needs and tastes.

The first academic theorization of glocalization was by sociologist Roland Robertson (1994, 1995) who turned the concept into an analytical tool for the social sciences. He emphasized the heterogenizing aspects of globalization through which ‘global localization’ or ‘indigenization’ takes place, in contrast to ‘global standardization’ (Robertson, 1992, p. 173). Thus, glocalization is the process of interpenetration by which the global and the local intermingle to produce unique outcomes in different geographical areas. In this sense glocalization is a specific aspect of globalization that responds to differences between localities (Robertson, 2001). The construction and reinvention of local cultures with respect to other cultural entities is a significant element of this process (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2006).

Other scholars have extended the notion of glocalization. For example, in *The Lexus and the olive tree: Understanding globalization* (2000), Friedman defined glocalization as:

the ability of a culture, when it encounters other strong cultures, to absorb influences that naturally fit into and can enrich the culture, to resist those things that are truly alien, and to compartmentalize those things that, while different, can nevertheless be enjoyed and celebrated as different. (p. 236)

For Pacione (2005), glocalization is “the process by which developments in particular places are the outcomes of both global and local forces” (p. 670). Macionis and Plummer (2008) described glocalization as “the ways in which global phenomena are responded to differently in local

culture” (p. 148). In spite of these different articulations, glocalization has the same implication across existing scholarship. Terms associated with this concept include ‘indigenization’ (Friedman, 1999), ‘creolization’ (Hannerz, 1992), ‘vernacularization’ (Appadurai, 1996) and ‘hybridization’ (Pieterse, 1995). In sum, glocalization refers to the dynamic interaction between the global and local, and to the resulting heterogenization and homogenization.

Cultural heterogenization and homogenization are two key terms for understanding the dynamic process of globalization. Some scholars consider heterogenization the primary effect of globalization while others think it is cultural homogenization. The former group argues that local cultures show creative vitality and resist cultural homogenization (Robertson, 1995). The latter group believes that social actors and their local cultures are mobilized to passively accept or otherwise reproduce the “cultural products, practices, and predilections of the world’s most powerful corporations and nations” (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2006).

The local’s potential to maintain its culture and alleviate the difficulties of the global-local relationship is thus a key principle for understanding glocalization (Khondker, 2005). Glocalization itself assumes that the local can conduct a twin or parallel process of macro-localization and micro-globalization simultaneously by incorporating global processes into their local setting. According to Hannerz (1990), glocalization allows the local “to stick to their respective cultures” (p. 250). Indeed, there can be no global without local because the local is considered autonomous enough to adjust and negotiate the process of globalization.

There have also been criticisms of such overly positive perspectives of glocalization. Some scholars argued that glocalization is a theoretical tool that romanticizes the encounter between the global and the local. Among such thinkers is Grossberg (1997) who stated:

Current thinking about globalization is too often structured by an assumed opposition between the local and the global, where the local is offered as the intellectual and political corrective of the global. This is captured in the popular demand to “think globally and act locally”. . . Such celebrations of the local are often under-theorized, based on either a particular definition of knowledge as facts and a model of inductive empiricism, or an assumed identification of the local with the site of agency and resistance. (p. 8)

This study takes up Grossberg’s (1997) argument as a compliment to the concept of globalization explained below. Focusing on the relations between “homogenization and heterogenization, universalism and particularism, sameness and difference, and the global and the local” (Andrews & Ritzer, 2007, p. 136) is important because these processes are complementary and interpenetrative.

2.2.2.2 Globalization

Ritzer (1995, 2000) argued that the process of globalization is too complicated to be understood solely by notions of glocalization because global structures (usually, transnational corporations) gradually converge and homogenize different regions in the world. In doing so, the global structures can destroy and erase the differences between diverse local cultures (Ritzer, 1995, 2000). This unidirectional aspect of globalization results from the dominance of Western economic, political, and cultural power. Such dominance is why globalization has been closely associated with Western cultural imperialism. Thus, Ritzer (1993) coined terms like ‘Westernization,’ ‘Americanization,’ and ‘McDonaldization’ to represent the cultural take over. With these terms, Ritzer (1995) tried to capture the complexity of globalization, which he argued

is not a singular ‘unidirectional’ process but two coexistent ones: glocalization and ‘grobalization’ (Ritzer, 2003).

Ritzer (2003) offered the concept of ‘grobalization’ to signify growth and globalization. Grobalization functions as a complement to glocalization, and together the two capture the convoluted phenomenon of globalization. Due to the critical importance of Westernization and Americanization in global processes (Giddens, 2000; Kuisel, 1993; Ritzer, 1995), Ritzer insisted that grobalization is “a much-needed companion to the notion of glocalization” (Ritzer, 2003, p. 194) that does not deny the importance of glocalization, but rather complements it. He defined grobalization as:

the imperialistic ambitions of nations, corporations, organizations, and other entities and their desire – indeed, their need – to impose themselves on various geographical areas. Their main interest is in seeing their power, influence, and (in some areas) profits grow (hence the term “grobalization”) throughout the world. (Ritzer, 2003, p. 194)

Thus, while the notion of glocalization assumes the balanced multidirectional interaction between the global and the local, grobalization posits another pattern, whereby the unidirectional aspiration of global forces grow to the local level. The critical difference between these terms is that grobalization considers cultural homogeneity a principal consequence of globalization.

Ritzer (2003) and other scholars of ‘grobalization’ (Andrews & Ritzer, 2007; Kumaravadivelu, 2008; Matusitz, 2014) suggested that it offers an argument about places, people, products, and services. Put differently, in franchises “for which settings are much the same throughout the world,” the mass-manufacturing of places, people, products, and services is obvious (Ritzer, 2003, p. 204). Such places are designed and built in much the same way. People are trained and instructed to work in standard ways, and the same products and services are

offered. This is because places, people, products, and services have been “centrally conceived, are centrally controlled, and are lacking in distinctive content” (Ritzer, 2003, p. 204). In the process, local or indigenous contents are dropped or removed.

The ‘concentration to the center’ is an important feature of globalization. In the management literature globalization has been translated into a syndrome (the “headquarters knows the best”), which manifests in global corporations and institutions (Bouquet, Birkinshaw, & Barsoux, 2016). The syndrome indicates that too much power is concentrated in the institution’s head office while local managers are constrained by headquarters. There is limited influence from the local to the global because the guiding hierarchy is one of vertical relations, where decisions are made at the global level and pushed down to the local level. Since corporate/institutional management is primarily located at the global headquarters, local managerial practices are universalized and homogenized.

2.3 Olympic Governance and Management Structure

This section introduces literature on the global Olympic governance and management structure. I explain how globalization has influenced global sport governance in general and the Olympic governance in particular, and how the IOC and the Organizing Committee manage the Olympic Games.

2.3.1 Olympic Governance and Geopolitics

Lucy Thibault described the emerging significance of globalizing sport governance in her article “Globalization of sport: An inconvenient truth” (2009), published in the *Journal of Sport Management*. The global governance of sport institutions has also been studied by scholars such

as Allison (2005), Houlihan (1994, 1999), Mason (2002), Means and Nauright (2007), and Wheeler and Nauright (2006). They collectively address the globalization of sport governance, policy, and marketplace, which have produced sport institutions with a substantial scale of power (Thibault, 2009).

The IOC as a global governing body has two goals as an institution (Chappelet & Kübler-Mabbott, 2008). One is supervising the successful staging of the Olympic Games through a global governing system, and the other is promoting Olympism around the globe. Thibault (2009) reminded us that the IOC is larger in scope than the United Nations. While the United Nations have 193 Member States, there are 206 National Olympic Committees (NOC hereafter) recognized by the IOC as of 2016 (The International Olympic Committee, n.d.b; The United Nations, n.d.). Thus, Olympism has global political reach, with 13 more national members than the United Nations (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007). The IOC is a global umbrella organization that directly supervises and authorizes NOCs. As partnering organizations NOCs work in accordance with the IOC's Olympic-related practices, which can range from athlete development to the promotion of an Olympic Movement within a nation (International Olympic Committee, n.d.b). According to the IOC it has sole authority to recognize the NOC because NOCs are under their leadership (International Olympic Committee, n.d.b). Indeed, scholars understand the IOC as a global governance actor who exercises rule-making and institutional authority (i.e., power) at the global level over a particular issue area, which in this case is sports (Gauthier, 2017).

In contrast to the IOC's 206 partnerships across the globe, its political leadership has been historically concentrated in Europe. Table 2-1 shows the list of IOC presidents to date. Of the nine presidents that have controlled the institution over the last 100+ years, eight were from Europe (The International Olympic Committee, 2014). The IOC also functions as a kind of

country in itself, with members who are “natural persons . . . representatives of the IOC in their respective countries, and not their country’s delegate within the IOC” (The International Olympic Committee, 2014). Such members are elected by existing IOC members at IOC Sessions (i.e., general assembly of the IOC). After being elected they can participate in the yearly IOC Session, where decisions are made concerning the Olympic Games.

Table 2-1. List of IOC presidents to date

Incumbency	President (nation)
1894-1896	Demetrios Vikelas (Greece)
1896 - 1925	Baron Pierre de Coubertin (France)
1925 - 1942	Henri de Baillet-Latour (Belgium)
1946 - 1952	Sigrid Edström (Sweden)
1952 - 1972	Avery Brundage (USA)
1972 - 1980	Lord Killanin of Dublin and Spittal (Ireland)
1980 - 2001	Juan Antonio Samaranch (Spain)
2001 - 2013	Jacques Rogge (Belgium)
2013 - present	Thomas Bach (Germany)

Apart from electing or dismissing members, the IOC Sessions are tasked with (as cited from Chappelet & Kübler-Mabbott, 2008):

- [electing], by absolute majority, the IOC President for eight years and possibly to reelect him or her for four (a single reelection has been possible since the 1999 reform).
- [electing], by absolute majority, each member of the IOC Executive Board (including the four vice-presidents) for four years, and possibly for a second four-year period as vice-president (further reelections are subject to a waiting period of two years).

- [adopting or modifying] the “Rules” (articles) of the Olympic Charter (by two-thirds majority) and their By-laws (by simple majority).
- [electing], by absolute majority, the Host Cities for the Olympic Games. (p. 23)

As of 2019 there were 144 Session participants, including 96 members, one honorary president, 45 honorary members, and two honor members (The International Olympic Committee, n.d.a). Forty-four of the members were from Western Europe, 16 from Eastern Europe, 17 from Africa, 17 from Asia, 13 from Latin America, nine from Oceania, eight from North America, and six from the Middle East. Guttman (1994), Beacom (2012), and Brownell (2008) have all observed that the national representation in each regional category is disproportionate to the number of IOC members from each category (see Table 2-2). In short, the Eurocentric slant of the IOC manifests in both the Olympic Movement and the Games.

Table 2-2. Numbers of IOC members by continent and percentage of total membership (Brownell, 2008)

Region	1894	1920	1945	1960	2006
Europe	12 (80%)	35 (66%)	31 (55%)	30 (47%)	48 (42%)
Western	10 (67%)	27 (51%)	23 (41%)	24 (37%)	38 (33%)
Eastern	2 (13%)	8 (15%)	8 (14%)	6 (9%)	10 (9%)
Asia	0 (0%)	2 (4%)	8 (14%)	7 (11%)	17 (15%)
Africa	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	2 (3%)	20 (18%)
Middle East	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	2 (4%)	6 (9%)	6 (5%)
South/Central America	1 (7%)	6 (11%)	9 (16%)	11 (16%)	13 (11%)
North America	1 (7%)	6 (11%)	4 (7%)	4 (6%)	5 (4%)
Oceania	1 (7%)	2 (4%)	2 (4%)	4 (6%)	5 (4%)
Total	15	53	56	64	114

As MacAloon (2008) pointed out, such Eurocentrism is also operative in the official languages of the Olympic movement and the International Olympic Committee – French and English. This standard produces a Eurocentric Olympic governance because all IOC members, directors, and key administrators are expected to be fluent in both languages. Vessey (2018) took a slightly different stance on the governance’s inclusions of ethnicity, language, religion, gender, and country of origin. Since the Olympic Charter – a foundational document for the IOC – includes six languages into which all operations must be translated (French, English, German, Spanish, Russian, and Arabic), she argued that Olympic governance, while not ‘superdiverse’ does bring together “significant new conjunctions and interactions of variables” (p. 227).

Until recently scholars have maintained that European hegemony still dominates global Olympic governance. For example, Edwards and Skinner (2006) argued that the IOC’s development and perspectives reflect a European historical experience grounded in its imperialist domination of the world. In Zakus’ (2005) terms, European tradition continues in the IOC’s global operations. For Clastres and Bayle (2018), European hegemony is a result of its geographical concentration within IOC Headquarters and affiliated offices. The IOC’s European bias has had a significant influence on the Olympic Games’ managerial practices over its history. For example, Juan Antonio Samaranch, the 8th president of the IOC, claimed Lausanne, Switzerland is the “Olympic Capital”. Clastres and Bayle (2018) explained that to date, 31 Games have been held in Europe, in comparison to 13 in the Americas, six in Asia, and two in Australia. More recently, the location of the Olympic Games has been more widely distributed, with the IOC awarding China the 2008 Summer Games, Brazil the 2016 Summer Games, South Korea the 2018 Winter Games, Japan the 2020 Summer Games, and China, again, the 2022 Winter Games. This trajectory suggests that there is a growing gap between the political

leadership of the IOC and the geographical locations of the Olympic Games. This is why it is necessary to understand how recent Olympic host communities and nations reshape and revisit the Olympic governance that has been historically Eurocentric.

From an institutional perspective the IOC differs from other global governance actors whose members represent the stakes and interests of their nation state because IOC members are private actors, which makes the IOC a private governing body – unlike the UN (Gauthier, 2017). This means that the IOC does not have a responsibility to nations whose Olympic Committees they have recognized, nor to host nations. Thus, the IOC is not under the legal influence of international treaties or agreements among nations (Klabbers, 2013). It stands as the highest global governing body.

The IOC governs many different institutional entities downward. This study joins others that explore how the Olympic Games' management is structured.

2.3.2 Management Structure of the Olympic Games

Frawley and Adair (2013) argued that “planning and staging the Olympics is one of the most complex tasks that event organizers and project management teams will ever undertake” (p. 1). The complexity and difficulties come from the ambulatory nature of the Olympic Games, which move from one Olympic host city to another every two years (four years for Summer and Winter respectively). Consequently, there are context-specific challenges for their centralized management committees and start-up knowledge required for the local OCOGs.

There are two essential characteristics associated with Olympic management (Frawley & Adair, 2003; Malfas, Theodoraki, & Houlihan, 2004). First is the external organizing features of the Games, which include media coverage, marketing the Games to the world, and the potential

consequences of the Games (Jones, 2001; Parent, 2015). The second is the internal features, which include organizational aspects such as the size and scale of the Games, timeline, and the number of athletes, delegations and visitors in attendance (Chappelet & Bayle, 2005). Aside from these dynamics, managing the Olympic Games is a “typical project, in the sense that it is time-constrained as to both total budget and number of employees, goal oriented, highly complex, and cross functional” (Lowendahl, 1995, p. 348). Since management begins right after a candidate city is selected to host, which is seven years prior to the actual Games, the life cycle of the Olympic Games’ management is shaped by its time-dependent characteristics.

The Organizing Committees are the most significant agents in the management schema because the IOC does not organize the Olympic Games itself, as it delegates the task to a particular organization: the Organizing Committee (Gauthier, 2017). During the seven years leading up to the Olympic Games, each Organizing Committee undergoes a starting phase, a growing phase, a declining phase, and a termination phase (Frawley & Adair, 2013; Meredith & Mantel, 1989). In its document, *Olympism and the Olympic Movement*, The IOC explained that Organizing Committees go through (a) a candidature phase, (b) a planning and preparation phase, (c) date of the Games, and (d) post-games dissolution (see Figure 2-1).



Figure 2-1. Lifecycle of an Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games
(The Olympic Museum Educational and Cultural Services, 2013)

The Organizing Committees thus directly manage the event and are responsible for ensuring that the Games are managed according to the standards established and expected by the IOC. In order to accomplish this, the Organizing Committees should communicate with the IOC, the International Federations (IFs hereafter), and participating NOCs. The IOC described the Olympic management structure as equally including athletes, NOCs, IFs, media, workforce (denoting the Organizing Committees), general public, the IOC, spectators, marketing partners, and the host community (see Figure 2-1, the final layer). The stake holders include “the Games clients and service culture. The Olympic Games are experienced by each of these Games clients; their different needs and expectations drive the organization, management and delivery of

services, facilities, and operations shaping the end Olympic Games product” (International Olympic Committee, 2007, p. 3).

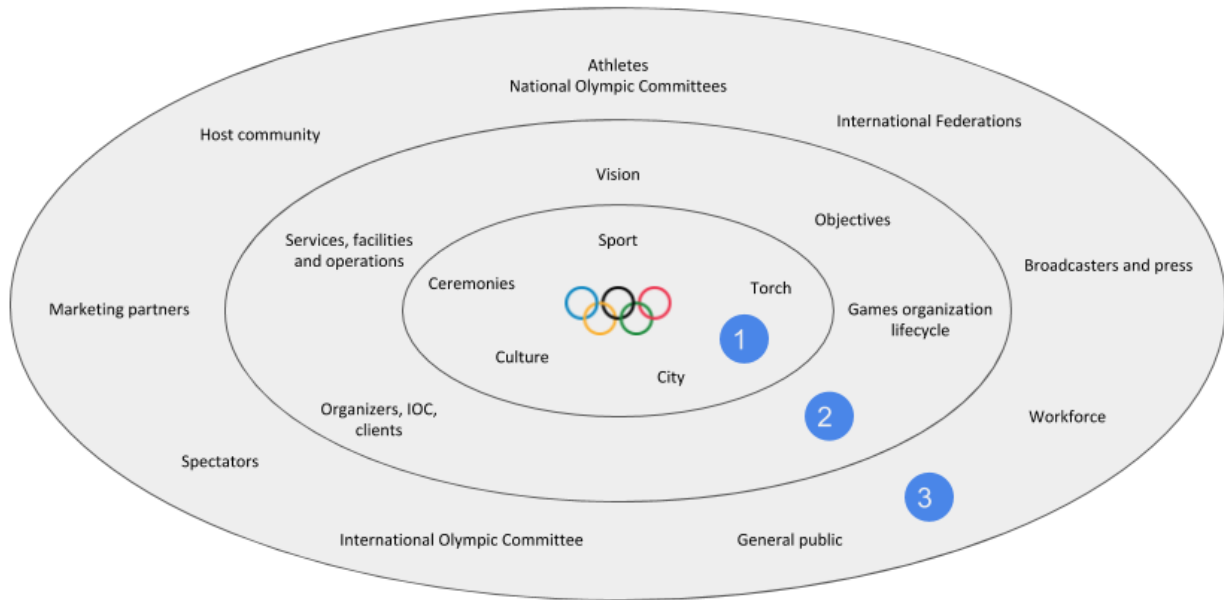


Figure 2-2. Olympic management structure (International Olympic Committee, 2007)

This dissertation study focuses on the core stakeholders: the Organizing Committee and host community (Hanstad, Parent, & Kristiansen, 2013).

In *The International Olympic Committee and the Olympic System: The governance of world sport*, Chappelet and Kübler-Mabbott (2008) examined the organizational system of Olympic governance. According to these authors, the Organizing Committee is established within eight months of winning the bid and then becomes “the main stakeholder” (Chappelet & Kübler-Mabbott, 2008, p. 90) under the contract between the NOC and the IOC. They also function as “the IOC’s main dialogue partner throughout the organizational phase” (p. 90). The IOC’s most recent developmental goal is maintaining the economic, social, and environmental sustainability of the host community – and so the Organizing Committee follows that framework

when establishing its high priority actions, such as constructing the necessary facilities (Chappelet & Kübler-Mabbott, 2008).

The Organizing Committee is thus a unique and unusual organization because it has neither a past nor a future. By definition every Organizing Committee and its main activities cease to exist within two weeks after the closing of the Olympic Games (Frawley & Toohey, 2009; Gratton & Preuss, 2008). Six months prior to the Games the Organizing Committee changes from being a classically functional organization (communication, marketing, finance, and human resources) to a decentralized and operational organization – this transformation enables it to more effectively manage competition venues and logistical areas. In this period, the Organizing Committee also manages the Olympic Village, media centers, or accreditation centers. Chappelet and Kübler-Mabbott (2008) described this period of change as particularly delicate because the existing hierarchical relations change with the restructuring.

The everyday work of the Organizing Committee has been increasingly monitored by the IOC, either directly or indirectly (Paquette et al., 2011). For example, the IOC Coordination Commission regularly visits future Olympic sites and remotely monitors every official document published by the Organizing Committee. The changing context of host communities (from ‘developed’ nations in Europe or North America to ‘developing’ nations outside these continents), influences the communication between the Organizing Committee and the IOC (Black & Peacock, 2011).

Most existing studies on Organizing Committees focused on the Summer Olympic Games, including Sydney’s 2000 Summer Games and Beijing’s 2008 Summer Games (Frawley, 2015; Frawley & Toohey, 2009; Heere & Xing, 2012; Halbwirth & Toohey, 2001; Xing & Chalip, 2009, 2012). Frawley’s (2015) study on the organizational power of Sydney’s

Organizing Committee found that organizing the Olympic Games is a consequence of both recent developments and countless social and organizational figurations that have developed over the years. He suggested that the Sydney Organizing Committee held three kinds of power: power of agency, power of relationships, and power of discipline. Its power was mainly derived from the Organizing Committee's authority, which had been transferred over from the IOC.

Frawley and Toohey's (2009) earlier study examined the power relations between the Australian Olympic Committee and the Sydney Organizing Committee. They found that the Australian Olympic Committees' long history and its established power supported its involvement with the Organizing Committee, and emphasized the necessity of early negotiations between the NOC, the Organizing Committee, and even the national government.

Heere and Xing (2012) studied members of the Organizing Committee for Beijing's 2008 Summer Games. They found that Chinese employees in the Organizing Committee viewed their work as an investment for their future and a service to their country. Local residents, however, were not included in the quantitative measurements of the employees' commitment to the Games. In another project, Xing and Chalip (2008) utilized a qualitative approach to examine the lived experiences of the Beijing Organizing Committee's employees two years prior to the Games. They found that participants alleviated their stress from work with social support, by giving positive meanings to the symbolic significance of the event, and by developing their career. The authors did a follow-up study immediately prior to the Games (Xing & Chalip, 2012). Although participants at that time still felt supported by their work environment, they experienced more challenges and were disturbed by the post-event job uncertainty. The authors strongly recommended implementing organizational support for post-event career transition. Existing studies have focused exclusively on the Organizing Committees or on the relations

between the Organizing Committee and higher governmental institutions. This has left a gap in our understanding of how the Organizing Committees relate to the local host communities. Few studies have engaged and integrated both groups from a holistic approach, and in her recent review article, Parent (2015) called attention to this gap. While there are several studies that were conducted with the organizers of sport events on a smaller scale (Green, 2001; Schulenkorf, Thomson, & Schlenker, 2011; Ziakas & Costa, 2010), to date only VanWynsberghe, Kwan, and Van Luijk (2013) conducted a study with the Organizing Committee of the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic Games on how the Committee engaged with the host community.

That said, there are numerous studies on how host communities perceive and support the Olympic Games. Gursoy and Kendall (2006), for example, developed a structural model using social exchange theory to assess how residents' perceived the impacts of the 2002 Winter Olympic Games. Five determinants directly and/or indirectly influenced residents' support: the level of community concern, ecocentric values, community attachment, perceived benefits, and perceived costs. In another study, Kaplanidou (2012) conducted a cross-sectional analysis of residents' quality of life after the Olympic Games with data collected from the four hosting towns of the Summer Olympic Games: Atlanta, Sydney, Athens, and Beijing. Based on her findings, she suggested that to produce long-term positive influences on residents' lives, it is necessary to utilize tangible and existing spaces so as to yield intangible outcomes. She also called for the IOC and the Organizing Committees to shift their focus to the social meaning of the event.

Muller (2012) also created a project utilizing social exchange theory that was designed to examine residents' perceptions regarding the 2014 Sochi Winter Games. His findings were centered on negative attitudes, including the increased cost of housing, unfair distribution of

monetary benefit, and the social tensions generated by expectations for the town's aesthetic improvement. Vetitnev and Bobina (2017) investigated residents' perceptions of the 2014 Sochi Olympic Games with a survey distributed five months prior to the Games. One important finding was that residents who were involved in the decision-making processes and who had more information about the event showed more positive attitudes towards hosting the event. On the other hand, residents who considered themselves excluded from Olympic-related planning and managing demonstrated more negative attitudes. Zhou and Ap (2009) surveyed Beijing residents' perceptions towards the consequences of the Beijing 2008 Games. The survey was distributed in 2004, four years prior to the event, which means that participants were asked to anticipate the impacts in order to answer the survey. Participants were classified as either embracers or tolerators, based on whether their answers demonstrated positive and/or mixed attitudes. A series of studies investigated how London residents perceived and supported the 2012 Summer Olympic Games (Atkinson, Mourato, Szymanski, & Ozdemiroglu, 2008; Konstantaki & Wickens, 2010; Ritchie, Shipway, & Cleeve, 2009; Pappas, 2014; Prayag et al., 2013). These findings overlapped and diverged in important ways. The studies similarly found that residents believed the Games enhanced the image of their city and their national pride. They diverged in terms of the causal relationships they found between perceived benefit and support. Some studies found that perceived benefit was related to support (Pappas, 2014; Ritchie et al., 2009), while others found only a partial or minimal relationship between the two variables (Prayag et al., 2013). Prayag et al. (2013) also clearly acknowledged that the sustainability of sport mega-events depends on the extent to which the residents' views are incorporated into the planning process.

2.3.3 Globalization and the Olympic Games

Existing literature considers the Olympic Games the clearest example of an event of global scale because athletes, delegates, visitors, and workers from more than 200 nations are invited to a host community. Moreover, since the host community changes every two years and each promotes its own identity and culture – which leads to incorporating local culture into the Olympic Games, such as in the Opening and the Closing Ceremonies – this event is also “the most fully global example of a localized event” (Nauright, 2004, p. 1330).

Geographically speaking, the Olympics were exclusively hosted by nations in the Global North until recently, when host communities were selected in East Asia, Latin America, Africa, and Eastern Europe (Gruneau & Horne, 2016). According to Black and Peacock (2011), this shift might be attributable to the fact that developing and post-developmental nations are participating in the Olympic bid process more than ever before. The Winter Games in particular have taken place in nations where winter sports have recently become part of the sport culture and history due to their growing economies and political power (Gauthier, 2016). Historically, Japan was the only nation outside of North America and Europe to hold the Winter Games twice (1972 Sapporo and 1998 Nagano) before the Millennium (Chappelet & Kübler-Mabbott, 2008). Now that there are new host community locations there are also calls for new development that can meet the needs of these powerful but as-of-yet underdeveloped nations. Thus, the management structure may change in ways that influence the process of planning, development, and staging. Despite the shifting host contexts, there is still a lack of research on newer host communities, particularly with regards to how their management strategies relate to Olympic-driven globalization and community development.

Roche (2005) maintained that despite the global cultural significance of the Olympics, globalization theorists have not paid enough attention to its dynamics. As a remedy Tolzmann (2015) suggested that we study the Olympic Games and their host communities because their relationship provides a site through which to explore the meaning of ‘going global’ (i.e., of becoming a global community) within the broader context of a globalizing world. Scholars in the sport studies field have recently begun to fill this gap in global studies by studying how Olympic host communities aspire to ‘go global’ (Black, 2007; Cornelissen, 2010; Paul, 2005; Surborg, Van Wynsberghe, & Wyly, 2008; Tolzmann, 2015).

As Surborg et al. (2008) have noted, by most measures the Winter Olympic Games are half to one-third as large as the Summer Games. That is, despite the globality of the Olympic Games as a whole, the Winter Games require more specialized geographical attention and infrastructural development. In their study of how the 2010 Olympic Games impacted Vancouver’s global growth (Surborg et al., 2008), they found that hosting of the Games enabled local actors to connect with global capital. While investments in Olympic infrastructure are place-bound due to the nature of the event, key facets of management, control, and the ownership of the host community’s development are becoming globalized. These processes were examined by Cornelissen (2010), whose work focused on emerging powers in global mega sporting events such as China, India, South Africa, and Russia. By hosting either the Olympic Games, the Commonwealth Games, or the FIFA World Cup, these nations showcased their economic achievement and rose to global prominence. In other words, these nations had ‘global aspirations’ that manifested in their seeking to increase their standing in the global system. The Olympic Games are, Cornelissen (2010) argued, serve as a “focal point for the type of society

and state these authorities [emerging powers] try to create, as well as for the position” (p. 3008) in the global order they attempt to craft.

Indeed, Paul (2005) recognized over a decade ago that ‘going global’ through the Olympic Games is the primary strategy taken by candidate cities to develop their communities. He expanded this thesis using Minneapolis and the St. Paul metropolitan area as an example of the complex ways groups with differing goals interact – specifically one that supported the globalization agenda and another that resisted it. Understandably, Paul (2005) found that there was tension between different stakeholders over whether or not to adopt the ‘going global’ strategy. In his study of the Olympic Games’ symbolic politics, Black (2005) found that there has generally been an impulse to use the Games as a way to “reframe the host” (p. 263). He emphasized that this impulse manifested most often by rapidly growing ‘semi-peripheral’ countries with goals of signaling developmental advances or arrival. For such semi-peripheral countries, the Olympic Games symbolize globality and thus hosting offers communities the potential to “transcend provincialism and historic insecurities and to embrace globality; competitiveness and excellence” (Whitson, 2004, pp. 1218-1224, as cited in Black, 2005, p. 264).

As the least westernized nation in the world to host the Olympic Games, China is a prime example. Brownell’s (2008) thorough analysis of the Chinese Olympic Games (Beijing, 2008) observed that these were only the third Summer Games held outside the West. She argued that when China won the Olympic bid it already had long standing global aspirations to join the capitalist part of the world. However, despite its efforts to promote Chinese traditions in the context of the Olympic Games, the nation struggled to do so because the globalized standards of

the IOC and the Games change in an extremely slow manner. Although China succeeded in promoting itself to the global sphere, it failed to increase its presence in global *Olympic* culture.

Regardless of a country's global aspirations, scholars have criticized the extent to which local communities benefit from hosting a global event. For example, Wilson (1996) argued that the Olympic Games and other mega sporting events are managed "in the interests of global flows rather than local communities" (p. 617). My study joins such critiques of globalizing host communities by investigating the aspirations of a South Korean host community and how those aspirations manifested through negotiations for Olympic-driven community development.

2.4 Community Development and the Olympic Games

An important approach to studying communities from the vantage of sustainable development is long-term prosperity. Central facets of this framework include a community's felt-needs, and its practices for self-help, participation, solidarity, and agency (Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004). As I spoke to earlier (**1.1 Background**), the relation between the Olympic Games and the development of host communities has been studied through economic and environmental dimensions. This study explicates community development as theorized by Bhattacharyya (1995, 2004), which helps us understand it from a social perspective along the three pillars of sustainability (economic, environmental, and social).

2.4.1 Pursuit of Community Development

Community development has been theorized by many disciplines, ranging from social work to business and finance (Hustedde & Ganowicz, 2002; Maxwell, Foley, Taylor, & Burton, 2015). Such theoretical heterogeneity is also the case for the term 'community.' Given the

general and specialized definitions of community and community development, it is necessary to provide a definition that is commensurate with the context of my study.

The fundamental element of a community development initiative is “people helping people improve their life conditions by addressing common interests” (Vail, 2007, p. 572). For Chavis and Wandersman (1990) community development refers to the process of improving the quality of a community, which can be a place of diverse relationships and collective political power. Misener and Mason (2009) took McMillan and Chavis’ (1986) definition and applied it to the context of a sport event so that it would imply both a geographical proximity of individuals and some social commonality binding them together. They thus define community development as “building active and sustainable local communities based on social justice and mutual respect, and changing power structures to remove the barriers that prevent people from participating in the issues that affect their lives” (p. 773). For Christenson, Fendley, and Robinson (1989), socially-directed action is an important facet of community development, in which “a group of people in a locality initiate a social action process (i.e., an intervention) to change their economic, social, cultural, or environmental situation” (p. 14). These conceptualizations emerged from different disciplines and consequently emphasized different elements, but they do share commonalities: the necessity of community members’ initiation and participation, improvement of the quality of life including better networks and collective power, and the possibility of social change through action (Bhattacharyya, 2004). Based off on these commonalities, Bhattacharyya (2004) provided two universal conditions that a concept of community development must satisfy:

First, it must be distinctive in its purpose and in its methodology. Second, it must be universal in scope: it must be applicable to all types of social formations, urban as well as rural, post-industrial as well as pre-industrial, to sedentary as well as nomadic

populations. Our task is therefore is to construct an unambiguous reference point to guide community development activities and to determine if certain activities fall within the orbit of community development. (p. 9)

This study is informed by Bhattacharyya's (1995, 2004) theory of community development, where the primary purpose is the pursuit of solidarity and agency according to self-help, felt needs, and participation (Bhattacharyya, 2004). The theory recognizes community as a form of solidarity and development as an activation of agency. According to him, community development is a "positive response to the historic process of erosion of solidarity and agency" (Bhattacharyya, 2004, p. 11). Community development must have a premise that people have a right to agency and that solidarity is a necessary element for a satisfying life. Further, Bhattacharyya argued that community development is "a part of the democracy project" (Bhattacharyya, 2004, p. 11), because at the center of democracy, there should be the vision of solidarity as well as emancipation from unnecessary domination, which overlaps with the concept of agency.

Bhattacharyya defined solidarity as "a shared identity (derived from place, ideology, or interest) and a code for conduct or norms, both deep enough that a rupture affects the members emotionally and in other ways" (p. 12). While solidarity is about shared meaning and relationships within a community, agency focuses on each constituent (member) and her/his autonomy (Giddens, 1984). Agency is the "capacity of people to order their world, the capacity to create, reproduce, change, and live according to their meaning systems, to have the powers to define themselves as opposed to being defined by others" (Bhattacharyya, 2004, p. 12). Self-help encourages community members to initiate development according to their felt-needs. Together

these practices enable them to resist developmental imposition from above and facilitate participation in community initiatives.

Building off of Bhattacharyya's (1995) discussion of solidarity and agency, Hustedde and Ganowicz (2002) identified three major concerns for community development: structure, power, and shared meaning. In their model of community development, structure, power, and shared meaning influence the direction and impact of a community development practice. Structure refers to the social practices, organizations, and groups that have a role to play in solidarity, while power signifies the relationships between those who control or have greater access to resources and those who do not. Shared meaning refers to "social meaning, especially symbols, that people give to a place, physical things, behavior, events, or action" (Hustedde & Ganowicz, 2002, p. 4). For Frisby and Millar (2002) an underlying assumption of community development should be that "social action is more likely to occur when the lay knowledge based on the lived experience of citizens . . . is combined with the instrumental knowledge of public sector staff" (p. 211). Put differently, social change can be affected by focusing on a community's needs and desire and then developing activities that empower local residents.

But this approach is antithetical to conventional managerial strategies for sport events, which employ a 'top-down approach' that assumes those in managerial positions have the expertise and experience to make sound decisions (Frisby & Millar, 2002). A community development approach, on the other hand, challenges top-down philosophy by suggesting that planning and implementing are most effective when based on the direct input and participation of community members and citizens (Hylton & Totten, 2008).

2.4.2 The Olympic Games' Impact on Host Community Development

The relationship between the Olympic Games and host communities is more convoluted than ever because there is an increasing gap between the globality of the Games (Gruneau & Horne, 2016; Roche, 2000) and the hosts' traditions – especially with the Winter Olympic Games, which are predominantly moving to countries where winter sports are not a core part of their sporting culture (e.g., South Korea and China). To unpack these complex dynamics, I engage with existing literature on the relation between the Olympic Games and the social context of host communities.

As mentioned in **Chapter I**, the IOC launched its new developmental goals through the Olympic Games and now promotes three pillars of sustainable development (i.e., economic, social, and environmental). This began in 1999, when the IOC adopted the United Nations' (UN) *Agenda 21 for Sustainable Development* and established the *Olympic Movement's Agenda 21 for Sustainable Development*, which asserted that the Olympic Movement and Games would advance sustainable development for the future (International Olympic Committee, 1999). Fifteen years later, in 2014, the IOC published an updated action plan entitled *Agenda 2020*, which responded to existing criticism about the economic, social, and environmental cost of the Games. The social ideals promoted by the IOC's sustainable development model included sustainability, solidarity, and fundamental equality of people (International Olympic Committee, n.d.). This trajectory demonstrates that sustainability has become a foundational value over the last two decades (Weiler & Mohan, 2010).

Scholars within developmental studies literature have indicated that despite the stated significance of social sustainability for achieving developmental goals, what this construct means is ambiguous and disputed (Dempsey, Bramley, Power, & Brown, 2011). This is because the

social side of sustainable development has been neglected in favor of the economic or environmental sides (Cuthill, 2010). As a result, social sustainability is the least conceptually developed of the three pillars (Kunz, 2006; Partridge, 2005). Partridge (2005) argued that through extensive community-based research it is possible to provide a ‘practice’ perspective of social sustainability, and as of late scholars have tried to do just this. Various principles and concepts have emerged, including human well-being, equity, democratic and engaged governance, democratic civil society, social justice, and social infrastructure (Cuthill, 2010; Magis & Shinn, 2009). Dempsey et al. (2011) helpfully suggested two integrative concepts as pivotal for socially sustainable development: social equity and the sustainability of community.

Existing ambiguities over what sustainable community development means are only redoubled when in the context of the Olympic Games. As a result, there have been a plethora of terms generated to describe the social consequences of the Olympic Games, such as social impact (Hall, 1992; Waitt, 2003), intangible impact (Atkinson et al., 2008), soft impact (Preuss, 2007), social legacy (Agha, Fairley, & Gibson, 2012), social responsibility (Carey, Mason, & Misener, 2011) and social outcome (Minnaert, 2012). Chalip (2004, 2006, 2017) has added to this list ‘social leverage’ as a way of focusing on the *process* of event planning and management instead of assessing the consequences of it after the event is over.

Each of these terms come with specialized definitions. For example, Hall (1992) defined social impact as “the manner in which events effect changes in the collective and individual value systems, behavior patterns, community structures, lifestyle, and quality of life” (p. 67). Negative social impacts would include problems such as increased crime, social dislocation, and/or a loss of community identity (Hall & Hodges, 1996). Despite some claims that the Olympic Games would enhance the host community’s sense of community and pride (Mihalik &

Simonetta, 1999; Waitt, 2003), a breakdown or loss of one's sense of place may also happen as a result of community transformation (Dovey, 1989). For Waitt (2003) an important dynamic to consider is the emotional dimension of social impact, which he studied by measuring and analyzing the enthusiasm of Sydney residents (hosts of the 2000 Summer Games). His findings suggested that attitudes towards such events are modifiable across time because the relationships forming between individuals and the event are continuously negotiated and renegotiated. Agha et al. (2012), on the other hand, studied the positive psychological state initiated by the Olympic Games and utilized the term 'social legacy' to do so. They found that the 2000 Sydney Olympic bid produced a discourse that potential social legacy could be "an imagined national identity within sporting traditions" (p. 198). It was consequently suggested that the bidding and planning processes should involve local people to enhance and maintain the positive psychological outcome (Gursoy & Kendall, 2006). The IOC has since begun to look at residents' support for the Olympics. To better understand the social outcomes of the Olympic Games, Minnaert (2012) chose socially excluded groups for her study. She argued that the Olympic Games generally brought few benefits for socially excluded groups despite such imagined benefits often being the justification for the bidding process. She suggested that to make the Olympic Games better for more people we need to study ways to enhance social sustainability.

Muller (2014) criticized the failure of the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympic Games to meet the sustainable development goal they stated in their Candidature File. Along with low economic and environmental sustainability, they also ignored social sustainability during the preparation process. Residents of Sochi thus perceived negative social consequences during the preparation process *and* after the Games, ultimately insisting that they did not receive any benefit from hosting the Games. In Muller's other study (2012) of the Sochi residents' perceptions towards

the Olympic Games – conducted in the same period – almost 80% of the responding population reported that participation in the planning for the Olympic Games had been low or very low.

To address such participation issues, Chalip (2004, 2006, 2017) suggested a social leverage model, which is an action plan for planning and managing sporting events and for integrating intangible outcomes. His model considers both emotional and psychological states as social outcomes of events, and offers strategic plans for targeting specific social development. He drew on Handelman (1990) to make use of a concept called ‘liminoid social climate’ (Chalip, 2006). Liminality is “a feeling of celebration and an accompanying sense that social roles and rules have been relaxed or even suspended,” which he argues can be generated through an event or events (Chalip, 2017, p. 410). This is important because liminality can facilitate a sense of belonging (called *communitas*) and generate a large volume of content for the event such as discourses and narratives. Chalip’s social leverage framework (2004, 2006, 2017) understands *communitas* as an opportunity to draw the attention of event stakeholders to targeted social issues, foster social interaction, and prompt a feeling of celebration. He articulated four ways these goals can be achieved: (a) aligning the event with those social issues, (b) aligning values between social issues and focal sport subcultures, (c) lengthening visitor stays (to increase their engagement with the targeted issues), and (d) enticing attendees’ engagement with targeted social issues. Event media can be a strategic tool for (a) showcasing social issues through advertising and reporting and (b) using the event for issue-related publicity (Chalip, 2017).

Existing studies on the social consequences of the Olympic Games have a tendency to regard social impact as emotional, without considering the practical and procedural dimensions. However, the Olympic Games is a mega-project that demands a tremendous investment of “human, financial, and physical resources from the communities which stage them” (Kidd,

1992). If we are to understand the social consequences of the Olympics – especially in the host communities – we need to broaden our scope of inquiry to include practices and actions that will ultimately contribute to the communities.

2.5 Intersection of Globalization, Community Development, and the Winter Games

Scholars of globalization have sought to understand how ‘global cities’ function dynamically in a global political economy (Friedmann, 1986, 1995; Sassen, 1991, 1994; Taylor, 1997). These studies are rooted in world-systems theory and like my study, they seek to reveal “the role of global processes in constituting local places and social formations as nodes in a global urban network” (Paul, 2005, p. 2106). But globalization does not only impact and transform urban centers into global cities. Rural communities have increasingly been under global influence in the form of developmental initiatives, local elites’ aspirations for ‘going global’, and growing networks between urban and rural communities.

Scholars have argued that globalization challenges the quality of rural livelihood (Bebbington, 2001; Woods & McDonagh, 2011; Woods, 2013). One of the most balanced positions is Woods’ (2013) claim that globalization presents both opportunities and challenges to rural Europe, though one of the major challenges is restructuring the communities and their economy (Woods, 2007, 2011). A potential consequence of this social and economic restructuring is the homogenization and standardization of rural areas, which produces a ‘global countryside’ (Woods, 2007). Woods (2013) argued that though globalization in general may have reconfigured traditional notions of core and periphery, “the collapse of traditional industries has produced new economic blackspots and lagging regions” (p. 100). Relatedly, Richardson (2000, p. 65) has noted that the continuing “emphasis on cities and regions as drivers of

development and foci of policy attention, threatens the identity of rural areas” and marginalizes the “distinctive interests of rural communities” (Woods, 2013, p. 100). Bebbington’s study (2001) on communities in the Andes region in South America offered yet another case study of how globalization influences rural areas. Since globalization varies greatly across communities he argued that we must consider “the [specific] types and sequences of globalized relationships in which people and places have been enmeshed” (p. 414).

In light of this critical discussion on how rural areas are globalized, the Winter Olympic Games is worth examining because its unique rurality has not been given attention by either scholars of globalization nor the Olympic Games. My study takes up Gold’s and Gold’s (2017) call to recognize the importance of spatial contrasts because urban and rural development can vary between provinces, “perhaps reflecting upland-lowland contrasts” (p. 362). In China’s 2008 Beijing Games, for example, the rural areas within the host community were underdeveloped and so the process of globalization they underwent was dramatically entangled with the process of urbanization. Pileggi (2015) arrived at a similar conclusion about the 2022 Winter Olympic Games host, near Beijing. According to these studies the major difference between urban and rural development is that rural communities have not been sufficiently urbanized, and so their development process is driven by both the central government and the global power. As a result, Pileggi (2015) found globalization accompanied homogenization and forced rural communities accommodate to the standards of the already globalized and urbanized areas. Theodoropoulou, Vamvakari, and Mitoula (2009) investigated these dynamics in the context of the 2004 Summer Olympic Games held in Athens because of how planning and executing the Games bore consequences for the community development of a rural community located to the East of Athens. Their study found that the community was affected significantly by the social and

economic changes driven by Olympic related infrastructural development. More specifically, they found that there was an increase in population and real estate construction and in that process residential land increased at the expense of farmland.

2.6 South Korean Context

Alice Amsden paid particular attention to South Korea in her book *Asia's Next Giant: South Korea and Late Industrialization* (1989). By 'late industrialization' she meant the process by which a nation's industries learn from earlier innovative nations rather than innovate themselves. South Korea, together with Japan and Taiwan (her so called "Asian Tigers"), grew faster than other emerging nations like Brazil, Turkey, India, and Mexico (Amsden, 1989). In the case of South Korea, Amsden (1989) argued that the fast development was made possible by the active intervention of a strong state. The government's rationale for intervening in speedy development and transformation was based on wanting to catch up with innovation (e.g., Germany and the US) rather than inventing (e.g., Britain).

The development rationale of 'catching up' manifested in the government's continuous enthusiasm for hosting sport mega-events. Black (2005) called this phenomenon an impulse for 'going global' that is often assumed by rapidly growing countries who want to signal developmental advances or arrival. We can see this in South Korea's having hosted multiple sport mega-events: 1988 Seoul Summer Olympic Games, 1999 Asian Winter Games, 2002 FIFA World Cup, 2011 Daegu World Championship in Athletics, 2014 Asian Summer Games, 2015 Summer Universiade, and 2018 PyeongChang Winter Games. In their edited collection *Triple Asian Olympics: "Asia rising" – the pursuit of national identity, international recognition and global esteem*, Mangan, Collins, and Ok (2013) acknowledged that sports have played an integral

role in the cultural diplomacy and expression of national prowess displayed by South Korea. Indeed, the Olympic Games have had a significant transformational impact on South Korea, making it the “axis of global geo-political and economic power shifts to the East” (p. ii). In the same volume, Mangan (2013) argued that it was originally the 1988 Seoul Olympics that “validated South Korea’s view that it had arrived on the global stage after much hardship.” (p. 4). Seoul underwent dramatic development for the Olympic Games and that experience provided a rationale for PyeongChang County and Gangwon Province to apply for the 2018 Winter Olympic bid.

South Korean scholars have conducted studies on these Games and its derivative matters. For example, Kim (2007) analyzed the news reports on the two lost Winter Olympic bids (for the 2010 and 2014 Games), which circulated between 2002 to 2007. He found that over half the news reporting had a positive tone, suggesting that the overall media reaction to hosting the Winter Olympic Games was positive. In another study Park (2013) examined how the local government of Gangwon Province initiated a development plan in relation to the 2018 Winter Olympic Games. She argued that the Gangwon Provincial government promoted the Winter Olympic Games as a national project in order to secure its economic hegemony. The Gangwon Provincial government also utilized its economic hegemony to invite the national government to invest in its social infrastructure. The Provincial government thus utilized the Winter Olympic Games strategically to politically and economically promote Gangwon Province within South Korea.

Seo and Park (2007) conducted one of the first studies on PyeongChang residents’ perceptions, focusing specifically on how locals felt about bidding a third time for the Winter Olympic Games after having lost twice. They found that 83.8% of respondents supported the

third bid. However, the study did not specify where in PyeongChang the survey was distributed. This lack of clarity is important because PyeongChang County covers many sub-divisions where Olympic-related facilities will not be built. In his study about the civil society of Gangwon Province, Han (2010) suggests that there were not enough opportunities for local residents to participate in discussion about the 2018 Winter Olympic Games.

More recently academic attention has focused on post-Olympic matters. Shin and Lee (2018) examined how local residents perceived the regional economic changes driven by hosting the 2018 Winter Olympic Games. Based on interviews with residents they suggested that there were two contrasting perspectives: the positive group had higher expectations that an enhanced community image would boost the local economy, while the negative group lost the developmental enthusiasm they had after the Olympic Games. Relatedly Yang, Song, and Moon (2019) studied the inter-group conflicts that arose in the 2018 host community. They surveyed more than 200 residents in the broader Gangwon Province and found that conflicts were rooted in doubts about the impact of the Olympic Games. There were also conflicts of interest and conflicts of values. In another study Kim, Nam, and Kim (2018) compared local residents' pre- and post-perceptions of how the Olympic Games contributed to the community. Residents perceived that the Olympic Games had contributed to regional economic growth, improvement of infrastructure, and tourism development. There were no negative aspects noted in this study. These three recent studies of the local residents and their community offer conflicting perspectives, and thus, my study is designed to further understand the complex dynamics of Olympic-related development and its local consequences on experience, solidarity and agency of the community.

It is worth noting that Kim and Kim's (2018) study was grounded on world-systems theory. They focused on the experience and perceptions of Korean reporters working on site at the Olympic Games, and found that regional and local reporters were pushed into minor roles and marginalized by the world-wide scale of the Olympic Games, which prioritized reporters of transnational media companies. Consequently, some were not able to obtain press accreditation. Thus, the core and periphery structure manifested through the local reporters' experiences in which they perceived themselves located in the periphery compared to the reporters from the global news companies like the Cable News Network (CNN) or the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), even though the Olympic Games were held in their own region. World-systems theory was also employed by Lee (2016) in his theoretical evaluation of the Games' sociocultural meaning. He argued that the Winter Olympic Games in South Korea will be an event through which white supremacy and Western cultural hegemony are continuously reinforced, and that hosting the event reflects the Western cultural imperialism and Orientalism embedded in South Korean cultural politics. Lee's argument (2016) provides a meaningful theoretical insight for this study because it employed world-systems theory to examine the global structure of the Olympic Games. However, my study furthers existing analyses by incorporating an empirical approach that involves qualitative data collection and analysis.

2.7 Summary of Chapter II

My study is fundamentally grounded in critical theory to critic and challenge the understanding of the current Olympic management structure and its influence on the Olympic-driven development of host communities. As frameworks, I draw from theories of globalization that include Wallerstein's world-systems theory (1974, 1998, 2004), and glocalization and

globalization as complementing concepts to globalization (Robertson, 1994, 1995; Ritzer, 1995, 2003). I put these in conversation with Bhattacharyya's theory of community development (1995, 2004) in order to examine how the Olympic Games interacts with a local host community.

The literature suggests that globalization has been a significant factor in the Olympic management following the process of globalization that has reduced the physical and perceived distance between and among people and locations. The global Olympic management structure embraces Eurocentric management strategies, standards, and requirements for each host community that may not be located in Europe or North America. My study articulates the gap in the literature on how the global – but historically Eurocentric – management of the Olympic Games influences the process of development occurring in a host community located in Asia. The interaction between the Organizing Committee and local residents of the host community is an under-researched area in the literature. That said, this study advances the extant literature by embracing the global, the Olympic Games and the IOC, to collectively understand how the globality of the Olympic Games is managed and mediated by the Organizing Committee, and how local residents respond to the practices.

I build off these theories and literature so as to advance our understanding of how local residents and the POCOG perceived and experienced Olympic-driven community development through an ethnographic approach that covers the pre- and post-Olympic period (2017 through 2018).

CHAPTER III

METHOD

3.1 Critical Ethnography

I situate this study within critical theory as an overarching paradigm. To achieve the purpose of the study, critical ethnography is utilized as the main research method throughout the study process. Burawoy (2000) stated that “with the help of theory, ethnography could, at least in principle, link up the local to the global” (p. 2). Kincheloe and McLaren (2000) informatively suggested that critical ethnography is the ‘doing’ of critical theory. This study follows their argument that critical ethnography is critical theory in action and that it will inform us with the existing connection between the local and the global.

Being critical is one of the recent trends in sport management research, particularly during the last decade. As Frisby (2005) argued, critical social science is an underused paradigm in sport management. She recognized the necessity of critical research in sport management in that the paradigm would help reveal “the bad and the ugly side of sport” (p. 1), so we can find new ways to promote the positive sides of it. Along with her argument, this research has put importance on promoting social change by challenging the status quo as well as dominant ways of thinking and acting that have been beneficial to those in power.

Critical ethnography stands upon the traditions of ethnography, post-positivism, critical social theory, community-based action research, symbolic interactionism, and cultural studies (Beal, 2002; Denzin, 2001, 2003; Thomas, 1993). The present study integrates Averill’s (2006) assertion that “the focus is on the discovery, interpretation, and application of local knowledge to practice, rather than on testing hypotheses or outcomes” (p. 3), and Thomas’ (1993) idea that the central premise of the critical ethnography is that “one can be both scientific and critical, and that

ethnographic description offers a powerful means of critiquing culture and the role of research within it” (p. vii). Thomas (1993) also pointed out one of the most important parts of critical ethnography’s definition, saying that “critical ethnography is conventional ethnography with a political purpose” (p. 4). This relates back to Stuart Hall’s (1997) comment on representation, where he understood representation of people as how people are treated by society.

Throughout the Olympics and sport mega-events studies conducted thus far, the perspectives of local residents of the Olympic towns have not often been included in the studies. Moreover, considering the case of the Olympic Games, the host community is changed every four years both for the Summer and the Winter Games. This suggests that every host community has different economic, social, cultural, and environmental contexts before and after the Olympic Games, which leads to the necessity of more studies addressing each case, especially regarding local residents’ perspectives. Rotating locations means that at each Games, there is a new Organizing Committee formed to manage each Games. As mentioned in **Chapter II**, the Organizing Committee is the main leader in the process of planning and managing the Olympic Games, with guidance from the IOC. The Organizing Committee’s administrative decisions directly influence the local community. Thus, the perceptions and actions of the Organizing Committee and those of the local residents are related to each other, mostly the latter being influenced by the former. Despite this relationship, few studies have engaged both with the Organizing Committee and local residents. Moreover, the scarcity of studies focusing on local residents, along with Hall’s (1997) argument on representation and treatment of people, also shows us how the local residents have been often neglected by academia. The fact that residents have not been well-represented in scholarship may mean they have not been considered as important as economic impacts, modernization, or development from a macro perspective.

To include the perceptions and actions of the Organizing Committee, the local residents' lived experiences and voices, and the interaction between the two groups in the context of Olympic-driven community development, I take a position as a critical ethnographer. Ethnographic imperative, particularly argued by Blumer (1969), calls for a method in social science that can collect data from the everyday actions of people. He also argued that a researcher should be immersed in the context she studies. The ability of a researcher to understand the participants' perspective is important in this type of study. As mentioned above, a political purpose is integrated into the conventional ethnography to make critical ethnography a catalyst for social change. In this aspect, I stand with Madison (2012) and Thomas (1993) in that a critical ethnographer moves from describing 'what is' to stating 'why this is and what can be done about it' (Carspecken, 1996; Denzin, 2001). Thus, whatever the context of the study is, the critical ethnographer takes ethical responsibility to address processes of unfairness and injustice within a particular lived domain. In other words, critical ethnography embraces the ethics in it because it already has ethical components in the definition and purpose. Critical ethnography also helps focus the researcher on power issues and processes. She is encouraged to focus on the ways in which people accept or resist specific sets of power relations in their everyday lives.

The discussion of a researcher's ethical responsibility goes further into the emancipatory implications of critical ethnography. Carspecken (1996) stated that "criticalists find contemporary society to be unfair, unequal, and both subtly and overtly oppressive for many people. We do not like it and we want to change it" (p. 7). Thomas (1993) depicted the way of "applying a subversive worldview to the conventional logic of cultural inquiry" (p. vii). According to him, the subversive view is not in opposition to conventional ethnography, rather, it is a more direct way of thinking about and challenging the existing relationships among

society, knowledge, and political action. Thus, through challenging existing power and knowledge, the critical ethnographer resists domestication and already-domesticated-knowledge (Madison, 2012). She may utilize resources, skills, and even privileges available to her to approach and go beyond the boundary that domesticated research has not crossed to immerse herself into the voices and experiences of participants whom otherwise would not have received attention. Through going beyond the boundary, the critical ethnographer contributes to crafting “emancipatory knowledge and discourses of social justice” (Madison, 2012, p. 6). This is why critical ethnographers choose certain fields or issues of study that otherwise hide under the shadow of power differences and existing assumptions. In other words, as Schutz (1972) stated, doing critical ethnography is challenging ‘taken for granted’ reality and revealing what hidden meanings and unrecognized consequences are there beneath the surface.

Referring to these emancipatory implications of critical ethnography, this study tries to challenge the current belief that has long been constructed and promoted by the IOC; that of the developmental potential of the Olympic Games, particularly regarding the sustainable community development of the host. The present study synthesizes, and explores at the micro-level, arguments on the importance of stakeholders who have not been involved in previous studies and the significance of their lived experiences and daily social interactions from a perspective that integrates the global-local relationship. Some studies on sport mega-events have already argued that gains from events are usually not equal (Schausteck de Almeida, Bolsmann, Marchi Junior, & de Souza, 2015). However, after winning the bid, the IOC, and the national South Korean government, have only promoted the positive side of the 2018 Winter Olympic Games’ influence on the community of Daegwallyeong-myeon. I engaged in dialogue with the Organizing Committee members and the local residents to inquire what they know and

experience about the Olympic Games' contribution as a way of achieving community development and what types of knowledge with which they have been provided. The local residents were asked about knowledge and news they had been given by the Organizing Committee regarding the development of community through the Olympic Games. A description and critique of the social and political context of the town and examination of the ways in which participants interpret and act within the context were added through collecting text data and observation, either participant or non-participant. As Beal (2002) suggested, this study assumes that participants have agency, or the ability to redefine and reconstruct their social and political context. This agency is crucial because it is the basis for bottom-up social change, and it also links back to the theory of community development (Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004), which informed this study as well.

Following a discussion on the critical ethnographer's positionality and belonging, a review of the specific methods for this study is provided.

3.2 Researcher's Positionality

Fine (1994) suggested three positions of the qualitative researcher. First is the ventriloquist, who merely transmits information without a political stance. Here, the researcher aims to be invisible and tries to remove the self from the text. Second is the positionality of voices. In this case, participants' voices carry forward their meanings and lived experiences opposed to dominant discourses. The researcher is vaguely present but not addressed or assigned a role. The last is the activism stance, which I will take in this study. The researcher with the activism stance takes an exact position to intervene in hegemonic discourse and practice so that she can serve as an advocate who exposes the situation of a marginalized group of people. The

researcher is also expected to offer alternatives, that is, suggestions on what we can do about the situation. I position myself with the activism stance and agrees with Noblit, Flores, and Murillo (2004) that “critical ethnographers must explicitly consider how their acts of studying and representing people and situations are acts of domination even as critical ethnographers reveal the same in what they study” (p. 3).

This is extended to difficulties of being a critical ethnographer in terms of our own power, privilege, and biases as a researcher in academia and higher education (Beal, 2002). Inequity in power relations between a researcher and participants should be considered because our goal is not to colonize the participants, but to challenge and redefine the reality. In this sense, a concern for positionality can be understood as a critical reflexivity of the researcher’s presence and role (Thomas, 1993). Reflection refers to the act of repeated thinking about a research project. The researcher must attempt to be self-aware of the process and consequences of the project’s knowledge production (Gadamer, 1976), keeping in mind that her own values and ideology may influence her work. It is very necessary to turn back on herself (Davis, 1999), to stay accountable for her own research paradigms, positions of authority, and moral responsibility (Madison, 2012). Several questions to ask were suggested by Madison (2012): “What are we going to do with the research, and who ultimately will benefit? Who gives us the authority to make claims about where we have been? How will our work make a difference in people’s lives?” (p. 8). These questions helped me to not fall into the self-constructed world but to stay in clear position inside the studied community, with the participants. It should be noted that when we as researchers go into the field, we bring our own belongings with us. Our belongings to epistemologies and ethics are delivered to the studied community, and this delivery leads us to

examine connections between self and community, between community and theory, and between theory and justice (Rowe, 2005).

For this project, my positionality has been established as one who came into, or visited, the small, rural, mountain community of Daegwallyeong-myeon, where there were few non-locals before the Olympic preparation began, and as one who brought the identity of a young, female, Seoul-native elite who was pursuing a doctorate in a US institution, but at the same time a former winter sport athlete who had previously lived in Daegwallyeong-myeon for several years during the winter seasons from 2002 through 2012. The identity as a young, Seoul-native female doctoral student coming from the US may have hindered the initiation of dialogue when I first met with participants who were Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents. I used my past lived experience of having been a part-time local resident of Daegwallyeong-myeon in the past as a way to build rapport with participants. Even though I am not local, I am still Korean, I speak Korean, and am aware of the community details better than a newcomer. I emphasized to my participants who were the residents that I had witnessed the changes happened in Daegwallyeong-myeon for more than a decade due to the Olympic bids, preparation, and staging, and that I have a commitment to observe and record the changes from an academic perspective.

Lenskyj (2008) argued that most academics with a market or institutional relationship with the Olympics are as a result often less critical and write from a relatively privileged position. As a recipient of the IOC and the Olympic Studies Centre Ph.D. Research Grant, this irony was not lost upon me. However, the starting point for this study emerged initially from a complementary set of circumstances. As a native South Korean who was born in Seoul and as a professional snowboarder, I had spent more than 10 winter seasons in and near Daegwallyeong-myeon for training and working. During these years, I had witnessed Daegwallyeong-myeon

going through a dramatic change due to its efforts for the Olympic bids. This has hinted at my ontological position in relation to work on Winter Olympic Games, the force of globalization, and development of a community that has informed this analysis of Daegwallyeong-myeon's past and future related to the Olympic Games.

According to Madison (2012), it is generally suggested that a researcher should have a basic level of understanding of the field. Sharing experience enhances rapport with participants as well as helps the researcher be included into the community (Seidman, 2013). Furthermore, this positionality derived from the layers of her identity must be repeatedly self-considered. For example, my use of Seoul-style Korean may have been different from the local dialect of some of my participants. I may have seemed snobbish because of my background, which contrasted largely with most residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon. Actively engaging in dialogue and sharing my previous experiences with potential participants helped to address challenges derived from my identity that was different from the Organizing Committee members or the local residents.

Madison (2012) described dialogue as "the quintessential encounter with others" (p. 11). Thomas (1993) also argued similarly that the power of interaction with others should never be underestimated, in that it can lead us to build an expanded social network in which we can unite with others and develop solidarity. Engaging in dialogue is usually done through interviewing in the field. Similar to Madison's (2012) emphasis on the importance of dialogue, Rubin and Rubin (1995) underscored the significance of interviewing as a hallmark experience of fieldwork research. They argued that we must keep in mind that the interviewee is not an object, but a subject with agency, personal narrative, and history. Through participating in an interview, contradictions may arise between researcher and participant (Beal, 2002). The researcher and

participant can both examine the contradiction between the researcher's world and the participant's world (Denzin, 1992).

3.3 Data Collection

I utilized diversified types of data in this study through the fieldwork of four months in Daegwallyeong-myeon to achieve the goal as a critical ethnographic project. The major strategy was to undertake two extensive field visits to Daegwallyeong-myeon, the main research site, before, during, and after the Olympic Games. Before this study began, I visited Daegwallyeong-myeon in the summer of 2016 as a pilot for four days, which gave me timely information of what was happening in Daegwallyeong-myeon in relation to the Olympic Games. It was five years after Daegwallyeong-myeon won the Olympic bid, and one and a half year before the actual Olympic Games. Later, the first fieldwork took place from June through August in 2017, when the Olympic preparations were going on in Daegwallyeong-myeon. The second fieldwork took place from February through April in 2018. This visit covered the actual Olympic and Paralympic Games and a month of post-Olympic period (from March 19 to April 15). Figure 3-1 shows a detailed timeline for the two field visits. During the fieldwork, collection of textual data, in-depth interviews with participants, participant and non-participant observations, and thick description of the site using field notes comprised data collection. Having diversified types of data collected through the fieldwork was intended to enhance the internal validity of the study. It created a better understanding of what I, as an ethnographer, encountered, experienced, and interpreted in the field and helped me to deepen my understanding of the context and phenomena.

During the two field visits, Daegwallyeong-myeon underwent rapid changes aiming at successfully staging the 2018 Winter Olympic Games and managing post-Olympic community development. Very few studies have taken a longitudinal approach to explore the procedural changes happening in the host communities of the Olympic Games (Ma et al., 2011). Moreover, previous studies examining the preparation period showed the preparation stage to be the most dynamic in terms of change and social interaction (Muller, 2012; Porter, 2009). Thus, the goal of the field work was to better understand the historical and current context of the community as well as to take part in participant observation and in-depth interviews with participants. Field notes were crafted concurrently throughout the fieldwork.

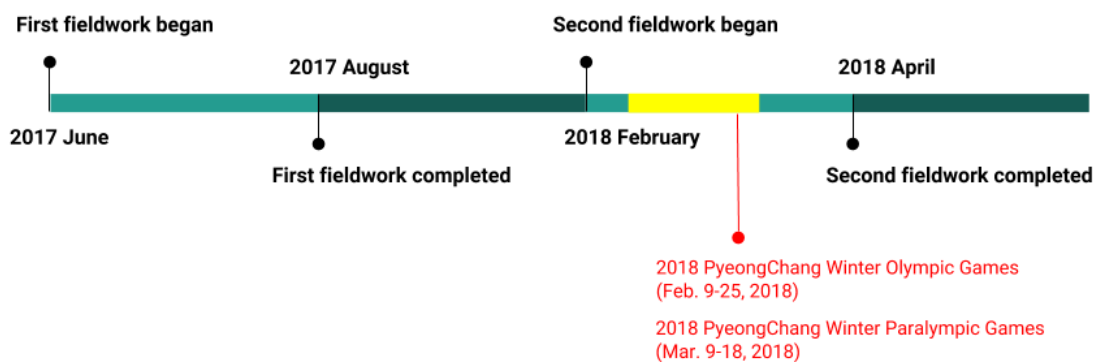


Figure 3-1. Timeline for two field visits to Daegwallyeong-myeon

3.3.1 Research Site

This research was conducted within the geographical community of Daegwallyeong-myeon in South Korea, host community for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games, the second Winter Games held in Asia throughout the Olympic history. Daegwallyeong-myeon is a

part of PyeongChang County, and the county is a part of Gangwon Province (see Figure 3-2). In the Figure 3-2, the location with red pin is Daegwallyeong-myeon, which is on the other side of the peninsula from the capital city, Seoul. The Olympic Plaza including the Main Stadium for the Opening and Closing Ceremonies and the Olympic Village were constructed and located in the geographical community of Daegwallyeong-myeon (Figure 3-3). The POCOG began their first organizational operated in Seoul in 2011, but later moved to Daegwallyeong-myeon in June 2016 to fully execute the Olympic management on site (Song, 2016). Figure 3-4 shows an enlarged map of PyeongChang County (POCOG, n.d.). Daegwallyeong-myeon is located in the far right corner in Figure 3-4, which is the Northeastern part of PyeongChang County. More detailed description of Daegwallyeong-myeon will be presented in **Chapter IV**.

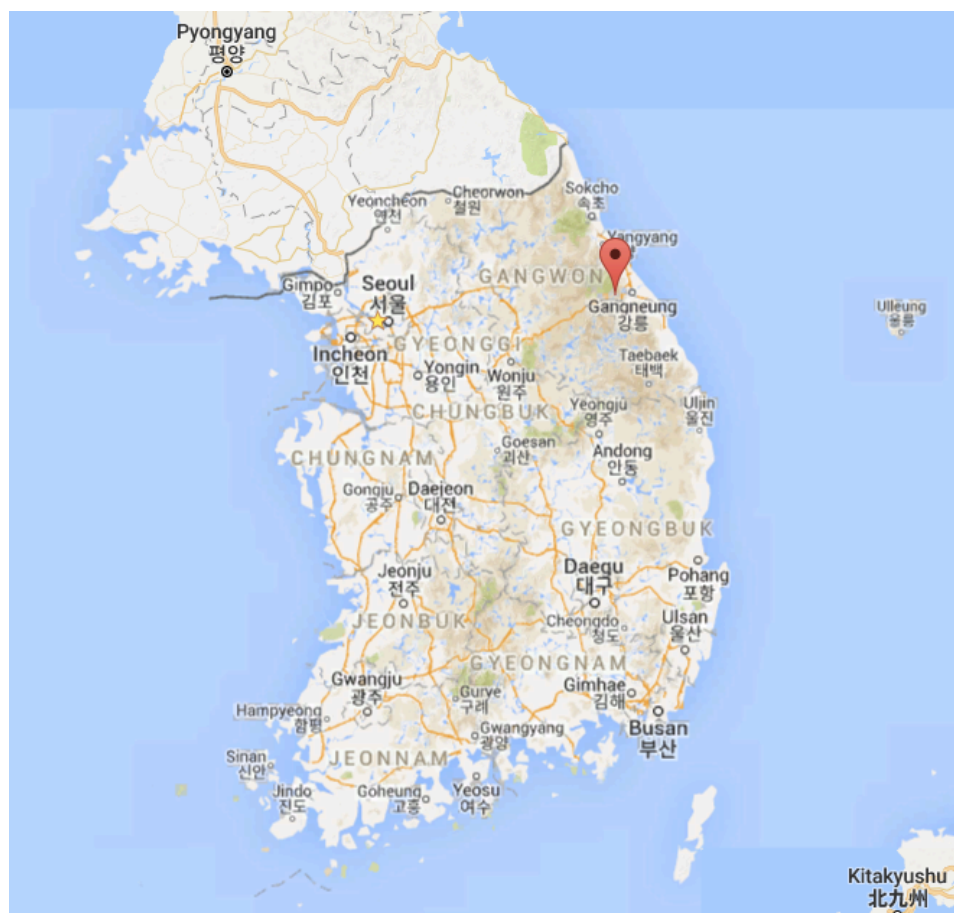


Figure 3-2. Map of South Korea: Daegwallyeong-myeon with red pin

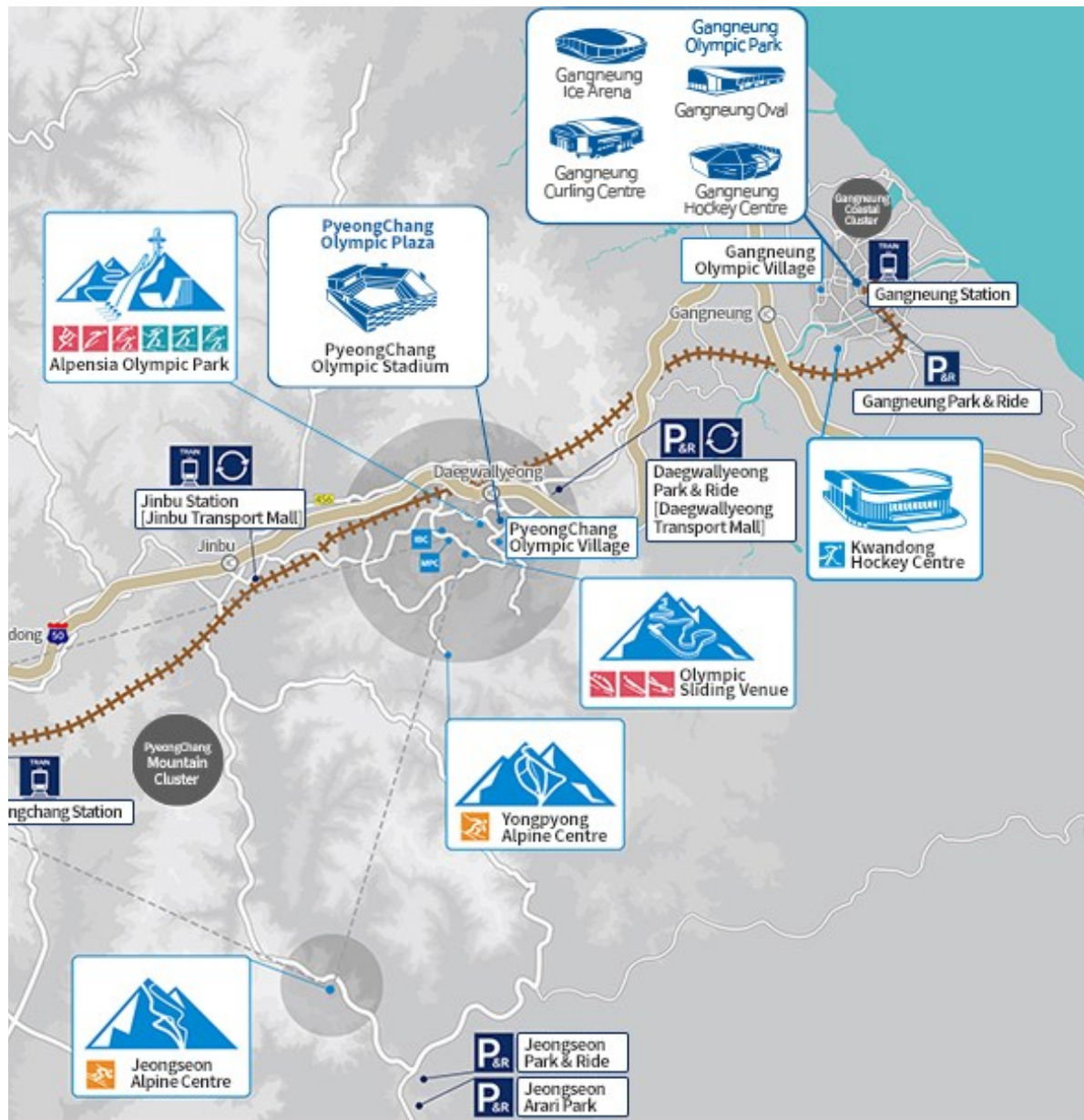


Figure 3-3. Map of Olympic venues

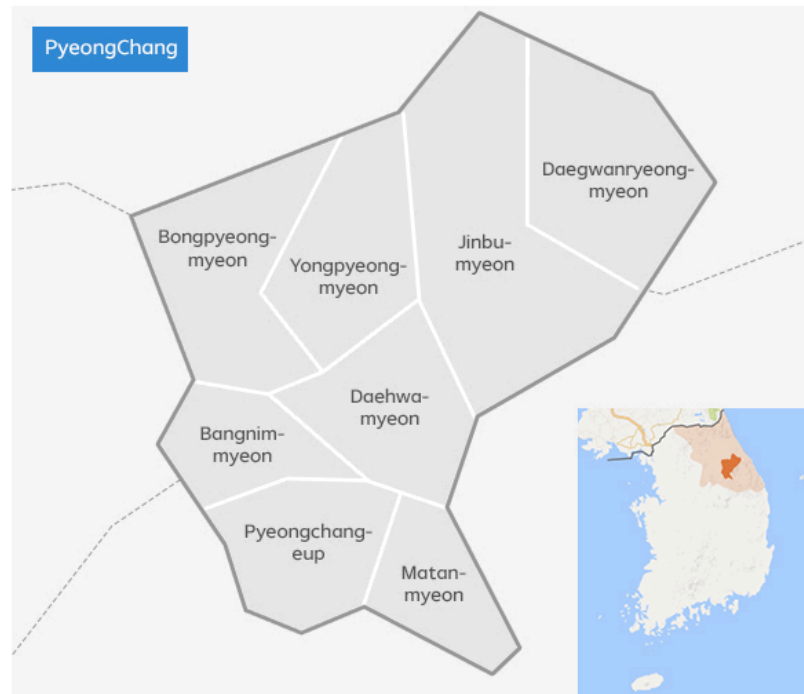


Figure 3-4. Map of PyeongChang County

There were two main clusters in PyeongChang County where the Olympic Games took place; PyeongChang Mountain Cluster and Gangneung Coastal Cluster (see Figure 3-5; also refer to Figure 3-6). The PyeongChang Mountain Cluster had venues for freestyle skiing, snowboarding, alpine skiing, cross country skiing, ski jumping, biathlon, bobsleigh, and skeleton/luge (POCOG, n.d.). The Gangneung Coastal Cluster had ice arenas for speed skating, figure skating, short track speed skating, ice hockey, and curling (POCOG, n.d.). Between the two, the PyeongChang Mountain Cluster was the main location in that the Olympic Village, the Olympic Plaza including the Main Stadium, and the main office of the POCOG were located in that Cluster. Daegwallyeong-myeon was the only community with a downtown area in the Mountain Cluster (see Figure 3-6), which means that the majority of local businesses were located in Daegwallyeong-myeon.

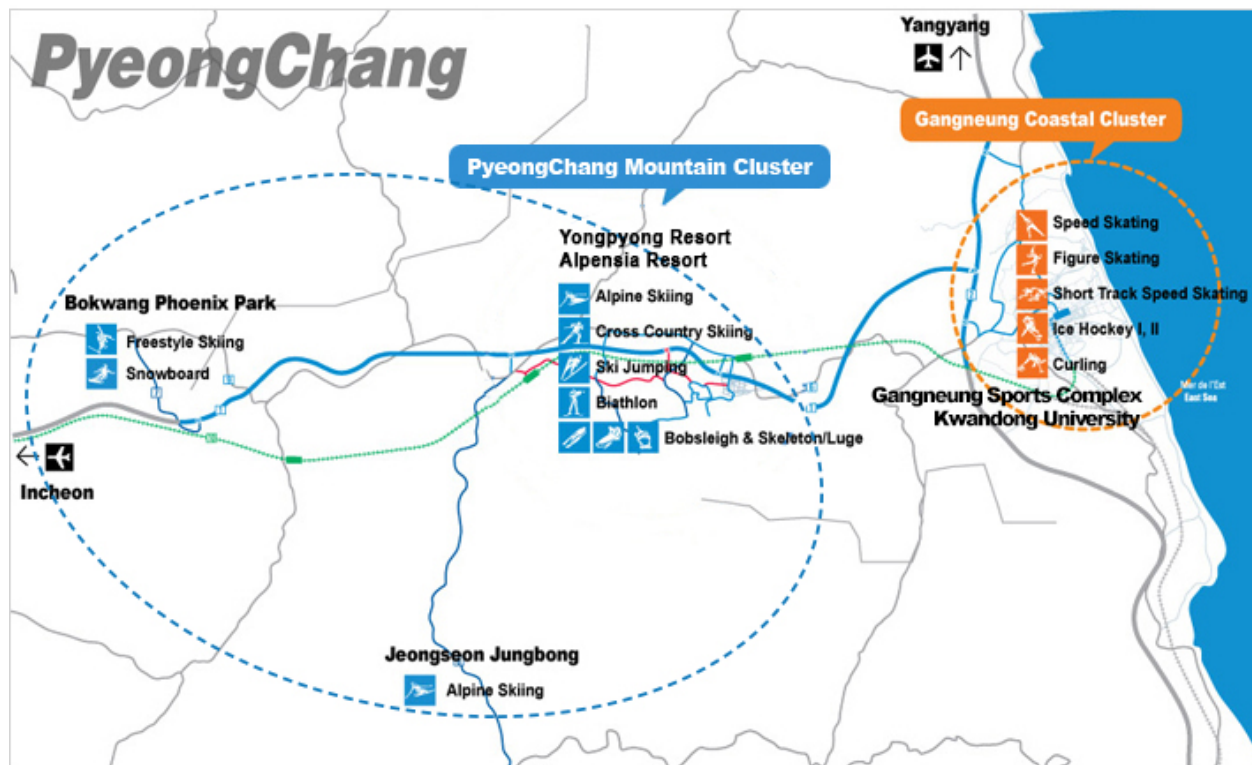


Figure 3-5. Map of the 2018 Olympic venues: Daegwillyeong-myeon is located in PyeongChang Mountain Cluster

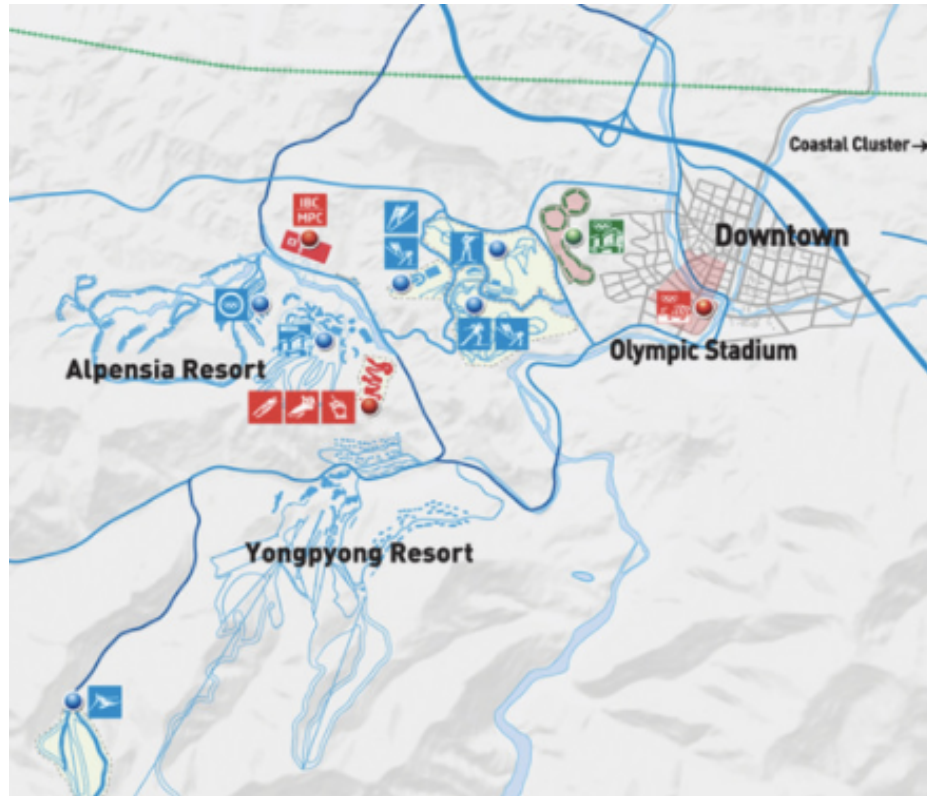


Figure 3-6. Enlarged map of Mountain Cluster: Daegwallyeong-myeon's downtown area has the Olympic Stadium

Daegwallyeong-myeon had been a space of dialogue, where social relations among the globality of the Olympic Games, members of the POCOG, and local residents were initiated and revealed (Ratto, 2014). It had been a space of evolving and contentious social relations among the global and the local, as well as the POCOG, as they worked towards the Olympic Games. This study also saw the spatial boundary of Daegwallyeong-myeon as “intersections where people with different backgrounds, perspectives, skills, and status come together” (Fortun, 2011, p. 249).

To immerse myself to the research site, I rented an apartment in the downtown area of Daegwallyeong-myeon for two months in the summer of 2017 and for another two months in the winter-spring of 2018. The second fieldwork coincided with the actual Olympic and Paralympic

period. The rent became extremely high compared to the first fieldwork. The rent went up from approximately \$500 to \$3000 per month between the first and the second visit due to the Olympic-related inflation occurring in Daegwallyeong-myeon. The Olympic Studies Centre affiliated with the IOC funded the second fieldwork through their Ph.D. Research Grant Programme that supported the overall travel expenses for the entire period of the second fieldwork.

3.3.2 Textual Data

McKinnon, Asen, Karma, and Howard (2016) argued that there is a need to integrate text and field work to hermeneutically understand a research subject, particularly a subject involving a rhetoric or a discourse. To better understand the data collected from observations and in-depth interviews, this study collected diversified textual data published and distributed by the IOC, the POCOG, local governments of Daegwallyeong-myeon, PyeongChang County, and Gangwon Province, and the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon. The IOC's and the POCOG's publications were collected specifically to answer the second group of research questions that asked the condition of the global and the local interaction that also had the POCOG as a mediator between the two.

The first research question about the characteristics of Daegwallyeong-myeon as a host community of the Olympic Games guided the collection of the publications by the government and the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon. These documents were written in Korean, as they were created with goal to be circulated within South Korea. Compared to the IOC and the POCOG publications, these documents were relatively quotidian in nature. For example, these included information packages distributed by a community organization to its members.

However, these local texts and documents were the data that were otherwise inaccessible. They were from the local, and sometimes marginal, and/or vernacular discourses that “have not been collected and catalogued in archives and databases” (McKinnon et al., 2016, p. 6). These texts included a personal journal written by a participant, an unpublished book that contains the history of Daegwallyeong-myeon, a handout distributed to the participants of an exclusive community meeting, proposals for improvement projects executed in Daegwallyeong-myeon, and monthly newsletters delivered to the residents of PyeongChang County.

The Organizing Committees not only publish their own documents but also interpret the documents published and distributed by the IOC. According to a previous study on the Organizing Committees’ interpretation of environmental sustainability suggested by the IOC, from 1994 to 2008, there had been incongruence between the two organizations’ interpretation of the same concept (Paquette et al., 2011). Each Organizing Committee is an intermediary between the respective host community and the IOC. The Organizing Committee gives shape to, materializes, and practices the original management plan of the specific Games following the IOC’s guideline. Thus, the documents published by the IOC are significant in that they act as a standard for planning and managing the Olympic Games.

I collected 12 documents published by the IOC and five documents published by the POCOG (see Table 3-1). These texts were all published in English, as the IOC adopts English and French as its official languages. The POCOG’s documents have both English and Korean versions, but I collected and analyzed the English versions.

Table 3-1. List of collected documents: IOC and POCOG publications

Publisher	Year	Title
IOC	2005	Olympic review: Sustainable development of the Olympic Games
IOC	2007	Technical manual on Olympic Village
IOC	2012	Sustainability through sport: Implementing the Olympic Movement's Agenda 21
IOC	2013	Factsheet: Development through sport
IOC	2014	Factsheet: The environment and sustainable development
IOC	2017	IOC sustainability strategy: Executive summary
IOC	2017	IOC sustainability strategy: Full version
IOC	2017	IOC sustainability policy
IOC	2018	Olympic Agenda 2020: The new norm
IOC	2018	The new norm infographic
IOC	unknown	IOC sustainability essentials: A series of practical guides for the Olympic movement
IOC	unknown	Olympic movement's Agenda 21: Sport for sustainable development
POCOG	2015	2018 POGOC sustainability framework: Creating a new horizon for sustainable 2018 PyeongChang Olympic Winter Games
POCOG	2014	CSR guidelines for 2018 PyeongChang Games
POCOG	2016	Olympic Games Impact (OGI) study for the 2018 PyeongChang Olympic Winter Games
POCOG	2017	NOC newsletter: PyeongChang 2018 NOC newsletter
POCOG	2017	PyeongChang 2018 pre-Games sustainability report: Furthering benefits to people and nature

These documents were and are available through the IOC's official website and the POCOG's official website. I originally aimed to collect three candidature files created by the Korean Olympic Committee targeting respectively 2010, 2014 and 2018 Winter Olympic Games bids. The files were unavailable on the POCOG's official website when accessed during the first visit to the field. I requested the files from the POCOG, however, I was not able to receive any response.

Lastly, news articles were collected as a part of textual data. Using search terms in English as well as in Korean such as 'Olympic development (올림픽 개발)', 'Daegwallyeong-myeon Olympic Games (대관령 올림픽)', and 'Olympic improvement project (올림픽 개발 사업)', English and Korean articles were retrieved from Korean web portals *Naver* (<http://news.naver.com>) and *Daum* (<http://media.daum.net>), which source stories from global and Korean media outlets. *Naver* and *Daum* are Korea's top Internet news portals, with *Naver*

positioned as the leading company with a market share of 80% and more specialized search tools (Economist, 2014; Kim & Kim, 2016). I included *Daum* in the search strategy to check and compare stories, consequently increasing the accuracy of searching process. *Daum* is the first Korean web portal, started in 1999, and the second largest web portal in Korea following *Naver* (Kim, 2018). I collected total of 16 news reports that were relevant to the topic of this study (see Table 3-2). Reports published in English are indicated in the table, and others were published in Korean through Korean news outlets.

Table 3-2. List of collected news reports

Date	Reporter	Outlet	Title
8/27/07	Choi, S. H.	KyungHyang Daily	Doam-myeon of PyeongChang County to re-name it as Daegwallyeong-myeon
7/4/12	Kim, H. J.	JoongAng Daily	The Main Stadium of the PyeongChang 2018 Olympic Games is relocated to build an Olympic Town
7/11/12	Shin, H. T.	Gangwon People's Daily	The Olympic Station debate
7/20/12	Witkin, J.	The New York Times	Greening the Olympics: Interview with David Stubbs*
11/12/13	Shin, H. T.	Gangwon People's Daily	Residents held a community forum to defend community resources
1/8/15	KimYoon, N. Y.	Pressian	The issue of dividing venues of PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games into multiple sites outside of Gangwon Province should be discussed
1/9/18	Maresca, T.	USA Today	North Korea to send athletes, officials, and cheer squad to Winter Olympics in PyeongChang*
2/2/18	Kim, Y. J.	Gangwon People's Daily	The Peace Wall and Gate completed: A symbol of harmony and unity
2/10/18	Busbee, J.	Yahoo Sports	'Olympic kill us': Stores across from ski venue struggling*
2/16/18	Haas, B.	The Guardian	'The Olympics are killing us': Ski shop owners left out in PyeongChang cold*
2/23/18	Ha, J. C.	News 1 Gangwon	The successful completion of the Olympic Games does not end until the Olympic Museum settles down
3/28/18	Shin, H. T.	Gangwon People's Daily	The Local Commission for the Olympic Museum in Daegwallyeong-myeon having inaugural meeting
8/27/18	Park, J. M.	Nocut News	Conflict between Daegwallyeong-myeon residents and Gangwon Province: The size of the Olympic Museum
9/13/18	N/A	PyeongChang News	The chair of the Commission of Olympic Museum Development, called off hunger strike
10/13/18	Park, G. M., & Kim, N. Y.	Nocut News	Fact check: PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games' 55 million profit
3/6/19	Kim, Y. J.	Gangwon People's Daily	Changes happening for Alpensia?

* Reports published in English

These textual data gave me an opportunity to understand the perspective of the IOC, the POCOG, and the residents within a broader context of the social, cultural, and political conditions that influenced and shaped the ways in which various stakeholders interacted.

3.3.3 Participant Observations and Field Notes

Ethnography is itself a mapping of practices, according to Geertz (1973). It also depicts a social sphere and interaction. A community and its practices should not be completely stuck in one's analysis beforehand. This study thus embraced participant observation to "step into the social frame in which activity takes place" (Boellstorff, Nardi, Pearce, & Taylor, 2012, p. 65). The context of this study and the research site informed how specifically participant observation is applied in that the observation should depend on the research questions, the research site, and practical constraints (Boellstorff et al., 2012).

As participant observation is considered a fundamental and central method for ethnography (Park, 2017), the practice allowed me to develop and justify my insights on community dynamics with anecdotes of social interactions among the global, the local, and the POCOG across social settings. Specifically, conducting observations allowed me to interact and establish personal relationships that could further develop into rapport with my participants. Further it helped to understand the participants' cultural experiences, perspectives, and their interpretations of the social and cultural phenomena that influenced their daily lives, which in this study's context, was the Winter Olympic Games held in Daegwallyeong-myeon. Getting close to study participants is considered as a starting point for understanding their experiences and culture. By establishing positive relationships that can be "a way of understanding what their experiences and activities mean to them" (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 12), we as

ethnographers can build thick descriptions and rigorous understanding. That is, it is an iterative process to develop “a tacit understanding of meaning, events and contexts by the researcher” (Dewalt, Dewalt, & Wayland, 1998, p. 271).

In the process of observation, I tried to ensure that those observed felt comfortable with me being present. Specifically, I made myself available and shared the purpose and details of the study as well as personal background and experiences when initiating an observation. Further, I spent enough time with participants to observe how their daily lives and activities were influenced by the Olympic-driven community development without making them feel uncomfortable or unusual. Handwerker (2001) underscored the importance of “personal sensitivity and creativity to allow people to feel comfortable with you, to communicate clearly with people whom you ask for assistance that you are nonthreatening” (p. 107). These strategies were crucial for getting involved in the context of the research site and for building strong rapport with the participants (Dewalt et al., 1998). I referred to the Verbal Recruitment Script for Participant Observation (**Appendix H** for English version and **Appendix I** for Korean version) that was approved by the Institutional Review Board of the University of Illinois when I approached the individual(s) and group(s) whom I observed through the study. Participation in the observation was completely voluntary for all participants, and consent was obtained from the participants who were involved in observations (see **Appendix J** for English Consent Handout for First Fieldwork; **Appendix K** for Korean Consent Handout for Second Fieldwork; **Appendix L** for English Consent Handout for Second Fieldwork; and **Appendix M** for Korean Consent Handout for Second Fieldwork).

At the beginning of the first fieldwork, I strolled through the downtown area of Daegwallyeong-myeon and stopped by at small businesses such as grocery stores and restaurants

to initiate conversations with the residents. It was a starting point to build good relationships with potential participants. Despite its characteristic as a tourist town (refer to **Chapter IV** for more details), the downtown area of Daegwallyeong-myeon during the weekdays was very quiet except for some employees of the POCOG who were working on site. Therefore, small business owners were open to quick chats with me when I asked questions about the Olympic management and community development. By introducing myself to the business owners, they became my gate keepers who introduced me to other residents as well as invited me to the events and gatherings held in Daegwallyeong-myeon at which I conducted observations.

In the case of the POCOG employees, I contacted my acquaintances who were working at the POCOG at that time. There were alumni who graduated from the same university as myself as well as colleague athletes whom I had known for years from the field of snowboarding. To actively interact with them, I explained in detail about the research project and asked for their cooperation. Later in the fieldwork, they often invited me to the informal gatherings and social events among the POCOG employees where they introduced me to other employees.

Through these processes, I was able to have a closer look into the daily lives of the residents and the POCOG employees and how they interacted with each other in constructing Olympic-driven community development. Moreover, it was possible to explore how the residents' needs and demands for the development of Daegwallyeong-myeon were represented and by whom in the process of the Olympic-driven community development. Indeed, this information provided me with a foundational understanding of the management structure of the Olympic-driven community development, and further allowed me to identify key stakeholders in Daegwallyeong-myeon with whom to recruit for a more in-depth interviews.

Instances of participant observations were: (a) local businesses and construction sites; (b) community meetings and hearings organized by the residents; (c) community organizations; (d) public meetings led by local governments (different levels of local governments were involved in the managing process of the Olympic Games); (e) community hearings managed by the POCOG; (f) informal gatherings in the community; (g) informal gatherings among members of the POCOG; and (h) the Olympic venues. Overall, 16 observations during the first fieldwork and 17 observations during the second fieldwork were conducted. The list and details of observations conducted is provided in Table 3-3.

Table 3-3. List of observations conducted

Event/Occasion	Date	Type	Location	Duration
Lunch with the POCOG employees	6/19/17	Informal gathering among the POCOG employees	Restaurant in Daegwallyeong-myeon	2 hours
Regular observation	6/20/17	Local business observation	PyeongChang Olympic Market	1 hour
Social media education session for residents	6/21/17	Public meeting organized by local government (Daegwallyeong-myeon)	Daegwallyeong-myeon Government Office	2.5 hours
Daegwallyeong Lions Club Regular Meeting	6/22/17	Community meeting organized by residents	Daegwallyeong-myeon Government Office	1.5 hours
Social with the POCOG employees	6/23/17	Informal gathering among the POCOG employees	Bar in Daegwallyeong-myeon	4 hours
Mass/gathering at Daegwallyeong Catholic Church	6/25/17	Informal gathering among community members	Daegwallyeong Catholic Church	3 hours
Workshop session held by Gangwon Cultural Citizenship Campaign Association	6/26/17	Public meeting organized by community organization	YongPyong Resort	1.5 hours
PyeongChang Academic Forum Conference	6/26/17	Public meeting organized by local government (PyeongChang County)	Alpensia Resort	2.5 hours
Social with the POCOG employees	7/4/17	Informal gathering among the POCOG employees	Bar in Gangneung	2.5 hours
Social with the POCOG employees	7/5/17	Informal gathering among the POCOG employees	Restaurant in Daegwallyeong-myeon	4 hours
Lunch with the local sport commission	7/6/17	Informal gathering among community members	Restaurant in Daegwallyeong-myeon	2 hours
Public hearing for Daegwallyeong-myeon residents	7/10/17	Community hearing managed by the POCOG	Daegwallyeong-myeon Government Office	3 hours
Education session for accommodation/restaurant business owners	7/18/17	Public meeting organized by local government (PyeongChang County)	PyeongChang County Office	1.5 hours

Table 3-3. List of observations conducted (cont)

Dinner at a local restaurant	7/19/17	Local business observation	Restaurant in Daegwallyeong-myeon	1 hour
Social with the POCOG employees	7/22/17	Informal gathering among the POCOG employees	Restaurant in Daegwallyeong-myeon	2 hours
Education session for transportation employees	8/1/17	Session organized by community organization	Daegwallyeong-myeon Government Office	3 hours
Social with the POCOG employees	2/19/18	Informal gathering among the POCOG employees	One of the employee's place	1.5 hours
The Olympic Plaza	2/19/18	The Olympic venue	The Olympic Plaza in Daegwallyeong-myeon	1 hour
The Olympic Park	2/20/18	The Olympic venue	The Olympic Park in Gangneung	3.5 hour
Jin-bu Olympic Station	3/10/18	The Olympic venue	Jin-bu Olympic Station (KTX station)	1 hour
PyeongChang Cultural Olympic Experience Center	3/12/18	The Olympic venue	Daegwallyeong-myeon	1.5 hours
Jin-bu local market	3/13/18	Local business observation	Jin-bu myeon	1 hour
Social with the POCOG employees	3/13/18	Informal gathering among the POCOG employees	Restaurant in Daegwallyeong-myeon	2.5 hours
Regular walk through Daegwallyeong-myeon	3/16/18	Local business observation	Businesses in Daegwallyeong-myeon	1.5 hours
The Olympic Plaza	3/17/18	The Olympic venue	The Olympic Plaza in Daegwallyeong-myeon	1 hour
Good Manner Campaign activity by residents	3/17/18	Community meeting organized by residents/local government (PyeongChang County/Daegwallyeong-myeon)	Jin-bu Olympic Station	1 hour
Regular walk through Daegwallyeong-myeon (Closing Ceremony of the Paralympic Games)	3/18/18	Local business observation	Businesses in Daegwallyeong-myeon	1 hour
Regular walk through Daegwallyeong-myeon	3/19/18	Local business observation	Businesses in Daegwallyeong-myeon	1.5 hours
Inaugural meeting of the Local Commission for the Development of the Olympic Museum	3/27/18	Community meeting organized by residents	Daegwallyeong-myeon Government Office	2.5 hours
Social with Daegwallyeong-myeon residents	3/27/18	Informal gathering among Daegwallyeong-myeon residents	Restaurant in Daegwallyeong-myeon	2 hours
Headquarter of the Good Manner Campaign	3/30/18	Community organization	Headquarter office of the Good Manner Campaign	2 hours
Social event for the Daegwallyeong Skiers	3/31/18	Community meeting organized by residents	Restaurant in Daegwallyeong-myeon	1 hour
Community discussion on the post-Olympic development	4/3/18	Community meeting organized by residents	YongPyong Resort	2.5 hours

From the initial stage of observation, the results were extensively recorded in the field notes, including reflections and write-ups. Dewalt et al. (1998) indicated that writing field notes

is “virtually the only way for researchers to record the observation of day-to-day events and behavior, overheard conversations, and casual interviews that are the primary materials of participant observation” (p. 270). Madison (2012) suggested that researchers should compile extensive field notes as they spend time closely listening, observing, and interacting in the field because the notes will be a frame of reference as researchers reflect on their interview questions. When writing field notes, Emerson et al. (1995) recommended to take notes and record the initial impression of the physical environment and people’s reactions to key events and incidents. Following the suggestions of Dewalt et al. (1998), I crafted two kinds of notes: records of events observed and information given and a set of chronological (daily) notes. Because depending solely on recording in the field notes may not capture the whole picture, due to the lack of visual aspects in written data, photographs were taken to complement the field notes.

Field notes were written in Korean for the most part because all participants were native speakers of Korean including myself, and we interacted in Korean for the most part. Some native terms in Korean and dialectics I encountered during observations were important. These terms and dialectics are quoted as is in **Chapter IV** and **Chapter V**.

3.3.4 Interviews

In the process of doing the research, I simultaneously interviewed two groups: employees of the POCOG and local residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon. They were the two major stakeholder groups residing in Daegwallyeong-myeon and held different perspectives and values about the Olympic Games and community development. They also had differing perspectives and practices regarding the community-level management for the event, which sometimes created conflicts between, and distrust of, each other. Rubin and Rubin (1995) explained

qualitative interviews as a hallmark experience of fieldwork. They argued that “interviewees in qualitative interviews share in the work of the interview, sometimes guiding it in channels of their own choosing. They are treated as partners rather than as objects of research” (Rubin & Rubin, p. 10).

For this critical ethnographic project, I assumed that each interviewee is a subject with agency, history, and her/his own idiosyncratic narrative. Interviews took the form of a topical interview (Madison, 2012), which gave a point of view to a particular subject; in this case, the 2018 Winter Olympic Games and community development of Daegwallyeong-myeon. Interviews were semi-structured, and were informed by the theoretical frameworks guiding this study (Wallerstein, 1974, 1998, 2004; Robertson, 1994, 1995; Ritzer, 1995, 2003; Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004; see **Chapter II** for more details) and previous literature on globalization, the Olympic Games, and their impact on the development of host communities. Interview questions differed for each group, the employees of the POCOG and the local residents.

Interview participants were recruited using purposive and snowball sampling (Robinson, 2014). As I established enough rapport with potential participants through observations, I asked them to participate in a more in-depth interview. In the process I referred to a Verbal Recruitment Script for Individual Interview (see **Appendix B** for English version and **Appendix C** for Korean version). More often than not, participants further provided information on with whom I would be able to gain valuable insight about the topic of this study. In doing so, I endeavored to recruit interviewees according to pertinent social labels such as gender, age, role in the community, length of living in the community, or occupation. Thus, the interviewees were recruited with a purpose to embrace a wide variety of experiences and perspectives. As a result, a

total of 40 participants took part in the in-depth interviews (see Table 3-4). Bernard (2000) observed that most ethnographic studies conduct 30 to 60 interviews. Morse (1994) suggested a more detailed guideline on sample size, as she recommended approximately 35 participants for ethnographies. An informed consent form reviewed by the Institutional Review Board of the University of Illinois was obtained from every interviewee (see **Appendix D** for English Informed Consent Form for First Fieldwork; **Appendix E** for Korean Informed Consent Form for First Fieldwork; **Appendix F** for English Informed Consent Form for Second Fieldwork; and **Appendix G** for Korean Informed Consent Form for Second Fieldwork).

I endeavored to meet all participants whom I interviewed during the first fieldwork, but I was not able to meet all of them. Some of those whom I could not interview again were very busy with everyday life. Others had an intention to meet with me again, but due to logistical issues, I was not able to meet all of them. Table 3-4 provides information on who took part in the interviews during the first fieldwork, and who participated again during the second fieldwork. Participants with one asterisk indicates that they only met with me during the first fieldwork. Participants with two asterisks indicates that they participated in both fieldworks. As the second fieldwork began, I endeavored to meet with every participant whom I had a conversation with during the first fieldwork. However, I was not able to meet all participants who I interviewed during the first fieldwork during my second fieldwork visit. Some of those whom I could not interview again were very busy with everyday life. Others had an intention to meet with me again, but due to logistical issues, I was not able to meet all of them. Lastly, participants without an asterisk indicates that they only participated in the second fieldwork. These are the participants who were newly recruited during the second fieldwork by the participants who already did interview during the first fieldwork. Thus, they were additional participants

interviewed only during the second fieldwork. Twenty-three out of 40 participants were interviewed more than two times throughout the first and the second fieldwork engagements.

Interview questions were crafted following Spradley's (1979) model. This model has three main categories: descriptive questions, structural or explanation questions, and contrast questions. Descriptive questions include tour questions, example questions, experience questions, and native-language questions.

Descriptive questions ask for a representation of a substantial phenomenon; in this study, the Olympic Games, Daegwallyeong-myeon's community development, and the encounter between the global and the local. These questions focus on description instead of ideas or emotion. Four sub-categories exist within descriptive questions. First, tour questions ask participants for a "verbal description of significant features of the cultural scene" (Spradley, 1979, p. 87), whether the focus is on space, time, events, people, activities, or objects. Second is example questions that ask participants to give an example of a response that may need clarification or specification. Third, experience questions work the best when asked after tour questions (Spradley, 1979). Basically, these type of questions ask participants how they experienced the subject the researcher described. Last is native-language questions. These questions try to address the larger meanings and implications embedded in the interviewee's everyday language.

Table 3-4. List of interview participants

No.	Gender	Job	Hometown
#1**	M	Local business owner (food delivery)/char of a local sport commission	Daegwallyeong-myeon
#2*	M	Local business owner (advertising)	Daegwallyeong-myeon
#3	M	Employee of a local sport commission	Unknown (non-local)
#4	F	Employee of a local sport commission	Unknown (non-local)
#5**	F	Local art and craft instructor	Daegwallyeong-myeon
#6**	M	POCOG employee	Seoul
#7**	M	POCOG employee	Seoul
#8**	M	Graduate student in sport studies	Seoul
#9**	F	POCOG employee	Seoul
#10**	M	POCOG employee	Seoul
#11**	M	Former local business owner (restaurant)	Daegwallyeong-myeon
#12**	F	Former local business owner (restaurant)	Daegwallyeong-myeon
#13**	F	POCOG employee	Unknown (non-local)
#14*	F	Local business owner (restaurant)	Daegwallyeong-myeon
#15**	F	Local business owner (restaurant)/Board member of a national sport organization (winter sports)	Jinbu-myeon
#16*	M	POCOG employee	Daegwallyeong-myeon
#17	F	Local business owner (cleaning business)	Daegwallyeong-myeon
#18**	M	Local business owner (restaurant)	Daegwallyeong-myeon
#19	M	Local business owner (taxi driver)	Daegwallyeong-myeon
#20**	M	Regional representative for a national organization/Board member of a national sport organization (winter sports)	Daegwallyeong-myeon
#21	M	Retired reporter	Seoul
#22**	M	Local business owner (construction/accommodation)	Daegwallyeong-myeon
#23**	M	Official of PyeongChang County Government Office	PyeongChang-eup
#24**	F	Official of PyeongChang County Government Office	PyeongChang-eup
#25	F	Employee at a local business (souvenir shop)	Daegwallyeong-myeon
#26	F	Employee at a local business (souvenir shop)	Daegwallyeong-myeon
#27	M	Freelancer photographer	Daegwallyeong-myeon
#28**	F	Chair of a local non-profit organization	Daegwallyeong-myeon
#29**	F	Official of Daegwallyeong-myeon Government Office	Daegwallyeong-myeon
#30**	M	Official of PyeongChang County Government Office	PyeongChang-eup
#31*	F	POCOG employee	Seoul
#32*	M	POCOG employee	Seoul
#33**	M	POCOG employee	Seoul
#34*	M	POCOG employee	Seoul
#35	M	POCOG employee	Gangwon Province
#36	M	POCOG employee	Seoul
#37	M	Coach of a professional sports team (winter sports)	Unknown (non-local)
#38**	M	POCOG employee	Gangneung
#39**	F	POCOG employee	Seoul
#40**	M	POCOG employee	Seoul

* Participants who interviewed during the first fieldwork

** Participants who interviewed during both fieldworks

The next main category is structural or explanation questions. Participants are asked to provide explanation of their knowledge on social structure and organization, particularly related to contextual information. These types of questions help interviewees feel that they are leading the interview because it is closer to their own interpretation of the world outside of them (Madison, 2012). The last main category is contrast questions. These questions literally ask participants to compare their context to others, and focus on either similarity or contrast. Using these categories as a guideline, interview questions for both groups – the POCOG employees and the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon – were created (see **Appendix N** for English Interview Guide for First Fieldwork; **Appendix O** for Korean Interview Guide for First Fieldwork; **Appendix P** for English Interview Guide for Second Fieldwork; and **Appendix Q** for Korean Interview Guide for Second Fieldwork). In addition, as I conducted two separate field visits, interview questions were enriched, augmented, and revised by what I experienced on the ground (Madison, 2012). Interview guides evolved as I spent more time in the field and had more experiences with my participants.

All interviews were conducted face-to-face at a location determined by each of the participants. The length of initial interviews ranged from an hour to 3 hours, and some of them were supplemented by additional interviews. Additional interviews took place when I had to clarify some parts of an interview or when a participant wanted to talk more. Furthermore, as I went back to the research site six months after the first visit, I was able to conduct multiple interviews with some participants. Having met with some participants for multiple times gave me a chance to engage more with them, consequently help me to gain a deeper understanding of the interview contents. Kezar (2003) suggested to have multiple interviews with participants because it will develop a strong relationship and commitment with them. Interviews were digitally

recorded using my cell phone, except the ones with participants who refused the recording. A few participants did not want their interviews to be recorded due to the concern of confidentiality of the Olympic management plans. Under this situation, I tried to record as much contents as I can in the field notes. In addition, I recorded the contents by recapitulating the interview contents using my cell phone right after the interview in order to save as much data as I can.

All interviews were conducted in Korean, as every participant was a native speaker of Korean. I am a native speaker of Korean, and also fluent in English. Interview questions were crafted first in English, then translated into Korean by myself, and reviewed by a peer debriefer who is also a native speaker of Korean and fluent in English. Both English and Korean versions of the interview questions were reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board of the University of Illinois (see **Appendix A**). Interviews were transcribed by myself verbatim, in Korean.

I translated relevant data, mainly important quotations, from Korean into English. The translated data were then reviewed by the same peer debriefer who reviewed the translation of interview guides. I and this peer debriefer also engaged in Brislin's (1970) back-translation process; Korean was first translated into English, and then the translated English was translated back to Korean. Furthermore, cultural interpretation is also important in this case as ethnographic research projects are profoundly imbued with cultural nuances and criticalities (Kim, 2012; Yoon & Wilson, 2016). As such, I, South Korean citizens and former residents of South Korea, provided this cultural interpretation.

3.4 Analysis and Interpretation

Data collected from the field (texts, field notes, photographs, and interviews) were analyzed through low-level coding, which is an open coding process, followed by a priori categorization. Madison (2012) wrote that “theory is used in ethnography as an interpretive or analytical method” (p. 14). Following her suggestion, this study used its epistemological paradigm, namely, critical theory, to generally lead the process of data analysis and interpretation. Madison (2012) also provided the term ‘coding and logging’ to explain the process of data analysis and interpretation. Coding and logging data is the process of “grouping together themes and categories that you have accumulated in the field” (Madison, 2012, p. 43), and qualitative researchers share the similar processes of select and sort. Glesne (1999) suggested that when we as qualitative researchers select and sort, we build “code clumps” (p. 135).

Madison (2012) suggested a model drawn from a combination of various coding procedures. I utilized her model as the main strategy for data analysis and interpretation. It is generally agreed-upon that a researcher orders the data by beginning with generic categories: in this study, global-transnational-local interactions, residents’ felt-needs, self-help, participation, solidarity among residents, and agency of the community. Carspecken (1996) proposed two ways of coding (i.e., high-level coding concerned with more abstract ideas and low-level coding concerned with more concrete data). I took high-level coding and low-level coding as a way of open coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). I first employed high-level coding until I saw themes emerge from the coding process. These themes guided further analysis (Carspecken, 1996). Low-level coding was conducted following the high-level coding to allow multiple codes to emerge from the data. Following the high- and low-level coding as two steps of open coding, a priori

coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) took place, guided by theoretical frameworks (Wallerstein, 1974, 1998, 2004; Robertson, 1994, 1995; Ritzer, 1995, 2003; Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004; see **Chapter II** for more details) and previous literature on the Olympic Games, community development, and the influences of globalization. Next, initial codes were folded into key themes (Creswell & Poth, 2017) within the categories of globalization and community development.

As themes began to form, I practiced further steps following Madison's (2012) strategy of further ordering the themes to ensure the high- and low-level coding and a priori coding were done with a rigor and to effectively display the connections, hierarchies, and distinctions among the themes: (a) examining a specific topic within each theme respectively; (b) comparing and contrasting the particular topic within that theme; (c) continuing to examine and note the topics within each theme; (d) discovering overlapping topics, marked distinctions, and discerned topics that needed to be moved to a different theme (in this stage some topics were eliminated from the analysis completely); (e) making adjustments for comparisons and contrasts across themes, in order to create linkages and themes; and (f) allowing for the evolution of themes to become more apparent following the analysis process.

Finally, a selective coding process (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) was employed to highlight key quotations that would sufficiently represent the data and themes. This study did not utilize software to analyze the data (document memos, transcripts, and field notes). Instead, I employed hand-coding in order to be fully engaged with the data.

3.5 Ensuring the Quality of Research

This study followed Lincoln and Guba's (1985) classical criteria to ensure quality related to the research process. These criteria aim to serve as a guide for the researcher's responsiveness.

Four main criteria suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985) are credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Credibility refers to the notion that research findings must be convincing and believable. Credibility entails that findings of qualitative research represent some sense of reality, especially the participant's reality. Transferability implies that findings may have applicable meanings in similar situations elsewhere. To ensure credibility, transcripts were sent to participants for member-checks. Participants read through the transcripts and notified me with any error or problem. A few responded back to me asking that I do not disclose some parts containing a sensitive information such as a conflict going on in the community or contentious relationships between residents. Rather than these cases, most of participants did not have any concern about the transcripts. I also revisited my interpretations and conclusions with the participants to check if they authentically reflected what was going on in the community of Daegwallyeong-myeon over the period of Olympic preparation and management. A summary of the results as well as my interpretations were sent to the participants for their feedback. Participants generally agreed with the results and interpretations, which lessened my concern of biases. After I finalized analysis, interpretations were sent out to participants as well to enhance credibility. Next is dependability, which suggests that findings will endure over time. Dependability requires a researcher to describe and record the research context in order to clarify any change that occurs while the study is ongoing. To ensure dependability, I had multiple data points as a process of triangulation. Collection of text data (e.g., the IOC and the POCOG publications, news reports, local texts), observations and field notes, in-depth interviews were conducted concurrently to ensure dependability. Last is confirmability. This concept suggests that a researcher should remain neutral during data analysis and interpretation. To ensure confirmability, peer debriefing was conducted by myself, director of the research for my

dissertation, and the peer debriefer mentioned above. This additional debriefer was not involved in the study, but was familiar with the research project.

CHAPTER IV

CONTEXT

Context is everything and everything is contextual.

– Lawrence Grossberg (1997)

In this chapter, I provide the historical, social, and political background of Daegwallyeong-myeon which can help better understand the findings I articulate in **Chapter V**. I do this by paying particular attention to Daegwallyeong-myeon's characteristics as a rural mountain community that had initially been developed as a winter-sports-centered village, later promoted as an Olympic Candidate, and then finally, as the host community of the 2018 Winter Olympic Games. Then I provide an overview of the different groups involved in the Olympic-related community development of Daegwallyeong-myeon. Global-local relationships, specifically the managerial relationships that revolve around Olympic-related development, are inherently vertical (Vrondou, Kriemadis, Papaioannou, & Douvis, 2014) – as is the case of the Olympic Games and Daegwallyeong-myeon. So as to more clearly delineate the verticality of the global and local relationship in the case of Daegwallyeong-myeon's hosting the 2018 Olympic Games, I analyze how different stakeholders are themselves situated on levels of this vertical formation. I execute this analysis by incorporating Mato's (1997) theorization of different levels of agent into a context that incorporates the global/local relationship.

4.1 Contextual Dynamics of the Winter Olympic Games and Daegwallyeong-Myeon

One of the strengths of ethnographic research is that it offers an ample opportunity to scrutinize and understand the context of the fieldwork site (Monahan & Fisher, 2010). Accordingly, in this critical ethnographic project I begin by providing an explanation of the

contextual dynamics within the geographical boundary of Daegwallyeong-myeon. These dynamics include its social, historical, cultural, and political characteristics as they are related to sports, sporting events, and community development. In particular I focus on the community's long-standing relationship with winter sports development, winter sport events, and the Winter Olympic Games. These contexts play an essential role in interpreting the dynamics of Daegwallyeong-myeon's Olympic-driven globalization and community development.

4.1.1 General Conditions of the Research Site: Daegwallyeong-Myeon

Daegwallyeong-myeon has historically been known as a 'snow village (눈마을; noon-ma-eul)' due to the large amount of snowfall. It is located in PyeongChang County, Gangwon Province in South Korea. Gangwon Province is one of eight Provinces in the South Korean territory, located in the Northeastern part of the country (Figure 4-1). A 'Province' is one of the five regional governmental units in South Korea. The five units are tiered as follows: (a) Metropolitan City (Seoul Metropolitan City; capital city of South Korea), (b) Second-Tier Metropolitan City (Busan Metropolitan City, Daegu Metropolitan City, Incheon Metropolitan City, Gwangju Metropolitan City, Daejeon Metropolitan city, and Ulsan Metropolitan City), (c) Province (Gyeonggi Province, Gangwon Province, North Chungchung Province, South Chungchung Province, North Jeolla Province, South Jeolla Province, North Gyeongsang Province, and South GyeongSang Province), (d) Metropolitan Autonomous City (Sejong Metropolitan Autonomous City), and (e) Special Self-Governing Province (Jeju Special Self-Governing Province). Among the eight Provinces, Gangwon Province and North Jeolla Province are the only Provinces that do not have a Metropolitan-level city. The presence of a Metropolitan City (Cities) signifies the developmental status of each Province. Thus, Gangwon Province is

considered less developed compared to other provinces where one or more Metropolitan Cities are located. According to the Korean Statistical Information Service (2018), per capita income of Gangwon Province in 2017 was ranked 15th among the 17 regional units in South Korea.

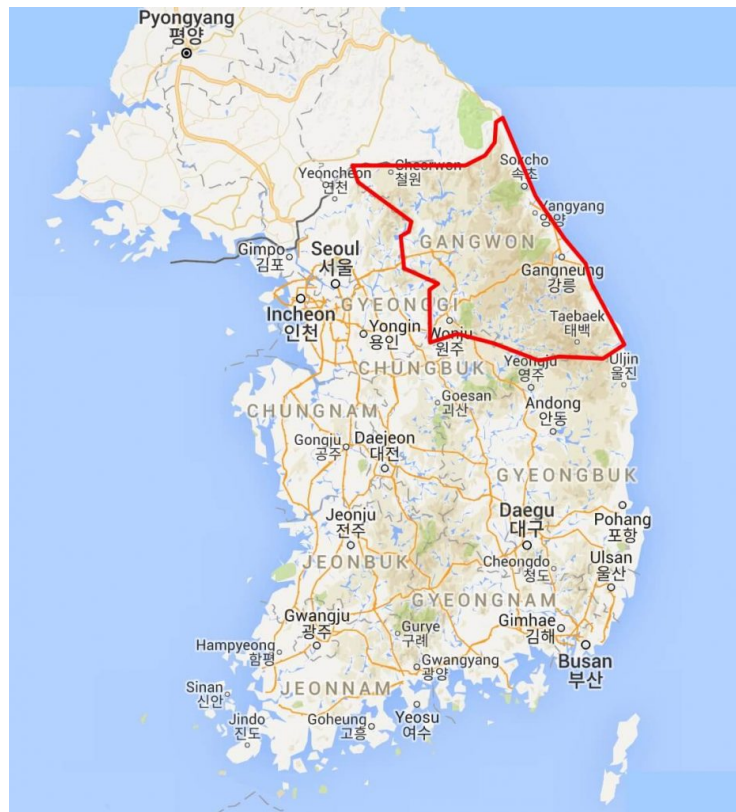


Figure 4-1. Location of Gangwon Province in South Korea

There are specific reasons for Gangwon Province's current developmental status. The Province is located in a military-centered region called the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), a vicinity with multiple military bases between South and North Korea (Figure 4-2). Gangwon Province has consequently been demarcated as significant for national defense rather than a region to be actively developed, unlike other Provinces in the country. Gangwon Province is also known as a mountain province where the longest and the highest mountain range of Korean peninsula, the

Taebaek Mountains, is located. Since the Taebaek mountains are more expansive and higher in altitude than the country's other mountains, Gangwon Province has less agricultural land. That said, its highland agriculture (or alpine agriculture) has been one of its main industries, particularly for communities located in regions with altitudes higher than 500 meters (Lee, 1995). In addition to its military function, the region's high mountains have been cited as a reason not to develop the Province's infrastructure. In other words, the central government of South Korea has embraced Gangwon Province as a military and alpine zone and delayed developing regional infrastructure such as the railroad (bullet train), national/international airports, and expressway networks – all of which would connect the Province to the capital and other cities both in and out of the country. Yet despite its lack of infrastructure Gangwon Province was selected to host the 4th Asian Winter Games in 1999.



Figure 4-2. Location of DMZ (Maresca, 2018)

PyeongChang County is located in the mid-Southern part of Gangwon Province (Figure 4-3). PyeongChang County is one of eleven Counties in Gangwon Province, alongside Hongcheon County, Heongseong County, Youngwol County, Jeongseon County, Cheolwon County, Hwacheon County, Yanggoo County, Inje County, Goseong County, and Yangyang County. Gangwon Province is also comprised of seven cities (Chuncheon City, Wonju City, Gangneung City, Donghae City, Taebeak City, Sokcho City, and Samcheok City) and 17 regional units, making PyeongChang County the 11th most highly populated county in Gangwon Province. As of 2016 the population of PyeongChang County was 43,592 (Gangwon Province Statistic Service, 2018). The County's gross area is 1,463.8km², comprising 8.7% of the total area in Gangwon Province, which is 16,874.3km² (Korea Meteorological Administration & Gangwon Regional Meteorological Administration, 2016). According to Statistics Korea (2018) – a governmental institution housed under the Ministry of Strategy and Finance – there were 4,528 operating businesses in PyeongChang County, comprising 3.4% of the total number of businesses in Gangwon Province. These businesses employ 3.2% of Gangwon Province's population. Significantly, as of 2014, 30.2% of the employees in PyeongChang County work for accommodation or restaurant businesses (Kwon & Ryu, 2017). As these numbers suggest, PyeongChang County accounts for a relatively small portion of Gangwon Province in both gross area and local businesses.



Figure 4-3. Map of Gangwon Province: PyeongChang County in the middle (Korea Tourism Organization, n.d.)

PyeongChang County's natural landscape is closely related to the development of winter sports. The County resides on the Taebeak Mountains with an average altitude of approximately 600m. At such high altitudes heavy snowfall is common in the winter season, as are low temperatures. According to the Korean Global Atmosphere Watch Center (2018), the average temperature in PyeongChang County was 7.0 degrees Celsius (44.6 Fahrenheit), which is lower than Gangwon Province's 8.9 degrees Celsius (48.02 Fahrenheit). The annual precipitation in the County also outweighed that of the Province (Korean Global Atmosphere Watch Center, 2018). As a result of its high altitude, mountainous terrain, and heavy snowfalls, PyeongChang County is the home of multiple resorts where people ski and/or snowboard. As of 2018 there are three mountain resorts available to the public: (a) YongPyong Resort in Daegwallyeong-myeon (opened in 1975), (b) Alpensia Resort in Daegwalllyeong-myeon (opened in 2010), and (c) Pheonix PyeongChang Resort in Bongpyeong-myeon (opened in 1995). These resources were what made PyeongChang County a viable candidate to host the 2013 Special Olympic Games and the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games. By the time the County was

selected to host these games, YongPyong Resort had already functioned as a staging area for the 1999 Asian Winter Games.

There are eight communities located in PyeongChang County (Figure 4-4): (a) PyeongChang-eup (population 9,041; the county seat), (b) Jinbu-myeon (population 9,599), (c) Daegwallyeong-myeon (population 6,218) (d) Daehwa-myeon (population 5,846), (e) Bongpyeong-myeon (population 5,727), (f) Yongpyeong-myeon (population 3,159), (g) Banglim-myeon (population 2,532), and (h) Mitán-myeon (population 1,787) (PyeongChang County Statistics Service, 2018). As mentioned, Gangwon Province and PyeongChang County were behind the national development planning, which included a massive construction of expressways and railroads for other regions. Due to the significance of having transportation-related infrastructure, communities in PyeongChang County underwent a major change when Youngdong Expressway was constructed in 1975 (Doori Space and Environment Research Center, 2013). Later, Youngdong Expressway was reconstructed for the 2018 Olympic Games, so as to increase the flow of traffic from the Metropolitan areas near the capital city of Seoul to the communities. Since then more residents have made use of the Youngdong Expressway.

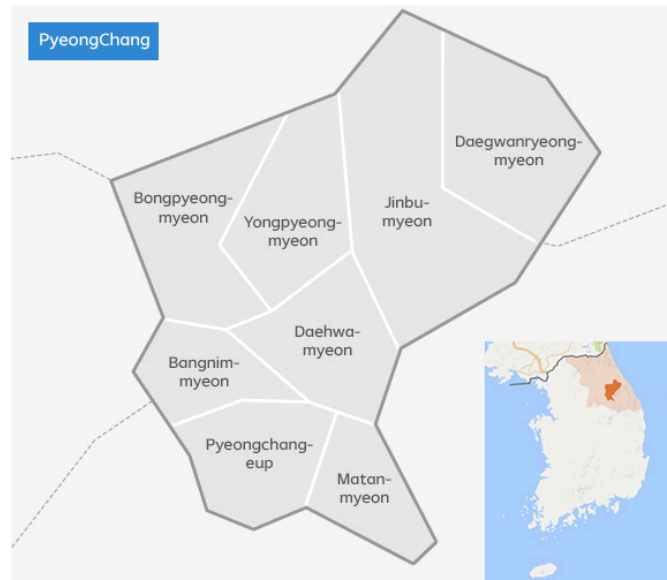


Figure 4-4. Location of Daegwallyeong-myeon in PyeongChang County (POCOG, 2017)

Daegwallyeong-myeon is located in the Northeastern part of PyeongChang County (Figure 4-4; Daegwallyeong-myeon is spelled differently in Figure 4-4 because when Figure 4-4 was published in 2017, there was no consensus built on what the official English phonetic notation of Daegwallyeong-myeon would be), where the altitude for residential areas is highest. In fact, ‘Daegwallyeong’ is the name of a mountain pass that connects the West and East side of the Taebaek Mountains. Daegwallyeong-myeon was previously known as Doam-myeon, but in 2007 the Doam-myeon Office submitted a constitutional petition to change its name to Daegwallyeong-myeon. It argued that ‘Daegwallyeong’ was a more familiar name for residents as well as an easier name for international visitors to remember due to the history of the mountain pass (Choi, 2007).

As of 2014 the total population of Daegwallyeong-myeon was 6,218 (PyeongChang County Statistics Service, 2018), making it the third largest of the county’s eight communities, following Jinbu-myeon and PyeongChang-eup. Between 2001 and 2010, the average temperature

of Daegwallyeong-myeon was 6.3 degrees Celsius (43.34 Fahrenheit), the lowest among the eight communities in PyeongChang County (Korea Global Atmosphere Watch Center, 2018). According to the Korean Meteorological Administration (2018) the altitude of Daegwallyeong-myeon is 772.4m, higher than the average altitude of PyeongChang County by more than 100m. Daegwallyeong-myeon is thus considered an alpine climate with frequent strong winds, fog, and lower temperatures. Even in the late summer between June and October the average temperature of Daegwallyeong-myeon does not go higher than 20 degrees Celsius (68 Fahrenheit). More than 110 days per year in this region are lower than 0 degrees Celsius (32 Fahrenheit), which means that Daegwallyeong-myeon is colder than other areas in the County and Province.

Because it has the lowest average temperature, Daegwallyeong-myeon has been a popular vacation spot during both summer and winter seasons (Korea Meteorological Administration, 2018). In the winter seasons particularly, Daegwallyeong-myeon has attracted many snow sports enthusiasts. As previously mentioned there are two mountain resorts located in Daegwallyeong-myeon, YongPyong Resort and Alpensia Resort. Given that the community's total population as of 2014 was 6,219 we can surmise that the resorts are predominantly consumed by visitors from outside of the community. The community's appeal to outsiders extends to other industries as well. For example, Daegwallyeong-myeon is a regional base for South Korea's major ranching companies, such as Samyang (Doori Space and Environment Research Center, 2013). There are currently two large-sized ranches in the region; one is owned and operated by an individual (Mr. YoungDae Jeon) and the other by Samyang, a South Korean food and dairy corporation. These ranches manufacture dairy products and function as major tourist destinations.

In 2011 the IOC announced that PyeongChang will host the 2018 Winter Olympic Games. As part of PyeongChang County Daegwallyeong-myeon became a major host

community for the Olympic Games, housing the Main Stadium, the Olympic Village, the PyeongChang Main Press Center, and venues for sledge and skiing events (ski slopes and ski jumping facility). This functionality was aided by the two existing resorts, which were utilized as major facilities for the Olympic Games. In what follows I detail Daegwallyeong-myeon's development as a winter sports and tourist destination.

4.1.2 Daegwallyeong-Myeon as the First Ski Village of South Korea

We say that in Daegwallyeong-myeon, the sun rises over the snow and sets down onto the snow.

– Participant #18

Due to the large amount of snowfall and its alpine climate Daegwallyeong-myeon has been known as a 'snow village (눈마을; noon-ma-eul, Figure 4-5)' and 'the birthplace of Korean ski culture (한국 스키 발상지; Han-gook-ski-bal-sang-ji, Figure 4-6)'. It is also called 'the first village under the sky (하늘 아래 첫 동네; Ha-neul-a-rae-chut-dong-ne)' because of its high altitude. This renown began in 1949, when Daegwallyeong-myeon was first developed into a skiing destination by the members of the Korea Ski Association (Choi, 2018). Before Daegwallyeong-myeon was first visited by the Korea Ski Association, the mountains in North Korea were the location of choice for Japanese skiers (Rie, 2018). Japanese skiers came to the Korean peninsula in the context of colonialism. Indeed, Korea was under Japanese control until 1945. The Japanese sent to Korea as part of the colonial government were the ones who introduced skiing to Korea in 1920's (Rie, 2018). When Korea became independent in 1945 the Korean Ski Association endeavored to find and develop ski slopes in the Southern part of the Korean peninsula (modern day South Korea), so as to establish a balance between Northern and

Southern skiing infrastructure. These developments, beginning in the late 1940s, transformed Daegwallyeong-myeon into a winter sports village. As Daegwallyeong-myeon became better known to Korean skiers, more ski slopes were developed and visited. This created the material base for Daegwallyeong-myeon's first ski competition, held in 1950, including the 30th National Winter Sports Festival, which was the first National Winter Sports Festival in South Korea that had a ski competition for the first time in 29 years (Choi, 2018).



Figure 4-5. A monument in Daegwallyeong-myeon: “Snow village” (Photo by the author)



Figure 4-6. A monument in Daegwallyeong-myeon: “Cradle of Korean ski” (Photo by the author)

Choi’s study (2018) offers an in-depth narrative from data collected through interviews with elder skiers who were part of the early development of ski infrastructure in Daegwallyeong-myeon. One of her participants explained that when ski slopes were built, Daegwallyeong-myeon went through a considerable growth spurt. Similar to Choi’s study (2018), participant #27 of my study shared:

Have you seen the empty house on the hill behind the Daegwallyeong-myeon Office? It only has a chimney and walls now. That’s Daegwallyeong Mountain Cabin. That Cabin is one of the five first Mountain Cabins in South Korea built in and near Daegwallyeong-myeon. It was a place for the first generation of Korean skiers, which means Daegwallyeong-myeon has been a center and a birthplace of Korean ski culture. Skiers from Seoul stayed in one of the three Mountain Cabins to ski in Daegwallyeong-myeon. As he explained, there were five Mountain Cabins built concurrently with the first ski slopes in Daegwallyeong-myeon: Daegwallyeong Mountain Cabin (year unknown), Baik Mountain Cabin

(built in 1955), Osudori Mountain Cabin (built in 1957), Nok Mountain Cabin (built in 1958), and Bariak Mountain Cabin (year unknown). Daegwallyeong Mountain Cabin was built by Gangwon Province and the other four were built by individuals who were from outside of Daegwallyeong-myeon. According to Choi (2018), Daegwallyeong-myeon was in poverty and extremely underdeveloped at that time and so local residents did not have resources to invest in building mountain cabins and/or developing ski slopes. The investment therefore had to come from outside the community. Another individual who participated in my study, participant #20, a former ski athlete who currently works as a regional representative for a national organization, shared his memory of being a child growing up in Daegwallyeong-myeon. His story shows that even when Daegwallyeong-myeon was not formally developed for skiing its residents still partook in the sport:

Actually, there is no doubt or counter opinion that Daegwallyeong-myeon is a pioneering community for skiing. And it was a natural thing to happen because of the massive amount of snowfall. We were not able to go to school without wearing skis on a snow day. Daegwallyeong-myeon lagged behind the city areas back then as well, so we did not have any leisure or play such as television or radio. No family had those devices in Daegwallyeong-myeon. The only play available to the children of Daegwallyeong-myeon was skiing. We used to gather every morning to ski on the hills behind the town.

While participant #20's story recounts the state of skiing in the 1960's, participant #1 shared his memory of Daegwallyeong-myeon's landscape in the 1970's, approximately ten years later. According to him Daegwallyeong-myeon was still underdeveloped in 1970's. Back then, Daegwallyeong-myeon did not have anything to attract tourists. Surrounding the downtown area was all fields and paddies, which were not even fertile, according to the residents. Farmlands of

Napa cabbages, radishes, potatoes were the only landscape of Daegwallyeong-myeon. There were no decent buildings or housings.

As more visitors came to Daegwallyeong-myeon to stay in the cabins and ski on its slopes, the local economy began flourishing into a ski village. This was the context for its being selected as the site for the first ski and mountain resort in South Korea, YongPyong Resort, by a business man named Suk-Won Kim, owner of South Korean conglomerate SsangYong (Cho, 2011). YongPyong Resort opened in 1975. It was the first facility with modern technology, imported for the purposes of building quality ski slopes with lifts for snowplows, snow groomers, and snow mobiles (YongPyong Resort, 2018).

YongPyong Resort opened the same year as Youngdong Expressway, which connected the Metropolitan area surrounding Seoul to Daegwallyeong-myeon. These openings coincided with the building of an interchange (the Hoenggye Interchange), designed to better serve the increasing number of visitors to Daegwallyeong-myeon and YongPyong Resort (Choi, 2018). Residents remembered when the YongPyeong Resort opened in 1975. According to them, after the opening of the resort, visitors from the city area, mainly from Seoul, increased. They came to Daegwallyeong-myeon to play golf during summers and to ski during winters at YongPyong Resort. Residents also talked about how Daegwallyeong-myeon looked like back then. There were very few restaurants, and thus, the restaurants were always packed with customers particularly during the weekends. Residents collectively said that YongPyong Resort made a big change in Daegwallyeong-myeon. Therefore, Daegwallyeong-myeon's history after 1975 cannot be fully understood without taking into consideration the presence and impact of YongPyong Resort.

Indeed, a substantial amount of Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents once worked or are currently working for the Resort. During the first stage of my field research I met Mr. JaeSik Uh, who competed at the 1967 Grenoble Winter Olympic Games as a member of the South Korean national team. Our meeting happened accidentally and at an unexpected occasion, and so the interview was not audio-recorded. Instead I recorded our exchange in my field notes. There I noted that Mr. Uh was a local resident of Daegwallyeong-myeon who had become a qualified athlete in skiing and later hired by YongPyong Resort. He had worked as a ski instructor, the head of YongPyong Ski School, and an administrator. According to Mr. Uh, he and other locals who had a career in skiing were recruited by YongPyong Resort. Participant #20 is one such example: a former ski athlete. He shared a memory with me from when he worked as a ski patrol member at the YongPyong Resort in 1980's:

When I was serving in the army, my friends were working at YongPyong Resort. After I finished my military duty, I joined them as a ski patrol. It was the first ski patrol team of our country. Back then, there was no other modern ski facility in South Korea. So I and colleagues were very busy handling general customers as well as regional and national competitions. . . . Sometimes I got a chance to work as an instructor for VIPs such as government officials, generals, or congressmen. It was a good experience.

YongPyong Resort later became a main venue for the 1999 Gangwon Asian Winter Games, which was held in three different sites in Gangwon Province: Chuncheon, Gangneung, and Daegwallyeong-myeon. The Resort was also utilized as a venue for some skiing events at the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games. When asked about the history of Daegwallyeong-myeon, one participant (#26) remembered that the 1999 Asian Winter Games had an impact on Daegwallyeong-myeon because it was the first international sport mega-event held in

Daegwallyeong-myeon. According to her, the ski shops and rental shops in and near downtown Daegwallyeong-myeon opened around the time of the 1999 Asian Winter Games. She said there were only a few shops in Daegwallyeong-myeon before these Games.

After the 1999 Asian Winter Games Daegwallyeong-myeon went on to host the 2013 Special Winter Olympic Games and then the 2018 Winter Olympic Games. With each of these experiences residents became increasingly familiar with hosting international sport events. The first two experiences motivated residents to host the 2018 Winter Olympic Games, despite their having lost the bids for the 2010 and the 2014 Winter Olympic Games (to Vancouver, Canada and Sochi, Russia, respectively). Figure 4-7 provides a summarized timeline of important events in Daegwallyeong-myeon.

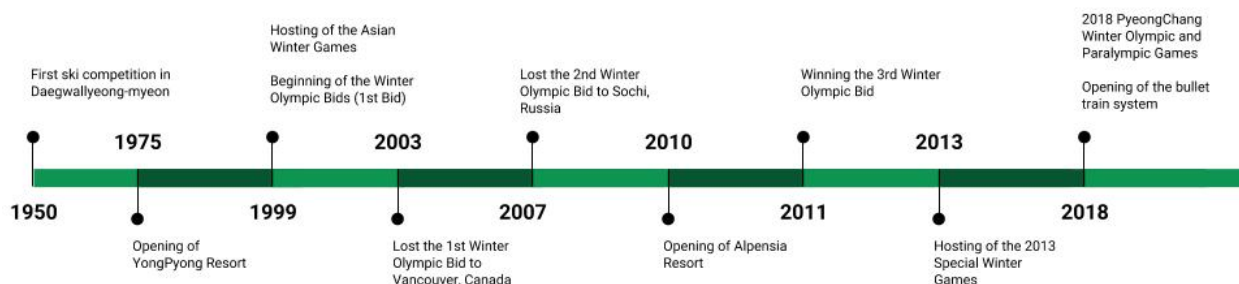


Figure 4-7. Timeline of events in Daegwallyeong-myeon

Another mountain resort for snow sports in Daegwallyeong-myeon is Alpensia Resort. It was constructed by the Gangwon Development Corporation, a public corporation affiliated with the local government of Gangwon Province. Alpensia Resort was built so as to help the community win its bid to host the 2014 Winter Olympic Games. But PyeongChang lost the bid in 2007, while construction was underway. Construction was subsequently stopped while the stakeholders (i.e., government of South Korea, Gangwon Province, PyeongChang County, and

the local residents) decided whether or not to reapply for the 2018 Winter Olympic Games.

Alpensia Resort was finally opened in 2010, but due to the resort's smaller and shorter slopes it experienced financial struggles from its commencement. Even though Alpensia Resort invested more on its facilities, skiers preferred YongPyong Resort because it had more and longer slopes, better instructors, and a well established reputation. But Alpensia Resort was built with other audiences and purposes in mind. It attracted the foreign capital of the InterContinental Hotels Group (IHG), a global hotel chain, and housed both the InterContinental PyeongChang and the Holiday Inn PyeongChang. These facilities were utilized by multiple delegations and officials from the international sport governing bodies during the 2018 PyeongChang Olympics. Alpensia Resort also hosted the main office of POCOG before it moved near the downtown area of Daegwallyeong-myeon.

In sum, Daegwallyeong-myeon has two large-sized mountain resorts for snow sports. YongPyong Resort has been attracting many skiers from different parts of South Korea as well as international tourists from Southeast Asia and China. YongPyong Resort has a reputation as the first modern ski facility in South Korea, and still boasts its number, size, and length of slopes. Residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon consider YongPyong Resort as an important and useful resource for them to make a living by working for the Resort as well as managing and/or working at a restaurant or accommodation business targeting skiers, golfers, and visitors. They also believe that the presence of YongPyong Resort established a foundation to host the 2018 Winter Olympic Games, because the Resort is considered to contribute substantially to the history and development of winter sports, especially snow sports, in South Korea. There was a collective perception among the research participants who were local of Daegwallyeong-myeon that Daegwallyeong-myeon is the best place to participate in winter sports, particularly snow-

related sports such as skiing and snowboarding. Participant #22 explained: “We have a pride that Daegwallyeong-myeon is the birthplace of skiing in South Korea. We also have YongPyong Resort, and recently Alpensia Resort opened too.” Participant #20 suggested similarly: “Daegwallyeong-myeon is the center of South Korean winter sports. It is absolutely without doubt that Daegwallyeong-myeon is the most qualified town to host the Winter Olympic Games in South Korea.” Indeed, Daegwallyeong-myeon and especially YongPyong Resort is still considered to be a place where the South Korean ski culture was derived.

4.2 Configuration of Stakeholder Groups

Indeed, globalization is produced as much in the communities of the weak as in the organizations of the powerful.

– Michael Burawoy (2001)

As owner of the Olympic Games, the IOC defines the product scope, scale, program and operational requirements. It sets and manages the Candidate Process, elects the host cities and sets the contractual rules of engagement (Host City Contract).

Following the host city election, the IOC’s role is essentially one of contract management to oversee and support the work of the local Organizing Committee of the Olympic Games (OCOG), while the real delivery of sustainability performance is the job of the host city and the OCOG.

– The International Olympic Committee (2017)

The complexity of Olympic management, specifically the management of Olympic-driven community development in this study, manifests in many facets. One useful way to make sense of the complexity is by analyzing the different groups of people – stakeholders – involved in the process of Olympic-related development. All development projects are planned and

operated by heterogeneous groups who represent different interests and stakes. Mato (1997) argued that it is necessary to clarify the critical categories of people in order to “examine some of the multiple forms in which so called “global” and “local” experiences are actually related” (p. 169). He proposed four categories for classifying groups of people located in analytically different levels: local agents, national agents, transnational agents, and global agents.

Mato defined local agents as individuals and organizations whose social practices are mainly focused on the same locality where they are based. But local agents can sometimes develop their practices beyond the locality and maintain relations with social agents from abroad. National agents on the other hand are those whose practices are regularly developed at national levels, while transnational agents are those whose practices are developed across international borders. Finally, global agents are a subclass of the transnational agents whose practices are regularly developed “not just transnationally but tendentially at worldwide levels” (Mato, 1997, p. 171).

In my study there are three different groups of stakeholders: the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon, officials who work for different levels of government, and employees of the POCOG. There is also one group that is not involved in this study but who greatly impacts the management of Olympic-driven community development: the IOC and its members. The IOC is the owner of the Olympic Games and could be considered the most prominent “amateur” sport organization in the world (International Olympic Committee, 2005). In Mato’s terms it is a global agent: an organization composed of members from more than 100 countries. The IOC identifies itself as a non-governmental organization overseeing more than 200 National Olympic Committees worldwide (Chappelet & Kübler-Mabbott, 2008). Although the organization is an association of individuals, since its members “represent and promote the IOC’s interest in their

countries and not vice versa” (p. 20), it functions as a global institution. The IOC’s governance transcends borders to reach worldwide: it governs the NOCs of each member country *and* the IFs (e.g., International Ski Federation, International Ice Hockey Federation). Thus in the context of my study the IOC is defined as a global agent.

The IOC directly supervises the Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games. The Organizing Committee is in charge of planning and staging the Olympic Games successfully in its local host community. It communicates with the IOC directly so it does not have to go through regional or national governments to deliberate Olympic-related issues. The Organizing Committee’s quotidian operations also go beyond national boundaries because it manages a *global* sport event, the Olympic Games. Its employees work directly with the IOC, NOCs, and IFs to manage the venue, event, and logistics such as transportation and accommodations. As a transnational agent the Organizing Committee also interacts with local agents because it must prepare and stage the Olympic Games in a space that technically belongs to local agents. In order to execute the Olympics, it communicates directly with the locals through numerous meetings and hearings. Therefore, the Organizing Committee is a transnational agent that concurrently interacts with local agents. This unique characteristic makes the Organizing Committee the mediator between different levels of agents in the Olympic context (e.g., connecting the global IOC with the local host community).

In my study the category of national agent includes the government officials of PyeongChang County and Daegwallyeong-myeon. Their practices are relatively delimited to the region, especially when compared to the working practices of the Organizing Committee. Government officials rarely interact with the IOC directly. Instead, they go through the Organizing Committee because the Organizing Committee represents the IOC within the

national border hosting the Olympic Games. The last category of agents in my study are the local agents: the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon. Their developmental practices and interests are mostly centered on the locality of Daegwallyeong-myeon, although sometimes they may interact with transnational or global agents.

Understanding these categories and the relationships among them is important because transnational-local relations and local-global relations capture the process of globalization. In other words, we are past the days when establishing relations between nations was a prerequisite to practicing and participating in globalization. In this study I consequently focus on the local-transnational relations between the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon and the POCOG, and the local-global relations between the residents and the IOC, or the Olympic Games. I also discuss the tripartite relationship among the local-transnational-global.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS

What does it mean for the critical ethnographer to “resist domestication”? It means that she will use the resources, skills, and privileges available to her to make accessible – to penetrate the borders and break through the confines in defense of – the voices and experiences of subjects whose stories are otherwise restrained and out of reach.

– D. Soyini Madison (2012)

This chapter provides an analyses of the multi-faceted data collected through ethnographic fieldwork. As detailed in Chapter III, two phases of ethnographic fieldwork were conducted in Daegwallyeong-myeon, PyeongChang County: First in the pre-Olympic period between June and August of 2017, and then during and after the Olympic Games, from February to April 2018. The second phase includes the Olympic Games (February 9-25, 2018), the Paralympic Games (March 9-18, 2018), and post-Olympic period (from March 19, 2018 onward). I collected multiple types of data from multiple sources, including published documents by the IOC and the POCOG, participant and non-participant observations, field notes (fieldwork diaries), photographs, printed documents collected from the residents and the local government, media reports including articles and photographs, and in-depth interviews with stakeholders such as the residents and government officials of Daegwallyeong-myeon, and the employees of PyeongChang County Offices and the POGOG.

To address my research questions, in what follows I analyze the processes through which Daegwallyeong-myeon’s community was developed, drawing on theories of community development (Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004) and globalization (Ritzer, 1995, 2003; Robertson,

1994, 1995; Wallerstein, 1974, 1998). My chapter is organized according to the timeline of the Olympic Games (pre-Olympic period, the period of Olympic preparation, and post-Olympic period) because the data analysis resulted in findings corresponding to these three different time frames. That being so, I connected each research question to the sections and themes presented below to effectively map them onto the findings of this study.

The pre-Olympic period details how Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents participated in the three consecutive Olympic bids as a way of contributing to their community development. This section addresses RQ-1, RQ-2a, RQ-3a and RQ-3b. I investigate their felt-needs (RQ-3a), self-help, and participation (RQ-3b; Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004) by paying particular attention to the residents' worldview (RQ-1 and RQ-2a; i.e., how they locate their community and themselves in a global sphere). In the section on the preparation period I delineate the processes and consequences of the encounter between Daegwallyeong-myeon (a small, rural, and underdeveloped community) and the Winter Olympic Games (a sport mega-event that is inherently extravagant, immense, and global). This section collectively answers the second group of research questions. The dynamics by which these contending forces negotiate and dispute are presented using theories of globalization: World-systems (Wallerstein, 1974, 1998), glocalization (Robertson, 1994, 1995), and grobalization (Ritzer, 1995, 2003). I am especially attentive to comparing the management strategies of each group for Daegwallyeong-myeon's community development: the global; the International Olympic Committee and the Olympic Games, the transnational; the POCOG (RQ-2d), and the local; residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon (RQ-2b and RQ-2c). I evaluate Olympic-driven changes, outcomes, and repercussions so as to understand the efforts and desires of different groups of stakeholders (RQ-3e). As part of this process, and to address the third group of research questions, I consider the residents' felt-needs

(RQ-3a), self-help, and participation (RQ-3b) for Olympic-driven community development in detail. Lastly, I provide an in-depth analysis of post-Olympic community development, focusing on how the residents' endeavor to sustain the flow of Olympic-driven progress for the following decades.

Synthesizing the contextual dynamics with time-framed analyses of the Olympic-driven community development processes enables me to examine the solidarity and agency within, between, and among different stakeholders (RQ-3c and RQ-3d). I deem as negative the conflicts that occurred during the community development process, and positive the solidarity that emerged because it offers the potential for sustainable community development. **Chapter V** concludes with a discussion of agency as an apparatus for empowering Daegwallyeong-myeon's sustainable community development through the Olympic Games 'from the grassroots'. This theoretical approach is situated locally by my considering agency in the context of Daegwallyeong-myeon's unique characteristics.

5.1 Prior to Winning the Winter Olympic Bid: 1999-2011

Collected data from the two fieldwork visits contained substantial components related to the period prior to winning the 2018 Winter Olympic bid that occurred in July of 2011. During that time, Daegwallyeong-myeon had tried for three consecutive Olympic bids. As previously mentioned, Daegwallyeong-myeon (and PyeongChang County) applied to host the 2010 and 2014 Winter Olympic Games but did not win both bids. Although the community finally won the bid for the 2018 Games, residents' support and contribution emerged and developed from the very beginning with the first bid in 1999. Below I provide an analysis on the felt-needs, self-help, and participation of Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents for the Olympic bids.

5.1.1 Felt-Needs of the Host Community

According to the theory of community development, development projects should respond to community's needs; that is, they should be demand-based. Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents as well as the POCOG strongly perceived that the community is underdeveloped. Therefore, hosting the Olympic Games was perceived to be a fast development strategy for the community. Suggested below are the residents' perceptions on the condition and reasons for Daegwallyeong-myeon's underdevelopment. The POCOG's perspective on the pre-Olympic condition of the community is examined using the organization's publications. With strong felt-needs, residents actively participated in the Olympic bids practices from the first to the third. The section **5.1.1.1 Perception of Underdevelopment** addresses RQ-1 and RQ-2a by providing an analysis on the characteristics of Daegwallyeong-myeon as an underdeveloped community and how the residents located Daegwallyeong-myeon in the global Olympic structure.

5.1.1.1 Perception of Underdevelopment

Despite their pride in, and commitment to, snow sports, there is a strong perception from the residents that Gangwon Province, PyeongChang County, and Daegwallyeong-myeon have been excluded from national projects, especially infrastructure. Thus, there exists among residents a sense of alienation, and of lagging behind other regions in the country – juxtaposed with their pride and commitment. And this perception was shared by the POCOG. For example, a document published by the POCOG entitled *PyeongChang 2018 pre-Games sustainability report: Furthering benefits to people and nature*, states that:

Gangwon Province, the Host Province of PyeongChang 2018, is the only region whose land and identity are both directly impacted by the division of the Korean peninsula. Due

to its mostly mountainous terrain, the region had stayed relatively underdeveloped in its economic and social infrastructure. Hosting the [Olympic] Game is a priceless opportunity for the local community to gain new energy and economic prosperity from building a hub of winter sports. (p. 39)

This statement suggests that there are two causes of Gangwon Province's underdevelopment: (a) its division from the Korean peninsula, and (b) the Province's mountainous terrain. As previously discussed, its division from the Korean peninsula is associated with Gangwon Province's significance as a military region. That the Province has mountains of high altitude has also impeded the development of roads, including both expressways and high-speed trains.

Since residents in Daegwallyeong-myeon (or PyeongChang County in the case of participant #23) also perceived themselves as belonging to Gangwon Province, they saw the Province's underdevelopment as a sign of limited political power:

Gangwon Province has a much smaller population compared to other provinces. We have approximately less than 1,500,000 (one and half million), probably close to 1,200,000 or 1,300,000. You know, in the governmental side, less population means less power. Why? Because less population means less votes are available for the politicians. We have a small population, so they don't want to invest and support Gangwon Province. They don't think it's worth doing. They would rather pay more attention to the provinces where there are more potential voters. (Participant #23)

Participant #23 has worked as a government official at the PyeongChang County Office, managing volunteer recruitment and supervision. His statement explains how as a local of PyeongChang County he believed that the Province's smaller population directly impacted the region's political power. This perspective was shared by others. For example, I have recorded in

my field notes a speech by the secretary general of the Gangwon Cultural Citizenship Campaign Association during a workshop session held at YongPyong Resort:

Gangwon Province has large land but a relatively small population. Our population is only 3 percent of whole Korean population. That's why our interests have not been addressed and our region has been marginalized. . . . We have been treated as periphery in South Korean territory regardless of which political party came into power. Seoul built multiple new roads when it hosted the 1988 Olympics. We should demand the same, or at least a similar amount of support from the government.

A similar opinion was expressed by participant #18, a local of Daegwallyeong-myeon who actively participated in the Olympic process, from the first bid to staging the Games, by holding a supportive administrative role in multiple committees. I interviewed him in late March 2018, after the Olympic Games had ended. Despite the region's having won the bid and staged the Games, he did not think they had received enough support from the central government to host the Olympic Games. He drew on other regions in South Korea as examples, to stress the developmental gap between their region and others:

Gangwon Province has always been neglected by the government. We [residents of Gangwon Province, including those of PyeongChang County and Daegwallyeong-myeon] did not have a chance to seize the benefits of national development. Think about the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympic Games. The government devoted all its strength to build and sustain relevant infrastructure. See Yeosu Expo [an international exposition event held in the city of Yeosu, located in South Jeolla Province]. The event was financed heavily by the government and it is now being supported for an effective post management. Seoul and Yeosu have political power and they utilized that power to build

the event management system. But we [Gangwon Province] don't have that much power.

We are politically marginalized because we have a smaller population. This is the most frustrating thing for me (Participant #18).

Both participant #18 and #23 used the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympic Games hosted by the capital city of South Korea as a counter example to their experience in Daegwallyeong-myeon, PyeongChang County, and Gangwon Province. At the core of the comparison was the difference in infrastructure – particularly the railroad system. South Korea has constructed a dense system of bullet trains called KTX (Korea Train Express) across most of the country since 2004. Gangwon was the only Province that did not secure the system until December 2017. Their bullet train system was finally completed in 2018, for the Winter Olympic Games. At last Daegwallyeong-myeon and PyeongChang County were able to access the bullet train system, 13 years after other regions. Participant #16 indicated frustration with this delay in an interview. I interviewed him during my first phase of fieldwork, which was before the opening of the new bullet train. At the time he was working for the POCOG. He states:

From Wonju to Gangneung, it takes one hour and half by bus. But if we take a train, it takes seven hours. You know why? Gangneung and Wonju both have a train station. I guess the name of the railroad is Youngdong Line. The trains for this line are not for passenger traffic. They were constructed to transport coals [Gangwon Province used to have multiple coal mines in the mountain areas]. Because mountains in Daegwallyeong area were too high to construct a train with old technology, the trains circumvent all the way to the areas where the altitude is low enough. When other Provinces all have the KTX system, we did not have that. Isn't it ridiculous that it takes seven hours by train while it only takes one hour and half by bus, for the same distance?

The KTX bullet train system in South Korea has been the source of major inter-regional transportation for most regions, excepting Gangwon Province (including PyeongChang County and Daegwallyeong-myeon). In light of their singular lack of access to the bullet train system, the participants' frustration seemed rational. I discuss the bullet train system in more detail in **5.2.4.1 Infrastructure** and in **5.2.5.1 Collective Action for the Community** because it was one of the most controversial issues raised during the conversations I had with participants.

In sum, there were multiple aspects of underdevelopment of Gangwon Province, PyeongChang County, and Daegwallyeong-myeon – all of which were raised by different participants as well as other source of data: their geographic location between South and North Korea, the region's military function in the division of the Korean peninsula, its large area of high mountains, its relatively small population and its resulting limited political power which marginalized the regions' developmental interest. The perception that their region was underdeveloped addresses RQ-1 and RQ-2a that focus on the condition of Daegwallyeong-myeon and its relevance to the Olympic bids and management. The perception had two consequences. First, it led to the extremely strong aspiration for hosting the Olympic Games. Second, the perception was reflected in a process of self-peripherization by the Daegwallyeong-myeon residents. The strong aspiration is discussed below in **5.1.1.2 The Olympic Aspiration**, and the process of self-peripherization is analyzed in **5.2.5.2 Aspirations to be a Global Town**.

5.1.1.2 The Olympic Aspiration

RQ-3a asked about the residents' need for Olympic-driven community development. This section responds to this question by providing detailed findings that articulate the residents' strong Olympic aspiration. The residents' perception that the region was underdeveloped elicited

an aspiration to host the Winter Olympic Games so as to optimize the event as a generator for the development of Daegwallyeong-myeon. The regional pride in being the birthplace of Korean ski culture and the residents' continuing commitment to winter sports also played a part in the growing desire to host. The aspiration to host the Olympic Games was evident in the data collected during the first phase of fieldwork (June to August, 2017) from before the Olympic Games (February to March, 2018) were held. This initial phase of fieldwork took place amidst active preparation for the Olympic Games, so study participants had a very high, sometimes seemingly inflated expectation that the Olympic Games would stimulate Daegwallyeong-myeon. They often insisted that hosting the Olympic Games would fully transform the community in a positive way, enabling technological and infrastructural advancement. Participant #29, head of the Daegwallyeong-myeon Government Office, suggested that "hosting the Olympic Games will advance the community development of Daegwallyeong-myeon by more than 50 years." These sentiments were echoed in speeches delivered by community leaders and the government officials of Daegwallyeong-myeon in a regular community organization meeting that took place in June of 2017. From the perspective of these speakers the ability to host the Olympic Games is a miracle given to Daegwallyeong-myeon. For instance, participant #18 observed:

The residents believed that hosting the Olympic Games will make all of our wishes come true. Train station and railroad system, new roads, community sport facilities such as track, playing field, and community recreation center. So we thought that hosting the Olympic Games is our dream, a dream that will make Daegwallyeong-myeon a much better community than before.

Thus, for the region's residents hosting the Olympic Games was seen as a miracle because it would elicit the attention and funding needed to close the developmental gap between

Daegwallyeong-myeon and other regions. As described by participant #1, chair of a county sport commission and local of Daegwallyeong-myeon:

Daegwallyeong-myeon is behind the times within PyeongChang County. PyeongChang County lags behind other counties in Gangwon Province. Gangwon Province is the most underdeveloped in South Korea. This is why we must optimize this opportunity, the Olympics, as a chance to transform Daegwallyeong-myeon.

Alongside most of the other interviewees, for participant #1 hosting the Olympic Games is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to develop Daegwallyeong-myeon in a speedy manner. Since he understood that their small population and limited political power were obstacles to national support, he saw the Olympic Games as the last chance to secure enough funding for constructing necessary infrastructure in Daegwallyeong-myeon. He insisted:

The update of buildings, roads, streetscapes, and other infrastructure should have been done way before we won the Olympic bid, I think. In Daegwallyeong-myeon, we haven't had the updates and improvements for about 10 to 15 years. Until we had the Olympic Games, Daegwallyeong-myeon had not received benefits from the central government for any development project, I think. That's why we, residents, believe that with the Olympic-related development, Daegwallyeong-myeon will be completely updated and improved.

Participant #15, another restaurant owner in Daegwallyeong-myeon, shared this sentiment in an interview that took place after the Olympic Games, during the second phase of fieldwork:

There is no other town in the world like us, I mean, we are the smallest town who applied for the Olympics for three consecutive times. If we did not win the bid, Daegwallyeong-myeon would never have had this developmental opportunity because we have a small

population, which means small power and voice. The Olympics is our [residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon] long-cherished desire, our wish. Without the Olympics, these changes [newly constructed infrastructure] would have never happened in a hundred years. Because before hosting the Olympic Games the central government didn't have a legitimate justification for investing money to develop Daegwallyeong-myeon. Now the government sees the obligation to spend money on Daegwallyeong-myeon, PyeongChang County, and Gangwon Province.

This testimony attests to residents' strong desire to host the Olympic Games because it presented an opportunity to address and correct their underdeveloped infrastructure. Since Daegwallyeong-myeon hosted the 1999 Asian Winter Games – the first international winter sports event held in South Korea – participants recognized that hosting such events could generate community development. But the Asian Winter Games were a smaller-scale event in terms of participating countries and athletes. The data I collected suggests that residents clearly understood the differences of scale between the Olympic Games and the Asian Games, and understood that there would be differences in the developmental impact of each event. Back in 1999, explains participant #26, an employee at a local store selling Daegwallyeong-myeon's agricultural products, there was an increase of ski shops designed to target audiences for the 1999 Asian Winter Games. Participant #20 shared that those preparations also led to the construction of an internationally-qualified ski slopes and a gondola system to connect the base and the peak in YongPyong Resort: "The gondola system and the new internationally-qualified super giant slalom, I believe, have been a foundation to host the Olympic Games." This history served as the context for their excitement about hosting the Olympics. But while residents' experiences with community development during the 1999 Asian Winter Games played into their

aspiration to host the Olympics, they also had substantially bigger expectations for the Olympic Games, which has a global scale.

As explained in **Chapter IV**, there had been three significant phases of development in Daegwallyeong-myeon. First was the opening of YongPyong Resort in 1975 because it initiated Daegwallyeong-myeon's image as a South Korean ski destination. However, due to inadequate cultural foundation for winter sports in general and snow sports more specifically in South Korea, the community development during this period thus moved relatively slowly when compared to later in 1990's and beyond. The second phase of development occurred in 1999, with the hosting the 1999 Asian Winter Games, of which came with infrastructural developments. With these two experiences in mind, Daegwallyeong-myeon residents had seen the generative potential of hosting sport mega-events and thus supported the bid to host the Olympic Games. Over the course of the first two phases, a substantial amount of snow sports facilities were also constructed in locations closer to city areas like Seoul, which unfortunately led to a decrease in visitors to YongPyong Resort in the 1990's and 2000's. Participant #27, an unemployed resident who moved to Daegwallyeong-myeon in the early 1990's, shared his memory of when visitors decreased:

In the late 1990's, around when the Asian Winter Games was held, and in the early 2000's, the downtown of Daegwallyeong-myeon was very crowded with visitors during the winter seasons. Every single car had ski carrier for automobiles. But then many snow sports resorts opened near the metropolitan area of Seoul, such as Gonjiam Resort, Jisan Resort, Yangji Resort, Gangchon Resort. People living in the metropolitan area did not come to YongPyong, to Daegwallyeong-myeon anymore because they had other options in a closer distance. I think this is another reason why Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents

were extremely enthusiastic, and even obsessive with hosting the Olympic Games. People wanted to revive the good old days of Daegwallyeong-myeon through the Olympics. Thus, there were multiple factors generating the desire to host the Olympic Games.

Despite the residents' passion, Daegwallyeong-myeon and PyeongChang County failed in two bids. The two failed bids made Daegwallyeong-myeon (PyeongChang County) the only community in the Olympic history to apply three times to host the Olympic Games. They first tried in the early 2000's with a bid to host the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. Participant #22, a local of Daegwallyeong-myeon who owns a construction business, shared his experience with this bid:

It was, I guess, 1999 when the initial conversation among the residents began. It was when we hosted the Asian Winter Games. We said "Let's try for the Olympic Games since we successfully hosted the Asian Games." Until then Japan was the only country that hosted the Winter Olympic Games in Asia. Mr. Jin-Sun Kim, the governor of Gangwon Province back then, also agreed to support our effort . . . so we [residents] officially launched the bid preparation in 2001, two years prior to the selection in 2003. That's when the official PyeongChang Bid Committee was formed by the government. I think we did not have enough time to fully prepare in the case of the first bid. We only had two years.

Despite efforts by residents, local, and central governments, in 2003 at the IOC Session held in Guatemala City, Guatemala, PyeongChang lost against Vancouver (Canada) for the 2010 Winter Games. This was followed by another loss four years later at the 2007 IOC Session held in Prague, Czech Republic, where Sochi (Russia) won the bid to host the 2014 Winter Games. Finally, in 2011, at the IOC Session held in Durban, South Africa, PyeongChang finally won its

bid to host the 2018 Winter Olympic Games (Figure 5-1). The win was described in the *PyeongChang 2018 pre-Games sustainability report: Furthering benefits to people and nature*, published by the POCOG in December 2017:

At the 123rd IOC Committee Session in Durban, Republic of South Africa on 6 July 2011, PyeongChang won in a landslide in the first round, receiving 63 votes. By becoming the Host Country to the 2018 Winter Games, the Republic of Korea has become the fifth nation in the history of international sports to stage all four of the world's biggest world events, from the Seoul 1988 Summer Games to 2002 FIFA World Cup and 2011 Daegu World Championships in Athletics.



Figure 5-1. Timeline of the three bids

In its finally successful bid, the PyeongChang Bid Committee presented extensive development plans including a new bullet train system connecting Incheon International Airport, Seoul, and PyeongChang County, multiple new venues including the aforementioned Alpensia Resort, ice arenas, a sledge venue, and a new Main Stadium. And it is believed by the Bid Committee and Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents that these infrastructure plans were the most significant element in winning the bid for the 2018 Games. In spite of all the enthusiasm circulating around this successful bid, Gangwon Province went bankrupt due to the enormous financial resources they invested in three consecutive bids. It is expected that they will not be

able to pay the debt off without significant support from the central government for the next couple of decades (Kim, 2019).

5.1.2 Self-Help and Participation of the Host Community

As a way of helping themselves and participating in the extensive process of hosting the Olympics, residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon funneled their individual and community resources, efforts, and commitment into three consecutive Olympic bids. Through their determination to help themselves and participate in the process, residents felt that they had contributed to improving the future of Daegwallyeong-myeon. Analysis below answers RQ-3b that asked how the residents made their way to participate in developing their community.

5.1.2.1 Residents' Contribution to Three Consecutive Olympic Bids

Many of Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents actively participated in the three Olympic bidding processes because they believed that their endeavor would ultimately contribute to the future development of their own community. For them, to contribute to the Olympic bidding processes was ultimately a way of helping themselves; a form of self-help. Many residents even devoted their individual resources to making the Olympic bidding process successful, without any type of compensation. For example, participant #22 explained:

We traveled to Prague, Guatemala City, and Durban with our own money. There was a little support from the government, but it covered less than 20% of the total travel expenses. We also started the Olympic Fund with the local branch of the National Livestock Cooperative Foundation [In South Korea, the National Livestock Cooperative Foundation is operated as a bank, especially in rural areas]. Daegwallyeong-myeon's

residents saved 100,000 Korean Won [100 US Dollars] every month to contribute to the Olympic bidding processes. About 70-80 residents participated in the fund-raising. With the fund, we held multiple events and activities to promote Daegwallyeong-myeon as the next Olympic site.

Because of the residents' passion and their financial commitment, PyeongChang and Daegwallyeong-myeon finally won their Olympic bid to host the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games. While the participants in this study believed that their contribution to the Olympic bidding processes contributed to the good result, most of them expressed disappointment that they were abandoned after winning the Olympic bid, shut off from the planning and staging process. For example, participant #27 mentioned:

Between 2001 and probably 2011 when we won the Olympic bid, we the residents often participated in events such as welcoming the IOC inspection team. Other residents had worked at administration related to the Olympic bid. But after June, 2011, as the POCOG was launched and they were in charge of the Olympic management, we the residents did not have much opportunity to work for the Olympic Games.

In 4.1 Contextual Dynamics of the Winter Olympic Games and Daegwallyeong-Myeon, I described the multiple dynamics related to its Olympic-driven community development. By synthesizing these aspects with the analyses provided in **5.1 Prior to Winning the Winter Olympic Bid: 1999-2011**, I suggest that Daegwallyeong-myeon is unique – a kind of oxymoron – in that it is a small, underdeveloped host community for one of the largest sport events in the world, the Olympic Games. This juxtaposition created an encounter between the globality of the Olympic Games and the locality of Daegwallyeong-myeon, beginning most poignantly with the Olympic preparation stage. This encounter is analyzed in detail below.

5.2 Preparation and Staging of the Olympic Games: 2011-2018

As we enter the new millennium, old lines of solidarity fragment and ever-new dynamic, hybrid, and combustible identities proliferate in the public spheres of the modern world. In such a time of particularly combustible global and local environments, there is a need for a more multivalent and contextual approach to intellectual work in the arena of center-periphery relationships and diasporic settings.

– Cameron R. McCarthy (2002)

As discussed in **Chapter II**, the encounter, intermingling, and integration between the global and the local has been an inevitable part of scholarly and public discussion from the late 1900's onward. I draw on theories of globalization, glocalization, and grobalization to analyze how the globality of the Winter Olympic Games interacted with the locality of Daegwallyeong-myeon, focusing most specifically on the process of community development.

In the early part of this section that discusses the findings about the Olympic preparation stage, I analyze the “perceived gap” between the global and the local, particularly the gap perceived by the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon and the POCOG to address the second group of research questions that investigate the interactions, and sometimes frictions, between the global (IOC), the transnational (the POCOG), and the local residents. This is an imperative step in my analysis because a strong disconnection between the global and the local was perceived by the residents, which seems to challenge the notion that there is always a significant ‘connectivity’ between the global and local, regardless of the power differences or hierarchy (e.g., Appadurai, 1996; Mato, 1997; Pieterse, 1995; Robertson, 1994, 1995).

The global/local relationship in the context of my study was mediated by the POCOG, which was also in charge of delivering the global and Olympic standards to Daegwallyeong-myeon. In what follows I discuss how ‘global’ standards were actively adopted and incorporated in the process of Daegwallyeong-myeon’s Olympic-driven community development by the POCOG (RQ-2d). These globalized standards relate to sustainable community development of the Olympic host community, and I seek to analyze them in relation to the perceived hierarchy between the global and the local (RQ-2a). As a comparative analysis, I also examine the residents’ experiences, perceptions, and negotiations of the global and Olympic standards that were being enforced on Daegwallyeong-myeon (RQ-2b and RQ-2c).

Lastly, in the later part of this section, I investigate the changes that occurred in the community due to the Olympic-driven development projects to answer RQ-3. RQ-3b is addressed as well by articulating how Daegwallyeong-myeon’s residents helped their own interests by participating in the issues related to their community’s future. For example, residents organized collective action to secure developmental resources and infrastructure. Overall, residents strived to fill the perceived gap between Daegwallyeong-myeon and the globality of the Olympic Games in two ways: by improving the tangible and the intangible.

5.2.1 Perceived Gap between the Global and the Local: Hierarchy of Power and Scale

PyeongChang 2018 is becoming the center of global attention. With three trials and all the hopes and aspirations of the Koreans, PyeongChang finally won the ticket to host this honorable global event.

– PyeongChang Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (2017)

In this section I aim to analyze the encounter between the global and the local, and how the local perceived their relation to the global. To this end I draw on the cases of global(ized) standards adopted by the local community in its planning and management of the PyeongChang Olympic Games.

It is the second week of the PyeongChang Games. Today I went to the Olympic Plaza in which the Main Stadium and multiple event sites are located. It was very crowded with visitors. I was in line with the people waiting to buy a ticket for the Olympic Plaza (2,000 South Korean Won – equivalent to 2 US Dollars – were charged for an entrance into the Plaza). Then a group of older adults from Daegwallyeong-myeon (I recognized by hearing their conversation) approached the line. It seemed that they wanted to buy tickets to enter into the Olympic Plaza. But they were very confused about how to buy tickets and where to wait, because it was too crowded. Daegwallyeong-myeon is normally a quiet and relaxed village due to its rural geography and small population. I thought ‘this could be one of the most crowded and overwhelming conditions they have ever experienced in Daegwallyeong-myeon.’ The Olympic ticketing system was even confusing to me, and I have lived abroad for more than four years. The ticket office only accepted Visa, the official Olympic sponsor. And it was hard to find the price of the ticket for the Olympic Plaza. As the older adults moved around this way and that, not knowing where to go, the volunteers started to yell at them. “Excuse me, you should not block the line, you should not block the entrance. If you don’t know where to go, you should step aside from the entrance.” The group was forced off from the entrance. It was a moment and an

exchange where intimidated locals encountered an overwhelming global. I saw the unbridgeable gap between the global spectacle of the Olympic Games and the locals of Daegwallyeong-myeon. These local elders were left behind as the visitors from metropolitan areas and foreign countries moved through the entrance.

– Extracted from field notes (February 19, 2018)

The perception that Daegwallyeong-myeon is underdeveloped made the perceived gap between the Olympic global event and the local community of Daegwallyeong-myeon even wider. Not only did the residents confronted Olympic standards, but they were also made aware of the Games' size and power, fueling the perceived gap between local and global. Participant #1 claimed that he was not allowed to apply for the contract bid to provide meal service for the POCOG:

Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents don't have any chance to participate in business related to the Olympics. You know why? Because only the big corporations can apply and win the bid. Because they are sponsors for the IOC, and those sponsors take the top priority. I produce and sell lunch boxes, so I wanted to enter in the POCOG as a meal provider. But the POCOG said there are IOC regulations and sponsors, so local businesses can't get involved. We have small businesses like food, printing, etc. But our local businesses are not qualified to open a contract with the POCOG or the IOC. The qualification is just too hard for us. And the scale of business is too big. It's too big for us, but maybe not that big for those big conglomerates like Samsung, CJ, or LG [CJ and LG are South Korean conglomerates like Samsung and they were supplies of food and beverages or electronics at the Games].

Part of what made the qualifications so difficult was the need to obtain international-level certifications and meet certain standards in order to be involved in Olympic-related businesses or development projects, according to participant #1:

Daegwallyeong-myeon is a small town. There are very few local businesses who had gotten a license or a qualification to apply for the contract bid for the Olympic-related projects. I would say there is none. So there is hardly nothing for us, residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon, but chores.

As a ‘mega-event,’ the Olympic Games has the power and funds to deploy construction, performance and hospitality-related businesses on a massive scale (Clark, Kearns, & Cleland, 2016). And since regulations and manuals are set up by the global agent (IOC) in Eurocentric – or Western – languages (French or English), the local residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon were positioned at a disadvantage. This disadvantaged position was reinforced by the complexity of Olympic-related projects, which led residents to feel on the outside of the global Games, despite hosting them.

During my second phase of fieldwork, I observed that constructions of a few high-rise hotels were completed in Daegwallyeong-myeon. Very few of these had existed before the Olympic Games, as I observed during the first fieldwork. When I asked participant #18 who the main investors for the hotels were, he explained:

These hotels and buildings were constructed by outsiders. Maybe only one individual from Daegwallyeong-myeon. But he had owned a building on the exact spot for more than 15 years. The rest of them are all owned by people who are not from Daegwallyeong-myeon. Residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon do not have that much financial power or knowledge or understanding of such large-scale businesses. . . . We

[residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon] didn't know the Olympic Games would be this immense. We just didn't realize it before we actually won the bid. Now I think, this would be the most extensive event throughout the history of Daegwallyeong-myeon.

The Olympic Games and its related projects were thus considered too big for Daegwallyeong-myeon's own local businesses to be involved in. The participants I spoke with recognized that the Olympic Games were an enormous event that would invite a vast amount of money, visitors, and construction projects. Thus, there were many stark contrasts between the size of Daegwallyeong-myeon and the Olympic-related projects. For example, according to a news report in *Pressian*, a South Korean news outlet, the construction project for the PyeongChang Olympics' Main Stadium cost 14 Billion South Korean Won (140 Million US Dollar). The Main Stadium can accommodate 40,000 people, almost seven times the population of Daegwallyeong-myeon (KimYoon, 2015). Participant #13, an employee of the POCOG, shared her experience with the event's enormity during an informal conversation between the POCOG employees and me. She said that when they were conducting biddings for the Olympic venue construction projects, local construction companies filed complaints because they were not able to even apply for the bidding. Big corporations, including transnational conglomerates, won the construction bids and then subcontracted local construction companies. Subcontracting is a structure in which local construction companies were exploited. In the subcontract structure, big corporations preferred local companies who were willing to lead the project with less expenses. Thus, big corporations benefited from the structure while small local companies barely produced a profit due to the limited construction expenses paid to them.

The size and scale of the Olympic Games often overwhelmed the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon, whose expectations were often disrupted by the substantial difference in

size and power between them and the event. Yet, there also existed among residents an aspiration to operate on a more global level.

5.2.2 The POCOG's Role

The Organizing Committees are in charge of comprehensively managing the Olympics, from planning to staging, and so, so they work closely with the IOC to ensure the quality of the Games (Chappelet & Kübler-Mabbott, 2008; Parent, 2016). As transnational agents within the configuration of global Olympic management, they function as mediators between the IOC (global agent) and the host community (local agent). They practice and enact the standards, regulations, and manuals established by the IOC for universal Olympic management structure and thereby deliver the globality of the Olympic Games to the local community. Indeed, it is through the Organizing Committees' Olympic management practices and the IOC's global Olympic management structure that each host community comes to embody the globality of the event regardless of their location.

To address RQ-2d that asks how the POCOG functioned as a transnational mediator between the global and the local, below I start by examining how the POCOG planned to globalize the community of Daegwallyeong-myeon so as to successfully host the Olympic Games. I follow that with an in-depth analysis of how the POCOG managed the global (Olympic) standards, regulations, and manuals. As part of my analysis I provide the types of standards, regulations, and manuals employed by the POCOG, and their rationale for employing them. There were two global standards that are central to my discussion: (a) ISO 20121 and (b) Technical Manuals. Lastly, I reflect on the POCOG's effort to negotiate the conflicts that arose between the local and the global when executing standards and regulations, especially given that

the POCOG not only employed the global (Olympic) standards, but also strived to globalize the host in both hardware and software, that is, the material culture and the civic awareness of the host community.

5.2.2.1 The POCOG's Institutional Aspiration for Globalization

In addition to adopting global/Olympic standards, as a part of Olympic-driven community development the POCOG endeavored to manifest globality within the geographical region of Daegwallyeong-myeon. Embodying globalization was seen as a way to develop the host community while successfully managing the Olympics. As such, transforming Daegwallyeong-myeon into a global community and shaping residents into global citizens was one of the most important elements of the POCOG's successfully staging the Olympic Games. From the POCOG's perspective, globalization was a requisite for both host community development and successful Olympic staging, as is evident from how often the global is mentioned in the POCOG's publications. For example, the *2018 POCOG sustainability framework: Creating a new horizon for sustainable 2018 PyeongChang Olympic Winter Games* attested to this aspiration multiple times. In fact, three of their six action plans for successfully managing the Olympic spoke to the globalization effort:

PyeongChang 2018 will create the momentum for the following:

- Revitalization of local community and boosting the pride of the residents as cultured citizens of the global community respecting diversity and openness.
- Fulfilling the sustainable Games through meeting the global standards in developing the Games' facilities and associated infrastructure as required . . .

- Enhancing the brand value of PyeongChang as a global city while pursuing sustainable development and prosperity. (p. 22)

Three important aspects were made salient in the selections above. First, the POCOG endeavored to increase residents' global consciousness as part of the hosting process, thereby acculturating and globalizing the community. Second, the POCOG strictly abided by the global and the Olympic standards to promote the PyeongChang 2018 Winter Games as an event that successfully embodies the established standards, regulations, and manuals. Third, the POCOG sought to enhance the host community's value as a globalized commodity. These objectives suggest that the POCOG believed hosting the Olympic Games would be a means by which Daegwallyeong-myeon to join the global community. The benefits of hosting the event included revitalizing the community, constructing facilities and infrastructure that satisfy the global standard, and enhancing the value of the community as a global destination. Similar aspirations were stated elsewhere in the same publication. For example:

PyeongChang 2018 will provide valuable opportunities to people in the province for new vitality for economic prosperity and quality of life as well as learning opportunities as a global citizen participating in the promotion of the principles of peace and reciprocity based on Olympism. (p. 17)

Hosting PyeongChang 2018 will offer the hosting cities and Gangwon Province precious opportunities to participate in collective efforts of the global community towards pursuing sustainable prosperity, by resetting its systems to more sustainable ones economically, socially and culturally. (p. 18)

PyeongChang 2018 will be a starting point for making the hosting region capable of being a global city. (p. 98)

Collectively, these texts spoke to how hosting the Olympics will provide the host community with an opportunity to practice globalization, an ultimate goal for becoming a member of the global sphere.

Another significant finding in my analysis of the POCOG's publication is that they conceptually and materially tethered sustainable development to globalizing the host community. From its perspective, developing the host community into a global city was regarded crucial for achieving sustainability. In *2018 POCOG sustainability framework: Creating a new horizon for sustainable 2018 PyeongChang Olympic Winter Games* the POCOG suggested Five Key Themes of Sustainability. Table 5-1 shows the list of Key Themes and their sub-categories.

Among the Themes, Theme 1 and 2 are related to environmental sustainability, and Theme 3 is related to enhancing the lives of the host community's residents. Theme 4 and 5 indicate the correlation between sustainable development and the host community's globalization. The significance of globalizing PyeongChang seems extensive given how globalization is suggested as a strategy for sustainable development in two themes. Theme 4 in particular revolves around glocalization in that it focuses on bringing the local and traditional culture to the global sphere, a harmonious intermingling of the local and the global. It is written that:

. . . globalization strategies for the host cities should be firmly based on its authenticity, cultural identity, and originality. Thus, making PyeongChang and the host regions a global city should tap on its current efforts to sustain and preserve the regional and cultural heritages . . . (pp. 78-81)

Table 5-1. Five Key themes of sustainability (In the 2018 POCOG sustainability framework: *Creating a new horizon for sustainable 2018 PyeongChang Olympic Winter Games*, pp. 4-5; Explanation of the Themes in pp. 29-108)

Five Key Themes of Sustainability
1. Sustainability Theme 1: Low Carbon Green Olympics 1.1. Minimization of GHG emissions and clean and renewable energy use 1.2. Establishment of green transport systems 1.3. Facilitation of resource circulation and green procurement 1.4. Environment-friendly construction and urban space formation
2. Sustainability Theme 2: Stewardship of the Nature 2.1. Preserving biodiversity 2.2. Restoration of ecological environment and restoration 2.3. Improvement of water quality and clean water infrastructure building
3. Sustainability Theme 3: Good Life 3.1. Sustainable construction and operation of Olympic facilities 3.2. Revitalization of local economy through designation of specialized zones and developing tourism items based on local characteristics of the host regions 3.3. Improvement of living environment through balanced regional development and expansion of SOC's [Social overhead capitals] such as road, housing and transportation system
4. Sustainability Theme 4: Proud People with Tradition and Culture 4.1. Globalization: Globalization of culture based on a deep sense of tradition and cultural heritages 4.2. Preparing the Games with inclusion: Through participation of minority groups in respect of social diversity 4.3. Creating innovative platforms for public consultation, communication, and participation
5. Sustainability Theme 5: Globalizing PyeongChang, Opening to the World 5.1. Creating a winter sports hub in East Asia by constructing world-class infrastructure and facilities 5.2. Improving Inter-Korean relationship through sport partnerships 5.3. Highest level of safety and security 5.4. Compliance the CSR requirements of participating entities

In contrast to Theme 4's focus on maintaining the local culture while going global, Theme 5 puts more emphasis on raising the regions performance, political condition, and management practices to a global scale and standard. For example:

PyeongChang 2018 will be a starting point towards making the hosting region capable of being a global city. . . . As for transport, accreditation, security and immigration, commonly accepted international standards and principles will apply while encouraging refinement of the related institutions and improving the quality of hygiene in accommodations, food, beverage, and medical instruments. . . . Thus, the Games are an important milestone for achieving Global PyeongChang. (p. 98)

In essence, the report suggested that the process of preparing for the Olympic Games would enable the host community to establish its competence in becoming a global city.

For the POGOC, becoming a global city meant refining local material culture – including infrastructure, residential area, and resources for visitors – so that they meet the global standard of quality. The POCOG's used of terms like 'refinement' or 'improving the quality' indicate that local conditions were insufficiently developed. These terms worked to produce the perception that Daegwallyeong-myeon (and PyeongChang) were far from meeting global standards. Yet, in its own publication the POCOG did not have a concrete configuration of the relationship between the global and the local. For example, as discussed above, Theme 4 and Theme 5 conceived of globalization differently.

Nevertheless, it is evident that the POCOG placed much importance on keeping up with the global. In the same publication it claimed that "By reinforcing the global trend of sustainable management of the Olympic Games and ensuring the environmental soundness of the Games, PyeongChang 2018 aims to be remembered as a good practice and successful model." Here the global trend must be 'reinforced' for a successful staging of the Olympic Games, which in turn should be remembered according to those global standards. Achieving sustainable development was thus necessary for the POCOG as an organization because it aligned with the global values

of the global agent, the IOC. As such these were values that are then passed down to the local and reinforced in the management of the Olympic Games.

That global values and standards were imposed by the POCOG onto the local host community is a critical point because in the context of Daegwallyeong-myeon and the Olympic Games, the global was equated with foreign. In the *PyeongChang 2018 pre-Games sustainability report* the POCOG pledged that the quality of restaurants and foods in the host regions would meet the global taste for the Olympic Games: “. . . we organized an event for workers from Korean restaurants and hotels within the host cities to demonstrate and experience the cooking of dishes preferred by foreigners” (p. 92). Restaurants and accommodations were cited as two main areas of improvement in the POCOG’s publications. Among the many objectives posited by the POCOG in the *PyeongChang 2018 pre-Games sustainability report* was “Achieving global standards in accommodation and restaurants” to “meet international expectations of a host city” (p. 141). The POCOG voluntarily adopted a foreign gaze when developing a plan to materialize an Olympic host community. That is, the global was perceived as something outside of the host community. When the POCOG talked about restaurants and accommodations in the host community, its discursive use of global and the foreign were interchangeable. Korean traditional culture was not being represented in the Olympic management.

The POCOG deployed the foreign way of viewing the host community and chose to impose standards that were located outside of Daegwallyeong-myeon, PyeongChang, and South Korea. For example, in the *PyeongChang 2018 pre-Games sustainability report* the POCOG wrote about its plans for “Improving the Accommodation Facilities”:

The host regions have revamped the accommodation facilities in preparation for the arrival of Olympic guests. In the Gangwon Province, a total of 125 inns and motels were

renovated to house complimentary breakfast, and new single/twin beds. Also, 44 bnbs (bed and breakfast) and pensions [a type of accommodation facility in South Korea that is similar to bed and breakfasts but most of them do not offer breakfast] were equipped with new and improved food service areas, room structure, restrooms, and other amenities. As of July 2017, installation of multilingual signboards, and facility and tourism guide boards is taking place in 1,400 mid-sized accommodations. (p. 89)

The language used throughout this excerpt is one of amending: existing accommodations were ‘revamped’, ‘renovated’, and ‘improved’ to host the Olympic visitors, who were assumed to be foreigners. Thus, the renovations were designed to meet the foreigners’ standard. Otherwise put, the renovations were determined by the foreign gaze. For example, it is not a custom in Korean accommodations to serve complimentary breakfast or even to have beds (i.e., in traditional Korean-style residences, people sleep on Korean-style mattress used as a bed on the floor; it is foldable, so people fold and put it in a closet after they get up). These kinds of changes are especially significant given that they were made to accommodations owned by local people, not in the Olympic Village. These were local spaces. Nevertheless, the POCOG renovated them to meet the standard or the quality it believed to be ‘global’, which was different from traditional or indigenous ‘Korean’ and notably Eurocentric.

Similar practices were enacted to “improve” the quality of restaurant infrastructure in the host community. As with the housing accommodations, the restaurants were located outside of the Olympic Village. They were owned by the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon who have maintained the businesses for decades. Due to the relatively small size of Daegwallyeong-myeon there were not ethnically diverse foods available for sale. Moreover, the existing restaurants mostly practiced the traditional Korean style of floor seating (sit down dining). The POCOG

decided to “improve” the infrastructure in the restaurants. The plan for “Improving Restaurants Infrastructure” laid out in the *PyeongChang 2018 pre-Games sustainability report* is as follows:

Improvements on the exterior, kitchen, and restrooms were made on 100 restaurants. . . .

Moreover, we organized an event for workers from Korean restaurants and hotels within the host cities to demonstrate and experience the cooking of dishes preferred by foreigners. (p. 92)

Rather than presenting Olympic visitors with the existing traditions and dishes of the restaurants, the POCOG believed that the local restaurant businesses needed to change in order to satisfy the foreign visitors’ preferences. Figure 5-2 shows a case of a local restaurant that went through the improvement project. Floor tables of sedentary style were replaced with tables and chairs.

Through this process the local characteristics of Daegwallyeong-myeon were perceived as different from what foreign visitors would want to experience. Essentially, the local aspects of the service industry of Daegwallyeong-myeon were regarded as insufficient.



Figure 5-2. Improvement project: Installation of tables with chaired seats (photos taken by the author)

While the POCOG directed infrastructural planning and execution, these renovation projects were financed by the local and national governments of South Korea. Yet despite South Korean financial resources funding them, the projects were not directed in a way that would

promote South Korean culture and taste. Nor did the projects involved or benefited the entire community of Daegwallyeong-myeon. For example, one of the improvement projects was to remodel the streetscape of Daegwallyeong-myeon by upgrading the exterior of commercial and residential buildings and business signs. However, the project only targeted the routes that foreign visitors, delegations, and athletes would pass through. Thus, only those properties or business fronts located on the selected routes were able to apply for the project. Eligible residents and business owners were offered 70-80% of the remodeling cost as financial aid from the local government. I conducted a direct observation at a public hearing for Daegwallyeong-myeon residents that was organized by the POCOG and took part in July 10, 2017. The POCOG employee explained to the residents that the project would cover limited areas in the community. An excerpt from the meeting follows:

POGOG employee: We have decided that the streetscape improvement projects will be executed for the routes through which tourists and delegations will pass. It will be the downtown area where the Olympic Plaza and the Main Stadium will be located. Currently in the downtown area, there are a lot of shabby buildings. Those are not good enough to showcase to the foreign visitors.

Resident B: My question is why other businesses located in other routes are not eligible for remodeling.

POCOG employee: Due to the limited budget, we have decided that the budget will be spent to improve the streetscapes of the routes where tourists, athletes, and delegations will visit and pass through more often. We hope that you could understand our decision.

This is yet another example of how the POCOG's voluntary adoption of the foreign gaze affected the local community and disrupted residents' expectations. The managers in charge of

developing the community only considered the logistical dynamics of the Olympic Games and its visitors. From this vantage the local community could not be fully involved in the improvement projects. Put differently, priority was given to those outside the host community. As a result, only a section of Daegwallyeong-myeon was remodeled while the rest of the community remained neglected.

In sum, although the POCOG promoted the representation of Korean culture through the Olympic Games in some parts of its publications, they on the other hand revealed that the actual development projects focused only on benefiting the successful management of the Olympic Games. As a result, the existing material culture of the host community was transformed into what was believed to be ‘global’ *enough* to meet the foreign visitors’ taste.

5.2.2.2 The POCOG’s Institutional Management of Global Standards

Global standards and principles will apply to the entire process before, during, and after PyeongChang 2018, which will continue to maintain the required quality of service, safety, security, accommodation, and fairness based on the Olympism. (*2018 POCOG Sustainability Framework*, 2015, p. 98)

Mr. Yang Ho Cho, former president of the POCOG (2014 to 2016) wrote in the *2018 POCOG sustainability framework* that the “POCOG plans to achieve ISO 20121 (Event Sustainability Management Systems). All activities of the Games will also comply with GRI G4 EOSD, ISO 26000, and the UNGC principles” (p.3). In the same publication the POCOG explained the advantage of adopting the standards:

POCOG has decided to take into account the standard global practices of sustainability through certification of global standards in order to demonstrate the efficacy of its

sustainability management plan for PyeongChang 2018, POCOG's commitments, and to comply with the principle of transparency in information disclosure. (p. 120)

The abbreviations in Mr. Cho's statement all refer to different types of 'standards' adopted by the POCOG to effectively manage the Olympic Games. The major standard of operation is ISO 20121, the Event Sustainability Management System, which was designed to improve the sustainability of event-related activities, products, and services (ISO 20121, n.d.). The POCOG described these standards as follows:

PyeongChang 2018 will closely examine and draw lessons and key principles for application from the past Games' sustainability management practices, including adoption of standards such as ISO 20121, Event Sustainability Management System (first applied to the 2012 London Olympic Summer Games). This Report [*2018 POCOG sustainability framework: Creating a new horizon for sustainable 2018 PyeongChang Olympic Winter Games*] will apply the Version 4 of the GRI (Global Reporting Initiative) to meet the required global standards for sustainability reporting. In particular, GRI 4's most upgraded version for event organization, i.e. Event Organizer Sector Disclosure (EOSD), will be dully applied. (p. 27)

ISO 20121 is a business management framework for large-scale events, particularly oriented towards achieving sustainability. According to the official website of ISO 20121 (www.iso20121.org), the framework is based on an earlier British Standard called 'BS 8901 Specification for a Sustainability Management System for Events'. During the preparation process for the London 2012 Summer Olympic Games, the London Organizing Committee decided to create an international version of the standard to coincide with the management of its Games (Lauermann, 2014). It promoted ISO 20121 as the first global standard for sustainable

event management (Witkin, 2012). ISO stands for ‘International Organization for Standardization,’ an independent, non-governmental international organization located in Geneva, Switzerland. As its name suggests, ISO approves and maintains international standards that can be adopted and utilized in and between nations. Although developed by a local Organizing Committee, ISO 20121 was approved by two global agents, the IOC and the ISO. The IOC’s approval made ISO 20121 an Olympic standard for sustainability management. The ISO’s approval enabled ISO 20121 to be a global standard for sustainable event management in a more general sense. With these approvals ISO 20121 attained global legitimacy. From thereon ISO 20121 denoted a global standard and an Olympic standard at the same time, thereby collapsing differences and rendering the global and the Olympic equivalent.

According to Witkin’s (2012), who interviewed the IOC’s Sustainability Manager, policy development is not something for the IOC to determine but the IOC is open to opportunities when they arise and actively promotes ISO 20121 as best practice – for instance, by funding a Global Reporting Initiative working group (Lauermann, 2014). The POCOG’s recognition of ISO 20121 was thus a result of previous practices established by the London Organizing Committee and the IOC to promote a global standard of sustainable Olympic management. Using ISO 20121, the POCOG promoted its intention to align its management practices to the standard. In the *PyeongChang 2018 pre-Games sustainability report*, then-president of the POCOG, Mr. Hee-Beom Lee, emphasized:

Other supporting elements of the Games, including accommodation and transport, will also align with the international standards. By establishing a sustainable management system as such, the PyeongChang 2018 Winter Games obtained the ISO 20121

Certification for event sustainability management systems for the first time in the history of the Winter Games. (p. 6)

What the publication did not state is whether the accommodations referred to were facilities within the Olympic Village or facilities both in and outside the Village (e.g., private accommodation businesses). Regardless, in order to obtain the ISO 20121 Certification, the POCOG established a relatively newer management system on a macro-level and (re)organized facilities like accommodation and transport. As indicated in Mr. Hee-Beom Lee's statement, obtaining the Certification was a critical task for the POCOG. Given the symbolic and material significance of the standard we can surmise (though this was never explicitly admitted) that the global and Olympic standard would be given priority over the local, thereby engendering a conflict between the global Olympic standard and existing local practices. In an interview with an employee of the POCOG this presumed preferential treatment was alluded to, and the conflictual results unfolded as expected. Details of this interview are provided in the next section, **5.2.2.3 The POCOG as a Negotiator between the Olympic Standard and the Locality.**

5.2.2.3 The POCOG as a Negotiator between Olympic Standards and Locality

Participant #16 was an employee of the POCOG tasked with accommodation management. In our conversation he revealed that he was in charge of planning and managing accommodation facilities both in and outside of the Olympic Village. He explained that while executing these responsibilities he had to follow the Technical Manuals closely, in particular the *Technical Manual on Olympic Village*. Technical Manuals are another Olympic standard globally adopted to the Organizing Committees' management practices. They differ from ISO

20121 in that they are solely developed and authorized by the IOC to focus exclusively on the Olympic Games. Still, Technical Manuals maintain global status like ISO 20121 because local Organizing Committees must refer to the Manuals in each iteration of Olympic management. Technical Manuals are provided by the IOC to the Organizing Committees so as to provide Committees with a guideline for organizing and managing elements of the Olympic Games. I asked participant #16 to grant me an interview through an acquaintance of mine who was also an employee at the POCOG. He agreed to the interview but did not agree to its being audio-recorded due to the sensitive materials discussed. Instead, I took notes during the interview and I recorded the interview contents using my cell phone by restating them by myself right after the interview was completed. I explain the following from my field notes and the annotations taken during the interview as well as based on the recording I did.

The POCOG designed the official accommodation facility for the Olympic Broadcasting Services (OBS) following the typical Korean style of residential space so that the units could later be used as public housing, thereby rendering Olympic-related facilities successful for post-Olympic use. Repurposing the facilities for public housing was also a way of generating revenue. The complex is comprised of multiple high-rise condominium buildings. Each condo was designed to accommodate three rooms and two bathrooms, which is the most typical and popular residential style in South Korea. South Korea has a unique floor heating system that was also employed in these condos. While South Koreans use this heating system so that they can sleep on the floor, the *Technical Manual on Olympic Village* required a bed – and furniture more broadly – in each room to accommodate the taste of foreign guests and OBS employees, who were each assigned a room and bathroom. The POCOG planned to assign three OBS employees per condo because there were three rooms, but the IOC and the OBS rejected this POCOG's

suggestion. It turned out they had different methods for determining accommodation distribution. The POCOG counted the number of rooms while the IOC and the OBS counted the number of beds. Consequently, the POCOG had to buy and place beds in every single room. According to Participant #16, the long-term goal of using the facilities for public housing ended up requiring the POCOG to build more accommodation facilities because according to the IOC's and the OBS' counting, there were not enough beds in the condos.

Participant #16 also remarked on how he had received multiple requests from clients (including the IOC and the NOCs) to have a pub or a bar within the accommodation facility. He said that the clients, mostly from Western countries, seem to have a culture of socializing at pubs or bars after work. For him, this was an obvious discrepancy between our (South Koreans) and their (international clients, mostly European or North American) culture of socializing and privacy. He extrapolated that his clients had a different notion of privacy that clearly separated personal space from social space, which would explain why the clients requested a place to socialize located within the accommodation facility. He admitted that he struggled to figure out how he could satisfy the request while also adhering to South Korean lifestyles so that the condos would remain an attractive option for them after the Olympic Games.

His experience shows an encounter and conflict between the global and the local, and how the global exerted a more powerful influence on the local. Although the IOC has been supervising the modern Olympic Games for more than 100 years, given that history's predominant Eurocentrism, the *Technical Manual on Olympic Village* represented a limited cultural scope. This narrow lens was clear in the notion that there should be beds, and no other style is accepted. When I asked participant #16 if he could share the *Technical Manual on Olympic Village* with me, he said that would be impossible because the *Manual* is confidential.

However, after an extensive web search I was able to download the 2007 edition of *the Technical Manual on Olympic Village* from a website named GamesMonitor: Debunking Olympic Myths (URL: <http://www.gamesmonitor.org.uk>). Below are the relevant contents extracted from the Manual (p. 81-82):

Table 5-2. Housing (Extracted from the *Technical Manual on Olympic Village*, 2007, pp. 81-82)

Bedrooms	Single bedrooms must have a minimum size of 9m² including closets. Rooms housing 2 persons must have a minimum size of 12m² including closets. Bedrooms must include: • Bedside lamps, clothes hangers, mirrors and wastebaskets • 60cm of hanging space for clothes and 2 lockable drawers for each Resident • Additional storage space is recommended for Athletes bags and equipment • Beds must be 2.00m in length • Beds of 2.20m in length must be made available free of charge (up to 30% of beds for the total number of Athletes for Olympic Games and up to 10% for the total number of Athletes for the Olympic Winter Games) • No more than 2 beds per room to guarantee undisturbed conditions • Curtains/blinds to keep the rooms as dark as possible for Athletes who wish to rest during the day
Chef de Mission's Bedroom	All Chefs de Mission must be allocated a single room¹ In addition to the normal bedroom FF&E, the Chef de Mission's bedroom should be equipped free of charge with the minimum: • Desk and chair • Refrigerator • Olympic network telephone free of charge • Telephone international line with Internet capabilities must be available (usage will be at cost to NOC) • Television with Olympic feed • Wastebasket

¹ The reason Participant #16 pointed out one person per one bedroom policy was that the OBS staff are regarded as the same level with Chef de Mission.

Interestingly, this rigid *Manual* also seems to want to accommodate local specificity. This is evidenced in its dictate:

Olympic Village requirements will need to be adjusted to suit the Host City and the site in question. The requirements in the *Technical Manual on Olympic Village* are standard requirements, and any deviation from these standard requirements will be submitted by the OCOG to the IOC and its clients for review, and approval by the IOC. (p. 26)

The conflict between global and local thus seems to manifest at the level of the *Manual* in discordant management practices. Though the IOC acknowledged the possibility for revising the standards and a potential way to resolve disagreements, in the case of PyeongChang 2018 and the accommodation facility management, South Korean residential environment was not approved by the IOC.

Another participant (#10) who was also an employee of the POCOG and in charge of managing and operating the Main Stadium – venue for the Opening and Closing Ceremony – shared his experience negotiating between the IOC and Daegwallyeong-myeon’s residents. He had to navigate two conflictual incidents between the IOC’s regulations and the residents’ plans to provide hospitality to the Olympic visitors. The first incident involved the installation of “The Peace Wall and Gate” around the fences of the Olympic Plaza – where the Main Stadium and events spaces/stages were located. The Peace Wall and Gate was a project initiated by residents and sponsored by *Gangwon People’s Daily*, a media corporation in Gangwon County:

The residents brought up the Peace Wall and Gate project a few months ago. The project was about installing an arcade-style artwork that visitors of the Olympic Plaza could walk through. The plan was to engrave and install small artworks describing the relationship

between South and North Korea on the wall of the arcade. Those who planned this project wanted to deliver a message of ‘peace’ during the Olympic period, particularly they believed that the location of the Olympics meant a lot. I mean, Gangwon Province, the only province divided into South and North Korea. But the IOC’s regulation did not allow anything related to ‘Olympics’ or the Olympic symbol used outside of the official venue, the Olympic Plaza. I had to deliver the IOC’s rule to the residents and the project managers, and tell them that they couldn’t do what they planned.

This interview with participant #10 occurred during the Olympic preparation period, July 2017. When I went back to Daegwallyeong-myeon during the Olympic Games in February 2018, the Peace Wall and Gate was installed and visitors were walking through the installation. However, the contents on the wall were not related to the PyeongChang 2018 Olympic Games or how the Olympics would contribute to the inter-Korean relationship. Instead they were focused on the peace and unification of South and North Korea more generally (Figure 5-3).

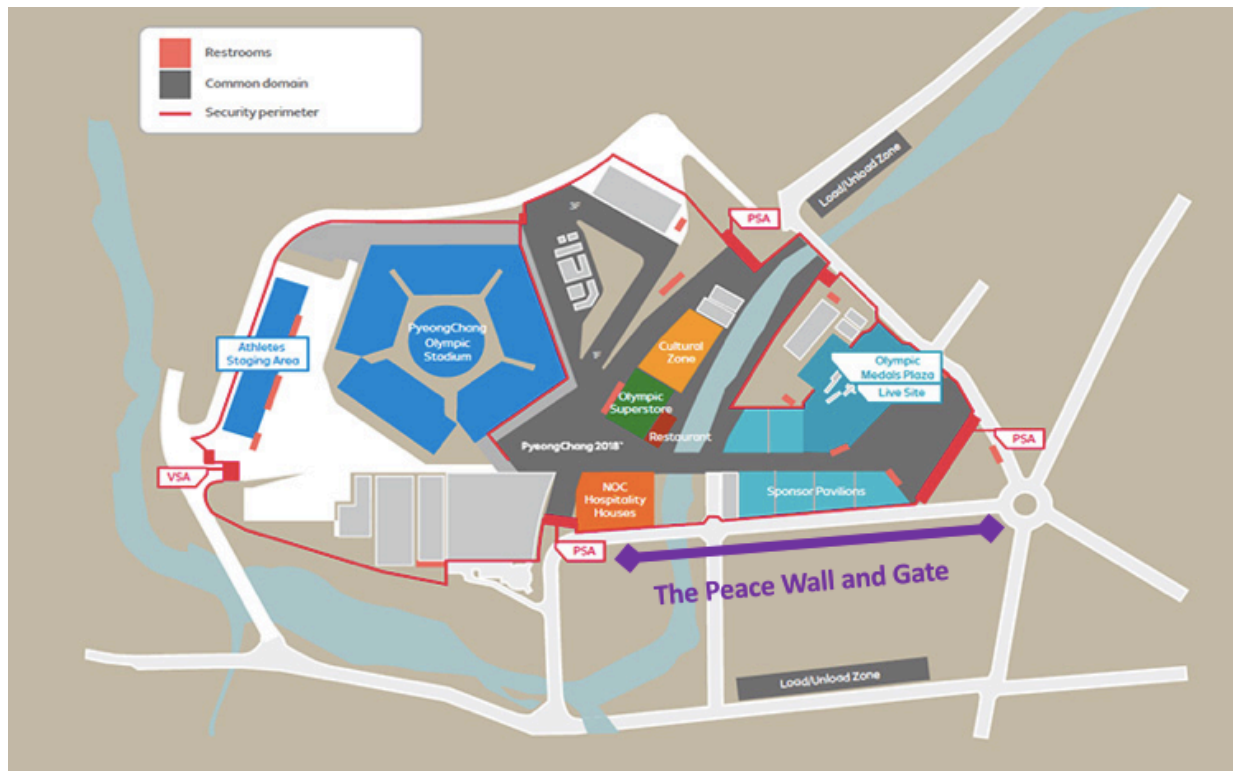


Figure 5-3. The Peace Wall and Gate (Kim, Y. J., 2018) and the location of the Peace Wall and Gate (Team USA, n.d.; the author added the purple line and the text to indicate the location)

The other conflict participant #10 had to negotiate was between the residents' desire to volunteer in the Olympic Plaza and the IOC's regulation. He explained to me that Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents contacted him because they desired to serve hot tea and

coffee to visitors of the Olympic Plaza. However, the IOC's regulation did not allow residents from the host community to come into the Olympic venue without purchasing tickets. In other words, there was no available route for inviting residents into the Olympic Plaza unless they bought tickets. Moreover, outside food and drink was strictly prohibited in the Olympic Plaza because the concession was exclusively assigned to Olympic Sponsors such as Coca Cola or McDonalds. He revealed:

I know the residents wanted to volunteer with a good intention. But there's nothing I can do about the regulation. I had to reject their proposal because the regulation was strict and the POCOG employees have a duty to follow the regulation. Serving warm drinks to visitors is certainly a good thing to do, but there are many other aspects that need to be considered.

In both the experiences of participant #16 and participant #10, it is obvious that the manuals and regulations provided by the IOC were considered to be a 'standard', meaning that they were primary, essential, and foundational in managing the Olympic Games. Both clearly stated that since the POCOG signed the Host City Contract with the IOC, the POCOG was fully responsible for complying with regulations. The definition of standard is "an idea or thing used as a measure, norm, or model in comparative evaluations" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). Given the differential power between the global and local agents, the final settlement was almost always inclined to favor the IOC (the global side) because it created the manuals and regulations. In other words, there was a constitutive preference given to the side that decides what the standard is. For those enforcing the standard from the side of the global, such processes might seem fair and balanced, but for the host communities they were perceived as unreasonable.

5.2.3 Residents' Perceptions and Experiences of Global/Olympic Standards

The Olympic manual and its regulations immediately influenced Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents as well. Since Daegwallyeong-myeon was the center of Olympic management both for preparation and staging, community initiated practices for the Olympic Games were also under the influence of the established standards. For example, participant #29 shared:

We wanted to make the Olympics the 2018 Daegwallyeong Winter Olympic Games, because the Main Stadium and snow venues are all in Daegwallyeong-myeon. But that was impossible. The IOC's regulation is to use the name of a 'city'. Although we don't use 'city' here in PyeongChang County and in Daegwallyeong-myeon, we had to satisfy the IOC with a similar regional unit, which was the County. The IOC does not acknowledge 'myeon' as a qualified regional unit for the Olympic Games. I heard that the IOC had that regulation. I don't think it's right, but what we can do? We should follow their regulation anyway.

As she explains, PyeongChang is the name of the county; a larger regional unit than Daegwallyeong-myeon (see Figure 4-3 in **Chapter IV**). As the IOC's regulation does not acknowledge 'myeon', which is the second smallest regional unit of South Korea (next to 'ri'), residents were not able to name the Game as they wished. While South Korea certainly has cities, most rural areas use different regional units such as 'eup', 'myeon', and 'ri'. These are culturally embedded, traditional regional units – local specificities that clashed with the IOC's global regulations.

Another example of local expectations clashing with Global standards was related to the regulation of transportation and its impact on Daegwallyeong-myeon's business owners. The Olympic Plaza was located at the center of Daegwallyeong-myeon's downtown area. It was

where the Main Stadium was, where the sponsors' hosted their events, and where the Medal Plaza was. The Olympic Plaza was therefore where all the central events except sport competitions were held such as the medal ceremonies. Transport to and from this Plaza was thus an important concern to Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents, as was evident when they met publicly with the POCOG on July 10, 2017. I was able to participate and observe these conversations. Multiple teams from the POCOG and the Special Taskforce for the Olympic Games at the PyeongChang County Office met with residents to hear their opinions and complaints. The POCOG employee in charge of transportation used the meeting as an opportunity to announce their plan to control public transports during the Olympic period. In his presentation he told the residents:

We are going to control all traffic . . . the IOC does not approve the overlapping between the paths for the transportation and the paths for pedestrians. They never do that. Thus we need to block every single car from here [pointing a map presented on screen]. Every car except the officially approved vehicles. Residents may use other routes. We sincerely ask for your cooperation.

After his announcement, a few residents began posing strong objections to this control plan because they owned the ski shops along the closed route that would be renting ski equipment to visitors:

Resident A: We can't do our businesses if you control that route. There are lots of ski shops on that route. Visitors must take that route to come to our businesses and rent skis. This is not right.

POCOG employee A: Opening that route is impossible. We need to build a logistics to transport supplies and accredited individuals to the Main Stadium and the Olympic Plaza.

Resident A: Then what should we do? We, ski shop owners, can't do business for more than a month? This is our right to live. If we can't do business we can't make our living. Shouldn't you come up with countermeasures or solutions? Isn't it your responsibility to minimize the harm put on us residents?

POCOG employee A: We will try to find what we can do about this.

As a consequence of the IOC's traffic control and road security, multiple roads in Daegwallyeong-myeon were closed to public use. The roads were exclusively used by the Olympic VIPs, athletes, and delegations. Many of these roads included ski shops that were effectively put out of business during the Olympic period. The story of how ski shop owners were kept from operating their businesses was reported on by several foreign media outlets such as *Yahoo Sports* (Figure 5-4; Busbee, 2018) and *The Guardian* (Figure 5-5). Guardian reporter Benjamin Hass wrote in his article (2018):

Snow sport equipment rental shops in PyeongChang area typically rely on a five-month season to earn enough income to last the year. . . . The fame the Olympics has brought to this corner of South Korea, which lies in the country's poorest province, is unlikely to translate into future profits, the shop owners say.

Although POCOG employees assured residents that they would discuss the matter with other authorities in the seven months between their public meeting and the Olympic Games, the control plan was enforced exactly as it was announced at the hearing. Residents were thus abandoned to the global operating standards without consideration for their livelihood.



Figure 5-4. Ski shop owners struggling (Busbee, 2018)



Figure 5-5. Ski shop owners struggling (Hass, 2018)

Participant #28, whose family owned a recreation business inside Alpensia Resort – which was used to accommodate VIPs (e.g., the IOC members, executives of the International Broadcast Center, the IBC, and foreign correspondents) informed me that their business had to close a few months prior to and after the Olympic Games due to security regulations:

You know, the IOC-related people had stayed in Alpensia Resort from last November [November 2017]. They were probably executives at the IOC or the IBC [IBC was located next to Alpensia]. So the whole resort was designated as a security area where the general public must not enter or pass through. We had to close our business because we did not have any customers, because there were no public visitors allowed in the resort. Although she and her family tried to communicate this grievance to the relevant parties, the security regulations trumped her concern and so the whole resort remained under strict control until the Closing Ceremony of the Paralympic Games (March 18, 2019). What these examples continually illustrate is that when the global and transnational regulations of the Olympics conflicted with the hosting community's interest (local agent), the Olympic standard was regarded as priority by the POCOG. The interest of the local agent was thus never taken seriously enough to prompt rethinking plans and strategies.

5.2.4 Perceived Development and Changes in Daegwallyeong-Myeon

During my two field visits I had the opportunity to hear Daegwallyeong-myeon residents speak directly to their experiences and perceptions about their community's development. From these interviews I learned about key differences between local desires and global standards. For example, since the concept of sustainability is rooted in West epistemologies, for the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon sustainable development and general development were not distinct. I therefore found that if I wanted to better understand sustainable community development I had to parcel those dynamics out from the ample data on the general aspects of community development (Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004). Through this iterative process of being informed by the field and fine-tuning the research questions, RQ-3e (what significant changes and development occurred in Daegwallyeong-myeon?) was developed. To address this question, in what follows I present the general aspects of community development as they were perceived by the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon. These include both positive and negative dynamics, such as the local economy's improvement and the displacement of locals. Understanding the general aspects of community development is important because of how they are entangled with issues of sustainability, such as economic or infrastructural development. In later sections I analyze these dynamics in light of existing theories of sustainable community development.

5.2.4.1 Infrastructure

The most evident change residents perceived and experienced was the new construction of infrastructure and improvement of existing structures. Residents were especially appreciative of the bullet train and the improvement of roads and expressways. Their higher appreciation of transportation system developments (over buildings, for example) demonstrates the resident's

conviction that their region was underdeveloped. Despite Daegwallyeong-myeon having hosted two major international-level sport events – the 1999 Asian Winter Games and 2013 Special Winter Olympic Games – its train and expressways were fledgling in comparison to other regions in South Korea. Such structural neglect is especially noticeable in a country that since 2004 had been constructing a dense bullet train system named the Korea Train Express. As mentioned in **Chapter IV**, Gangwon Province was the last Province to secure the system *for* the 2018 Winter Olympic Games. Although residents were thrilled to have finally acquired the bullet train system, they were frustrated with how long it took. Participant #16 spoke to this in his interview, which took place during the first phase of my fieldwork, before the train system opened: “When other Provinces all have the KTX system, we did not have that.” The KTX system served a major inter-regional transportation function for most regions, which made its absence in Gangwon Province all the more glaring. Another participant (#17), owner of a small business in Daegwallyeong-myeon, shared that she was very excited to make use of the bullet train. She took her whole family to Seoul via the new system and said she was surprised with the train’s speed and high-end design. It was her first time taking a train from her hometown in the last 25 years, and so it was a momentous occasion. Multiple participants shared similar stories, all of whom valued the new train system and expressways. Youngdong Expressway connects the capital city (Seoul) to Daegwallyeong-myeon. It was originally a two-lane highway going to and from Seoul, but underwent extensive construction and is now a three-lane highway. The residents I interviewed expressed an expectation that with the improved transportation system more people would visit Daegwallyeong-myeon and consequently contribute its local economy. While residents appreciated the positive transportation changes, some argued that the

improvements should have been planned and executed decades ago – regardless of the Olympic Games.

The participants in my study also valued improvements made to the village's streetscape. In order to host the Olympic Games successfully, the local, regional, and national government spent an enormous amount of money to execute multiple improvement projects, including the development of downtown Daegwallyeong-myeon, which previously had poor quality sidewalks. The projects installed new sidewalks, planted trees so as to create a new landscape, and re-installed streetlamps, making Daegwallyeong-myeon brighter. Participant #26 said she was very happy about the changes in the community: "Daegwallyeong-myeon looks so much different than before. We [residents] all like the change. It looks clean and neat. I particularly like the new sidewalks and streetlamps because I walk to work every day."

Overall, Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents were satisfied with the infrastructural improvement.

5.2.4.2 Local Economy

Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents saw both positive and negative outcomes in their local economy as a result of hosting the Olympic Games. One positive result was the economic opportunities that were brought into the small, rural, and underdeveloped community of Daegwallyeong-myeon. Participant #2 for example, owner of a local advertising business, shared how his business benefited from the Olympic Games:

My business benefited a lot. I appreciate the Olympic Games. Because I have an advertising business, I had ample opportunities to make profit. You know, when we applied for the Olympic bid, local and regional governments invested a lot to decorate

Daegwallyeong- myeon with banners saying “Welcome, the IOC members!” or “PyeongChang 2014, We Can Do It!” And as you may know, we went through three Olympic bids. Every time Daegwallyeong-myeon and PyeongChang County applied for the bid, the governments and related institutions made orders from my business.

Participant #15 shared a similar experience of financial profit. She owns one of the largest restaurants in town and profited from the increase in visitors, including construction workers and POCOG employees. She emphasized:

The POCOG has more than a thousand employees. They live in Daegwallyeong-myeon, and they spend money to buy things and eat out. I feel grateful that Daegwallyeong-myeon was able to have this opportunity because my business has flourished more than ever before.

Participant #2 and participant #15 both own businesses in Daegwallyeong-myeon and they profited because business owners were in an optimal position to benefit from the economic opportunities that came with the Olympic Games.

But such financial successes were not the case unilaterally. Some business owners had to close their businesses due to the Olympic Games, and non-business owners reaped no direct financial rewards from hosting. For example, participant #11 and participant #12, a married couple who own a small restaurant business were forced to close their coffee shop due to Olympic-related construction (this couple’s case will be explained in more detail in **5.2.4.3 Displacement of Residents**). For them, the community’s hosting the Olympic Games was a costly affair. They explained that the Olympics caused a serious inflation problem in Daegwallyeong-myeon: in order to keep up with general inflation their home and business landlords suddenly raised their monthly rent. They had to move because they were tenants of a

commercial building that was later demolished, and they felt that the overall prices in Daegwallyeong-myeon were skyrocketing:

The prices have been going up. It is now as expensive as Seoul. The prices for meal or coffee are very expensive, I sometimes think that Daegwallyeong-myeon is more expensive than Seoul. It's because of the Olympic Games. The price for coffee, one cup of coffee, used to be three to four thousand Korean Won [two to three US Dollars]. But now one coffee costs almost seven to eight thousand Korean Won [six to seven US Dollars]. Meals are the same. We can't eat out often because of the inflation.

The interviews I conducted testified to the unequal distribution of benefits from the Olympic Games in favor of businesses owners. Those without economic resources were unable to optimize the opportunities coming with the Olympic Games. The most substantial burden for the group that did not benefit was displacement due to Olympic-related construction. I discuss particular cases of displacement below.

5.2.4.3 Displacement of Residents

The case of participant #11 and participant #12 was as an example of displacement happened due to Olympic-related development. They owned a coffee shop on the periphery of downtown Daegwallyeong-myeon, in a commercial building owned by someone else. When PyeongChang won the 2018 Olympic bid and the road construction plans were announced, the building housing their shop was set to be demolished so as to make space for a visitor parking:

We went to one of the public hearings on February 14 this year [2017]. That's when we learned that our shop would be demolished. If we did not go to the hearing, we would not have known the fact until a few weeks before the demolition of the building. We opened

the shop two years prior to the demolition. Our facilities were quite new, but we had to quit our business. . . . We received compensation for the closure, but we still miss our shop and former customers.

This was not an isolated event. In the downtown area where the Main Stadium was constructed, various residents had to close their businesses and move to another site. During my observation conducted on March 19, I stopped by a stationery store because one of my other participants let me know that the store was once located on the other side of the downtown area. Recorded in the field note:

The stationery store was located where now the Olympic Plaza and the Main Stadium are located. The owner had to move to another building in the downtown area. I talked to the owner today and asked how his life has changed after moving to the new location. He said he had mixed feelings because he missed the old store which his parents owned for more than 30 years. But he also talked about the compensation he received from the government. The Olympic Games not only changed the landscape of Daegwallyeong-myeon, but also took some parts of the residents' memories by demolishing the old buildings that had been in the downtown area for decades.

While most of them did not have financial complaints because they were compensated by the government, like participants #11 and #12 and the owner of the stationery store, they missed how Daegwallyeong-myeon was before the Olympic Games and the lives they had led. There was also a psychic and affect toll: since they were forced to undergo a sudden and huge change by external pressure, they felt robbed of the power or agency to make decisions for their own lives. They would not have had to move to another place if it was not for Olympic-related development projects, which were mapped and planned by outsiders who did not give residents

the chance to participate in the decision-making process. Not only were individual lives and businesses displaced, but so too were residents' community networks. This dynamic was most clear in situations where the businesses on one side of a road stayed while businesses on the other side of a road had to move. These displacements thus had far reaching consequences. In my field note, I wrote that:

When I was stayed in Daegwallyeong-myeon years ago, there were a lot of storefronts at the current location of the Olympic Plaza and the Main Stadium. I remember one restaurant named A-Woo-Ne where I visited for lunch or dinner several times. I was not able to find the restaurant anymore. It felt a little unfair to see some other storefronts stayed where they had been. The future of these people's lives was separated by a narrow street.

5.2.4.4 Annihilation of Existing Community Resources

Olympic-related development projects and constructions wrought extensive changes. According to participants, some of the important community resources in Daegwallyeong-myeon were demolished for the sake of the Olympic Games. One of them was the Daegwallyeong Community Library, a small public library located in the downtown area. Participant #5, a local art and craft instructor who frequently lectured in Daegwallyeong Community Library before it was torn down, shared:

Daegwallyeong Community Library had been here for quite a long time. The director of the Library had a strong passion. It started as very small, but she did a great job growing the Library into a valuable place for the community. There were many books compared to the overall size of the Library. It was also used as a space of cultural academy for the

residents. I frequently lectured there to teach residents traditional Korean arts and craft.

Now the building is used as a souvenir shop for visitors. I heard that a new library is being constructed somewhere, but we will see.

Participant #5 was frustrated that Daegwallyeong- myeon had lost such a valuable community resource. Despite working as a lecturer in the cultural academy managed by the Library, she was not informed of when the new library would open or where it was being constructed.

A community parking lot near the downtown area was also demolished due to the road construction project, which built multiple new roads in Daegwallyeong-myeon. At the public hearing in which I participated as an observer, a resident asked whether the community parking lot would be constructed elsewhere:

That community parking lot was an important community resource. When we have a lot of visitors, for example, during the summer vacation or winter ski season, we need parking lots for the visitors. If we don't have that parking lot, visitors will park their cars in the residential areas. Moreover, if there are not enough parking spaces, visitors won't stay in downtown Daegwallyeong, which means they won't dine and shop in downtown Daegwallyeong-myeon. I strongly propose that the POCOG construct a new community parking lot to solve this issue.

For this question, the response by the POCOG was very vague as if it did not have a clear answer. In my field notes, I wrote: "The POCOG seems not to have a post-Olympic development plan for Daegwallyeong-myeon. It seems that they haven't thought about what they would do with these removed resources. Probably their only goal is to stage the Olympic Games successfully."

While acknowledging that the Olympic Games brought positive changes to Daegwallyeong-myeon, its residents also admitted that it evinced negative results. One of the residents' frustrations was that they were not being represented in the decision-making process. Despite participating in the public hearings so as to make their positions known and ask the POCOG to pass their desires forward to higher level decision makers, residents persistently experienced a gap between their locally-specific desires and the IOC's imposed global standards. The POCOG employees were perceived as having a low commitment to the community of Daegwallyeong-myeon in spite of the residents having solicited the POCOG employees to be a mediator between them and the IOC. Residents felt that the POCOG employees were only delivering their and the IOC's stance rather than incorporating the residents' opinions. Participant #18, a local restaurant owner, claimed that "The POCOG was not interested in the residents' opinion. They did not have a commitment to us. They served the IOC but not us."

5.2.5 Self-Help and Participation of the Host Community

This section addresses RQ-3b, continued from **5.1.2. Self-Help and Participation of the Host Community** that described the residents' practices before Daegwallyeong-myeon won the Olympic bid in 2011. The enthusiasm that the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon manifested as they helped themselves through three consecutive Olympic bids, continued during the preparation of the Olympic Games. Regardless of their enthusiasm, they felt that it was nearly impossible for residents to be part of the Olympic management – that is, the decision-making and administrative processes related to constructing Olympic facilities during the preparation period. Grassroots participation in the Olympic management was not an available option for residents because of the size and scale of the Games and the great expertise required for executing them.

The sports-related Olympic management was thus exclusively in the hands of the POCOG. Nevertheless, residents endeavored to participate, organize, and act in the service of critical issues related to Daegwallyeong-myeon's development. Moreover, residents participated enthusiastically to actualize their aspiration to make Daegwallyeong-myeon a global community with supports from the local governments of Daegwallyeong-myeon and PyeongChang County.

5.2.5.1 Collective Action for the Community

Resident's raised two major critical issues related to Olympic management and the development of Daegwallyeong-myeon. The first issue was regarding the location of the bullet train (KTX) station through which trains departing from Seoul come to a stop. Daegwallyeong-myeon was designated to have the station, but later the plan changed to build the station in Jinbu-myeon. The second issue was the location of the Main Stadium. The location of the Stadium had changed several times due to required conditions and residents' actions. As such, both issues were related to the locations of primary infrastructure originally related to the Olympic Games but potentially invaluable resources for the future of Daegwallyeong-myeon. Residents organized collectively to have the infrastructure built in a location that would be most valuable their community – they failed the first issue but succeeded with the second.

The Olympic Station

At the 2011 IOC Session the IOC announced PyeongChang as the host for the 2018 Games. In part this selection was a response to South Korea's bid, which projected the construction of an Olympic Station and a bullet train station in the proximity of Daegwallyeong-myeon. After a long debate among governmental institutions it was decided that the Olympic

Station would be constructed in Jinbu-myeon, a neighboring community of Daegwallyeong-myeon. This was originally decided in 2012, but due to Daegwallyeong-myeon's strong resistance construction was postponed until 2016. In the summer of 2016, I was in Daegwallyeong-myeon for this study's pilot visit and noticed how the small downtown area was populated with banners expressing the residents' frustration that Daegwallyeong-myeon lost the most significant community resource to Jinbu-myeon, the Olympic Station.

During the ensuing fieldwork visits residents revealed that the most upsetting matter related to the Olympic-driven development was Daegwallyeong-myeon's loss of the Olympic Station. Participant #18 shared why the residents organized:

The POCOG and the national government overturned the initial location of the Olympic Station. At first, the Olympic Station was planned to be in Daegwallyeong-myeon. It was announced in the bid presentation at Durban. . . . The national government promised to locate the Olympic Station to our community. It could have been a valuable resource for the future development of our community but it was just gone. We went to Seoul many times to protest. Our argument was that we don't need a magnificent train station. We know our community is small. We only needed a simple station, a halt, named the Olympic Station, as a symbol of the host community. We said, if we could have a symbolic way station it would invite many visitors to experience the Olympic legacy. But anyway it did not go as we wanted.

Participant #22 also shared his experience of organizing collective actions to appeal to the decision:

I feel so upset whenever I think about the Olympic Station. . . . When the decision was made in 2012, I was working as president of the Daegwallyeong-myeon Coop. I went to

Gangwon Province Office, the POCOG, and other government institutions to deliver our residents' frustration on the relocation of the Olympic Station. . . . Many of us organized to go to Seoul to do protests.

Gangwon People's Daily reported on July 11, 2012 how more than 200 residents from Daegwallyeong-myeon attended the public hearing and community discussion session organized by the Ministry of Land, Transport, and Maritime Affairs, the POCOG, the local government of Gangwon Province, the Korean Rail Network Authority, and the local government of PyeongChang County. According to the report residents strongly urged the attending officials to construct the Olympic Station in Daegwallyeong-myeon because the bid presentation and the bid file of PyeongChang 2018 confirmed the location for the Olympic Station as Daegwallyeong-myeon (Shin, 2012).

Despite the residents' protests, the Olympic Station was constructed in Jinbu-myeon. This was a substantial loss for the residents because from Daegwallyeong-myeon it takes roughly 30 minutes to get to the Olympic Station. Participant #5 explained what she heard from multiple sources:

I was not involved in the community that much, but I heard that other residents went up to Seoul several times to protest. They also submitted a petition to reverse the decision [to locate the Olympic Station in Jinbu-myeon]. But I also heard that the paper work was below quality. That might be another reason our protests did not achieve what we wanted. While the residents were willing to exert themselves on behalf of Daegwallyeong-myeon, their lack of knowledge and resources disempowered them. As locals they did not have enough information or experience to craft a petition that met the standards and requirements of a global organization. This was yet another confrontation experienced by the locals, reminding them of

the gap between their capacities and the power of the POCOG and central government. In comparison to the administrative hierarchy of the Olympic management, residents felt that they were of a lower class. However, while their collective action did not result in any changes it was an important part of their community work. Their practice of self-help represented a community's collective effort to alter structures or conditions that are detrimental to them. The residents' experience with the Olympic Station case enabled them to organize and prepare in a more effective way for the second issue: the Main Stadium of the Olympic Games.

The Main Stadium of the Olympic Games

According to the bid presentation given by PyeongChang at Durban in 2011, the Main Stadium for the 2018 Olympic Games was going to be built at the ski jumping venue located on the outskirts of Daegwallyeong-myeon. As with the Olympic Station, the location of the Main Stadium was changed several times thereafter. In July 2012 the former president of POCOG announced that the Main Stadium would be constructed on the periphery of Daegwallyeong-myeon's downtown area, where the Highland Athletes' Training Facility was formerly located. The rationale offered for the change was that the ski jumping venue had far less seats than the required number of seats for the Opening and the Closing Ceremony by the IOC (Kim, 2012). The IOC required more than 20,000 seats for the Main Stadium, however, the ski jumping venue could not be expanded due to its location in the mountain valley. Thus, the POCOG decided to move the Main Stadium to a wider area, which was in Daegwallyeong-myeon's periphery.

During my first and second field visits I heard from multiple participants that the location of the Main Stadium had been changed a couple more times after the above announcement was released. Participant #9, an employee of the POCOG, commented:

I am not sure exactly when it was, but there was a debate that the location of the Main Stadium should be moved to Gangneung [where skating venues were located; 40 minutes by car from Daegwallyeong-myeon]. At that time Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents strongly protested against it, so it was nulled.

Other participants shared corroborating testimony during their interviews. Participant #1 said:

“There was a lot of fuss regarding the final location of the Main Stadium. We [Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents] believed and now still believe that it should be in Daegwallyeong-myeon.”

Participant #18 claimed that “We lost the train station. So having the Main Stadium in Daegwallyeong-myeon is important for us.” Participant #9 shared that “It was a very difficult situation. Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents strongly argued that they needed the Main Stadium in or near the community.” By the time a final decision was reached the location of the Main Stadium had been changed three times: from the ski jumping venue to the Highland Athletes' Training Facility to Gangneung to Daegwallyeong-myeon's downtown (refer to Figure 5-6 and Figure 5-7).



Figure 5-6. Change of the Stadium location (Source: The Map Room; additional information added by the author)

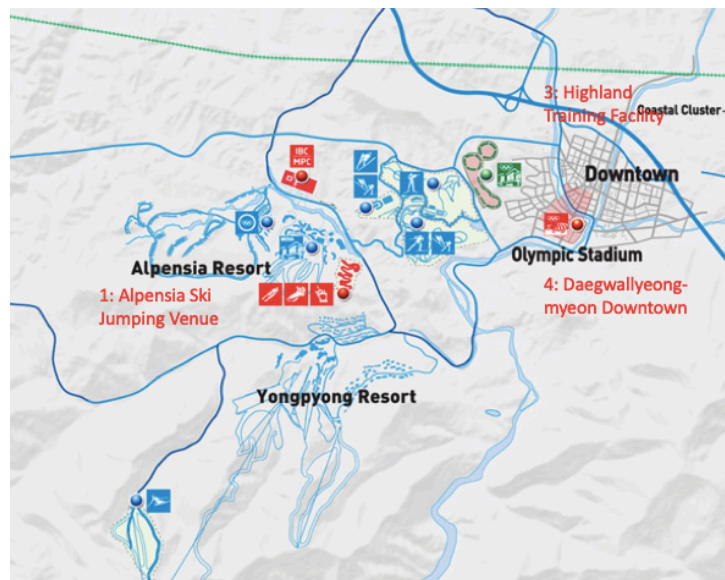


Figure 5-7. Change of the Stadium location: Detailed (Source: POCOG; additional information added by the author)

As is shown in Figure 5-7, the ski jumping venue was located further than the Highland Athletes' Training Facility from the downtown area. Additionally, the Highland Athletes'

Training Facility was located outside of Daegwallyeong-myeon downtown (In Figure 5-7, where the Olympic Stadium is located is downtown area, not the area with “Downtown” caption). With the exception of the Gangneung consideration, the trajectory of the debates thus brought the Main Stadium closer to the community. Participant #18 discussed the significance of locating the Main Stadium in Daegwallyeong-myeon downtown:

The Olympic Plaza, including the Main Stadium, the Medal Plaza, the Olympic Square and the sponsors’ pavilions, needed to be in the downtown area. There’s no question on this. Especially the Main Stadium is important because the most visitors will come to watch the Opening and the Closing Ceremony. Visitors will come to the downtown area only if the Main Stadium is downtown. Visitors will spend money and stay downtown on their way to and out of the Main Stadium in the Olympic Plaza. That’s why we [residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon] endeavored to move the Main Stadium into Daegwallyeong-myeon’s downtown.

According to participants, there was a considerable roadblock to constructing the Main Stadium in Daegwallyeong-myeon’s downtown: Daegwallyeong Middle School was in the current location of the Main Stadium. South Korean law regulates entertainment businesses like pubs and bars as well as accommodation businesses like motels and hotels when in the proximity of educational institutions, including elementary schools, middle schools, and high schools. Since the residents aimed to utilize the Main Stadium as a way of expanding the downtown area, they thought the best solution was to relocate Daegwallyeong Middle School to the perimeter of the downtown area. Doing so would put the school outside the zone of regulations that would inevitably be applied to the whole downtown area. Participant #18 explained:

In order to expand the commercial district in the downtown area, Daegwallyeong Middle School had to move somewhere else. We filed numerous complaints and petitions to PyeongChang County Government and the Gangwon Province Government. . . . The governments were hesitating and saying they did not have a large enough budget to relocate Daegwallyeong Middle School. . . . A lot of residents tried every possible means and ways to accomplish this task. . . . It was not an easy task, but we organized well, I think.

As a parent representative of Daegwallyeong Middle School and then chairperson of the Daegwallyeong Middle School Relocation Promotion Committee, participant #28 explained how difficult the process was:

It was very tough months when I was working for the Parent Teacher's Association of Daegwallyeong Middle School. As a resident, I knew that the school had to move out of the downtown area. Have you heard about the regulation that prohibits certain types of commercial businesses near schools? It is probably 200m or 300m surrounding a school. No bars or accommodations are allowed. It is called 'clean district' where businesses that are detrimental to students are prohibited If we are to grow the local economy, we should have those commercial businesses, right? Those businesses are directly related to tourists Anyway the governments were not supportive at all. They kept delaying assigning a budget to the relocation project. Thus PTA members and all residents had to visit the County and the Province Education Office to speed up the relocation process. . . . I remember it was late 2016 when the budget was finally assigned and released. . . . We did it with a belief that we were contributing to our community. There was no compensation, but we thought this was what we needed to do.

The participants in my study who were residents shared that they had organized an open forum among community members to establish their collective opinion and figure out how to handle the issue strategically. The forum was reported on by the *Gangwon People's Daily* (Shin, 2013):

The president of Daegwallyeong-myeon Cooperative held a community open forum to gather the opinions of the community. . . . At the forum, residents agreed that the relocation of the school and developing a strategy to cope with Daegwallyeong-myeon's loss of the train station were the two most pressing issues for the community. Residents also agreed to take collective actions to appeal to the local and state government regarding these issues. (para. 6-7)

It took four years of community organizing to relocate Daegwallyeong Middle School to the periphery of the downtown area. Finally, in 2017, it was successfully moved and the construction of the Main Stadium began in downtown Daegwallyeong-myeon. The residents and the government officials who participated in my interviews did not reveal the details of the decision to locate the Main Stadium in Daegwallyeong-myeon. Nevertheless, it was evident that the residents' collective efforts to foster community development made it happen. They were the group of people who held the greatest commitment to Daegwallyeong-myeon and its future.

5.2.5.2 Aspiration to Be a Global Town

This section specifically addresses RQ-2c by explaining how the residents strategically adopted and negotiated the global expectation of Olympic management. Along with their will to secure important resources in Daegwallyeong-myeon, residents aspired to develop the community into a globally-qualified Olympic town with support from local government officials

who were themselves residents. Such efforts reflected the perception that their town was underdeveloped and pushed to the periphery within the nation and in the global Olympic structure as well. In the following section I discuss in detail the desire of Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents to transform Daegwallyeong-myeon into a global town and to become global citizens, and more specifically, their hope of becoming a qualified Olympic town and Olympic hosts. The residents sought to fully transform the tangible and the intangible at the same time.

By tangible I mean the material or the hardware of Daegwallyeong-myeon, such as the community and local business architecture, Olympic-related facilities, accommodations, and restaurants. By intangible I mean the culture, particularly the residents', lifestyles, tastes, and level of civic consciousness as Olympic hosts. I use the words 'aspiration' and 'desire' to explain the force of their volition to transform the tangible and intangible. Below I explore their strong, sometimes desperate, aspiration to be a global town and global citizens. In doing so, I will present how the global – including the globality of the Olympic Games and the Olympic Games as a means of globalization – is perceived, imagined, and sought in contrast to the local.

In order to achieve the desired transformation various construction projects were undertaken to improve the streetscape as well as the quality of accommodations, businesses, and the village's infrastructure. The projects' sought to establish a material foundation on which to stage the Olympic Games successfully. For example, participant #29 insisted:

I was worried because our town was not developed enough to meet the eyes of the foreign athletes, delegations, or visitors. The town was below the standard of an Olympic town. Buildings and streets in the downtown area were obsolete and outdated. They were not clean and neat enough. That's why we pushed forward the Streetscape Improvement Project. . . We did not have enough Western-style restaurants where foreign visitors can

eat pizza or burgers. There were several restaurants on the street that sell Bo-shin-tang (dog meat stew). We had to go through a complete transformation in order to make our town to be world-class.

Consequently, the existing streetscape was treated as something that needed to be ‘upgraded’ and ‘refined’ in order to meet the standard of a global-level Olympic town.

Another participant (#25), an employee at a farm store that sells local produce, explained that Daegwallyeong-myeon was not equipped to host visitors: “Local government installed illuminations on the streets through which visitors passed when they proceeded to the Main Stadium. Before the installation, streets were dark and the streetscape was not beautiful enough.” Participant #26 agreed that Daegwallyeong-myeon’s infrastructure and streetscape were below the expectations of foreign visitors: “Buildings in Daegwallyeong-myeon downtown area were mostly very outdated. We cannot promote our town to foreign visitors with obsolete infrastructure.” As these statements suggest, there was a pervasive assumption that the existing quality of service, safety, security, and accommodation would not satisfy Olympic standards. Participants argued that the streets in the downtown area were unappealing and that overall the community’s aesthetic was not good enough to showcase to foreign visitors. These residents thus internalized a foreign gaze, adopting it as a standard of community development.

Through participant observation I was able to collect government documents that contained the details of multiple construction and improvement projects in Daegwallyeong-myeon. These occasions included a community meeting and a session organized by the Daegwallyeong-myeon Office to provide residents with administrative information about how to participate in the improvement projects. I learned that the streetscape improvement project was comprised of four sub-projects: (a) Improving the scape of Olympic Boulevard and

Daegwallyeong-myeon downtown area; (b) Refurbishing decrepit or poor facilities in Daegwallyeong-myeon; (c) Improving the scape of routes for VIPs and delegations; and (d) Landscaping the Daegwallyeong-myeon downtown area. These projects mainly targeted areas where visitors would pass through or stay in.

For example, the project constructed a small square named Snow Flake Square in the downtown area where the Olympic Plaza (i.e., the Main Stadium, the Medal Plaza, the Super Store, and Sponsors' Pavilions) was located. Since the Olympic Plaza would be the major landmark for visitors the square was situated right in front of the ticket office and Plaza entrance. The square was completely transformed so that it would satisfy the astronomical number of visitors (Figure 5-8 and Figure 5-9). This Snow Flake Square is itself a five-way intersection that connects five different streets. The exteriors of the buildings on all five streets were fully remodeled with new painting and new signs for the existing commercial businesses. Participant #26 explained:

It has been much better than before. . . . Did you see how Western countries design and install the signs on buildings? They do it in a very nice and attractive way. But previous signs in Daegwallyeong-myeon were not consistent with each other and visually not polished. Now, after the streetscape improvement project, they look nicer. New signs have better design.

When she asks “did you see . . .” she is referring to a South Korean reality show that was being broadcasted at the time this interview took place. The show was about four celebrities going to Spain to open a pop-up Korean restaurant. Based on what she saw on the show she thought the Spanish signs were artsy, abstract, and designed well to go with both the building's exterior and

the other signs. She compared Daegwallyeong-myeon's previous signage to those of the Spanish town in the TV show, indicating that Western towns look better than Daegwallyeong-myeon.



Figure 5-8. Snow Flake Square: Before remodeling (Photo by the author)



Figure 5-9. Snow Flake Square: After remodeling (Photo by the author)

Other participants shared their satisfaction with the refinement of the old signs. “I am satisfied with the new sign I have got” said participant #17:

It looks better than the previous one. Other businesses on this street, they all replaced the old sign with a new one Daegwallyeong-myeon Office let us know that we can apply for the improvement project. So I applied and received financial assistance from the Office.

As participant #29 argued, the local government recognized that Daegwallyeong-myeon's aesthetic presentation must be improved. As a head of the Daegwallyeong-myeon Office (#29) she led these projects to make Daegwallyeong-myeon a qualified Olympic town. These projects required voluntary involvement from the residents, particularly business owners who had old signs. According to participant #29, more than 90% of the business owners in Daegwallyeong-myeon agreed to replace the business signs. Interviews with business owners confirmed that they felt the need to improve Daegwallyeong-myeon's overall presentation and landscape to provide Olympic visitors with quality facilities. The streetscapes before and after the project are in Figure 5-10 and Figure 5-11. The photos on the left are from before the project and photos on the right are after.



Figure 5-10. Left: Before remodeling; Right: After remodeling (Kim, C. S., 2018)



Figure 5-11. Left: Before remodeling; Right: After remodeling (Kim, C. S., 2018)

As I briefly mentioned in **5.2.2.1 The POCOG’s Institutional Aspiration for Globalization**, restaurant interiors and accommodation businesses were also remodeled by residents with the support of the local government. According to a government document disseminated to local business owners (collected through South Korean government’s open information system; <https://www.open.go.kr/>), the project was entitled “2017 Olympic Hospitality Project: Improving the Restaurant and Accommodation Services.” The project’s purpose statement claimed that “To successfully host foreign visitors, Daegwallyeong-myeon should be prepared by enhancing the management of restaurants and accommodations” (p. 2). The document then provided four specific targets of the project:

- Increase the variety of accommodations and restaurants for the Olympic visitors
- Adopt the form of ‘Guest house’ to Korean style of farm stay [Min-bak] in order to increase the total number of available accommodations
- Improve the accommodation services to tailor to the taste and preference of foreigners
- Provide breakfast services to meet the preference of foreigners who are used to staying in hotels

To successfully achieve these targets, three areas of improvement were suggested in the document:

- Upgrade and expand kitchen facilities
 - Remodel old kitchenettes
 - Replace sedentary tables with Western-style table
 - Remodel public kitchen area: Install sinks for dish washing and hand washing
- Upgrade the structure of rooms
 - Upgrade from sedentary style [On-dol; Korean traditional residential structure] to western-style by placing either single, twin, or double beds
- Upgrade exterior of accommodation
 - Clean and repair outer walls and stairs (p. 3)

As is repeatedly stated in the above excerpts, this project was tailored to meet the preference of foreign visitors, particularly visitors from Western countries. The residents and government officials executing these projects thus came to assume that making Daegwallyeong-myeon into a global Olympic town meant making it look like foreign – or more specifically Western. Although they were native to Daegwallyeong-myeon they still believed that the community's previous condition was not visually attractive enough, or was impractically constructed. Business owners therefore got involved in the improvement projects with enthusiasm.

During my second fieldwork I observed that almost all the restaurants in Daegwallyeong-myeon replaced sedentary style tables with Western-style tables. Interestingly enough, some restaurants practiced cultural hybridity by asking customers to take their shoes off even though the structure of the restaurants were tailored to foreign visitors. In sedentary style Korean

restaurant customers remove their shoes to keep the floors clean for them to sit on. Yet even after remodeling to the Western table-style, some owners still adhered to the traditional ways of ‘keeping the floor clean.’

In addition to upgrading facilities and structures, residents aspired to be global citizens by upgrading their civic consciousness and hospitality. This aspiration initiated multiple cultural citizenship campaigns and movements. One example was the PyeongChang Good Manner Campaign initiated and managed by the Good Manner PyeongChang Cultural Citizenship Campaign Association (Figure 5-12). The purpose of this campaign was to educate local residents in global manners, protocols, and a sense of civic consciousness in order to qualify them to host the Olympic Games. The four priorities were: kindness, cleanliness, order, and service. The following excerpt is from written material distributed to local residents:

Your smile, kindness, cleanliness, and order consciousness will represent our community and South Korea to the world. We are a part of the South Korean national team outside of the Stadium. We are PyeongChang!



Figure 5-12. PyeongChang Good Manner Campaign (From left to right, Kindness, Cleanliness, Order, and Service)

It is important to note that residents highly appreciated the effectiveness of this campaign because they considered themselves ill qualified to satisfactorily host foreigners. In other words, there was an implicit assumption among the residents that they had to be educated to a certain level – a global level – in order to host and communicate well with foreign visitors. Participant #22 echoed this assumption: “I think that the locals’ civic consciousness has been improved a lot through the campaign and its education. We learned how to welcome foreign visitors.” He believed that the quality of the residents’ hospitality was substantially enhanced through the campaign. According to participant #24, a practitioner of the Good Manner Campaign, “We launched this campaign in late 2014 to host the Olympics successfully. . . . We believe that the way in which we greet visitors is a significant part of a successful Olympics. Thus we set up these four main agendas and detailed action plans.” To the residents, global manners were something to be learned because they did not already possess them, and they were different from

the manners they already practiced. In technical terms, they endeavored to upgrade their own ‘software’ to meet global standards.

Global manners were considered an especially important asset for public transportation staff working in Daegwallyeong-myeon. Consequently, there were multiple education sessions for taxi and bus drivers organized by local government and campaign activists. I was able to observe one education session during my first fieldwork visit. The lecturer emphasized the importance of communicating and interacting well with foreign visitors so that they would remember the hospitality of Daegwallyeong-myeon. Public transportation staff learned how to practice global manners, which included basic greetings and how to engage in conversations in major foreign languages, and becoming familiar with the body languages of different cultures.

‘Improvement’ and ‘upgrade’ were keywords for the Olympic-related community projects, which, again, were executed by both residents and government officials. Daegwallyeong-myeon residents and officials perceived tangible and intangible development to be an improvement to the community. The term ‘improvement’ brought with it an assumption that the original condition was inadequate and therefore had to be changed for the better. In this way the term ‘improvement’ was similar to ‘evolution,’ in that both presume a linear process of betterment.

5.3 Post-Olympic Community Development: 2018 and Further

The data presented in this section were primarily collected during my second fieldwork, and they collectively address RQ-3a and RQ-3b, both of which ask about the residents’ felt-needs for, self-help to, and participation in the Olympic-driven community development. The latter half of the visit included the month after the Paralympic Games, which followed the

Olympic Games. After both events concluded residents began organizing to optimize the post-Olympic use of facilities as well as to bring back some of the community resources that had been affected or even removed due to the Olympic Games. Before I delineate the host community's felt-needs, methods of self-help, and participation in post-Olympic facility use, I want to emphasize that the IOC does not provide any specific regulations for post-Olympic management or the development of the Olympic legacy. In the *IOC sustainability strategy: Full version* (2017) the IOC stated that "After the Olympic Games are over, the Organizing Committee is disbanded and responsibility for legacy initiatives resides with local, permanent institutions, such as public authorities, sport bodies, venue owners and non-governmental organizations" (p. 28). There are two important points here. First, the IOC and the POCOG were not responsible for managing post-Olympic matters within the geographical boundary of Daegwallyeong-myeon. That is, the global and transnational priorities and expectations that dictated the planning and execution of the Games were removed from managing the post-Olympic community development. Second, the list of organizations or institutions who could potentially manage post-Olympic matters did not include the host community or its residents (unless they establish non-governmental organizations). However, since the residents of host communities were those who make a living in the community the Olympic Games swept through, they had a higher stake in the post-event management. Thus, in what follows I delineate findings about the residents' felt-needs, methods for self-help, and how they sought to participate in making the best use of the Olympic remnants.

5.3.1 Felt-Needs

Many residents who participated in my study recognized the significance of post-Olympic community development. In fact, they believed that the post-Olympic phase was more crucial than the event itself because of the long-term consequences the event could generate. Although residents were well aware of the term ‘legacy’ by the time I interviewed them, it was not a pervasively used word in South Korea. However, because Daegwallyeong-myeon’s residents felt strongly about optimizing the opportunity provided by the Olympic Games, they spent a considerable amount of time attending to how the community could develop a comprehensive plan for maximizing the use of Olympic facilities. In an interview that took place after the Olympic events had finished, participant #18 explained:

The 2018 PyeongChang Olympic Games were only the first half, if we use a soccer game as a metaphor. The Post-Olympic phase is the second half. We [Daegwallyeong-myeon] have to come up with ways to optimize this opportunity. . . . Now we have better roads and other infrastructures. . . . We should focus on the future because we will never again have events this big. This is the biggest event we will have had in Daegwallyeong-myeon. . . . We’ve learned a lot and some people made some money. But from now on there will be few incoming visitors. So we have to ponder the ways in which we can make good use of our Olympic experience. It’s good that residents are organizing to discuss and make actions for the community.

While this participant perceived the positive effects of having hosted the Olympic Games (such as the unique experience and infrastructural development), what he emphasized the most was the need to manage these features to further the development of Daegwallyeong-myeon.

Other participants shared similar insights. Participant #24 said:

We did not host the Olympics with a narrow focus on the event itself. We tried hard, you know, we applied for three times, to make our community grow further after the Olympic Games. That's why we should invest our greatest effort to maximize the usage of the Olympic legacy. We should not let future visitors be disappointed when they come to Daegwallyeong-myeon to see the former Olympic host community. I think that's our must for now.

Many residents discussed post-Olympic community development whenever they had casual or community meetings. When I conducted a non-participant observation at a community meeting for the discussion of the post-Olympic development that took place on April 3, 2018, I noticed a shared consciousness among the residents that the Olympics were not over for them. One of the participants was a Buddhist monk who led meetings with residents for four years to pray for Daegwallyeong-myeon's winning the Olympic bid. He said:

We should continue this kind of community meeting. We should look ahead to the future, I would say, a decade or three decades later from today. We have a lot of work to do to maintain this Olympic passion we got and to turn the Olympic legacy over to our descendent.

Not only did the residents express a strongly felt need to make good use of the Olympic Games as a community resource, but they also mapped out specific plans to achieve post-Olympic community development.

The aspiration for globalization remained a part of the community conversation, similar to the Olympic preparation process. Residents desired to continue globalizing Daegwallyeong-myeon by using the remaining Olympic infrastructure. These plans included two focal areas. First was working to host other global and/or international sport events such as the Youth Winter

Olympic Games or the Asian Winter Games. Second was requesting the retention of the Main Stadium where they planned to construct an Olympic Museum, which they believed would be a ‘global Mecca’ for Winter Olympic tourism. This was important to them because the greater part of the Main Stadium was planned to be deconstructed after the Olympic Games.

Residents felt that hosting another winter sport event in the future would be the most effective use of the facilities constructed for the 2018 Olympic Games. Participant #29 felt assured that since Daegwallyeong-myeon hosted the 2018 Games successfully despite its small population, that the community could host other sporting events regardless of requirements:

We are a community of about 6,000 people but we accomplished our goal to host the Olympic Games successfully. We have now a confidence that our community can do anything and everything. That’s why we are trying to put together a plan to apply to host other sport events such as the Youth Olympic Games and the Asian Games.

As this comment suggests, the successful execution of such a large-scale event worked to sustain community morale.

In addition to their plan to host future sport events, residents felt it necessary to secure spaces in the Main Stadium to build and manage an Olympic Museum. Participant #27 shared his thoughts on the Olympic Museum:

Residents should make a great deal of effort to secure the right to supervise the post-Olympic use of the Main Stadium. The Olympic Museum will contribute to Daegwallyeong-myeon by attracting foreign and domestic visitors if it is well-equipped with meaningful items and exhibits. That’s why residents are requesting the retention of the Main Stadium.

A museum was thus seen as a way to optimize the hosting of the Olympic Games and continue that legacy into the future.

During my second fieldwork there were many rumors about the Main Stadium's future, including the prospect of its demolition due to high maintenance costs. Participant #18 for example worried that the Main Stadium might be pulled down:

We [residents] are asking for the retention of the Main Stadium. It is the only legacy that we [residents] can make a good use of. We should have something in our hands. We've been to Sapporo, Torino, and Vancouver, and found that their main facilities are maintained. If we don't have the Main Stadium maintained, we won't have any visitors who might want to see the Olympic Stadium. We need a symbolic space to attract visitors and make them commemorate the Olympics. . . . We are frustrated because post-Olympic plans are still not confirmed. . . . We've been meeting and discussing this issue frequently after the Olympic Games.

The Main Stadium had five floors, and the POCOG planned to take the upper four floors out, take them apart, and ship to Beijing where the next Winter Olympic Games will be held in 2022. I heard about this information from multiple individuals including the residents and the POCOG employees through informal conversations I had with them. In my field notes, I wrote:

People are talking a lot about the future of the Main Stadium, but it seems that nobody knows what will exactly happen. People are guessing, and some POCOG employees do not want to reveal the information. But it seems it is clear that the final decision has not been made, and there is still a possibility that the deconstruction plan can change. . . .

Residents want the spaces from the first floor to the fourth floor, or even to the third floor

to build the Olympic Museum. But it is very vague about who holds the main authority to make the final decision.

Participant #18 went on to explain how Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents were annoyed because they had anticipated benefits from the Olympic Games. Indeed, it was widely reported through South Korean media that the 2018 PyeongChang Games were a great financial success (Park & Kim, 2018). Yet, residents felt that the benefits were not sufficiently returning to the host community. Participant #18 said:

The POCOG says this Olympic Games produced profit. Media outlets call this event as a 'surplus Olympics.' But the profit is not being distributed to our community. Rather, we are worrying that the Main Stadium might even be gone. . . . The Olympic Games happened in our community. That means Daegwallyeong-myeon must be the location of the Olympic legacy.

Participant #20 provided a similar opinion:

I heard from multiple sources that the profit is more than 20 billion Won. We [residents] are not saying that the whole profit should be returned to Daegwallyeong-myeon. We just need a small portion of the profit so that we can maintain the Main Stadium and build an Olympic Museum.

Convinced that the retention of the Main Stadium and an Olympic Museum would contribute to the development of Daegwallyeong-myeon, residents began taking collective action. This was also a response to the limited access they had to post-Olympic management logistics, which were being handled by PyeongChang County and Gangwon Province. I was not able to observe if the Main Stadium remained as the residents wanted because I had to resume

my fieldwork. However, according to a news article (Kwon, 2018), it was demolished (see Figure 5-15).

5.3.2 Self-Help and Participation

Residents' strongly felt the need to maintain the developmental flow initiated by their collective actions. They had come together for community meetings to discuss the post-Olympic status of Daegwallyeong-myeon. Following the community meeting organized in late March of 2018, a larger community meeting took place at the Conference Center in YongPyong Resort in early April, with more than 200 residents in attendance. Participant #24, with whom I had built rapport, invited me to come and learn about what was discussed in the meeting. She appreciated the fact that I was investigating the post-Olympic community development because she thought Daegwallyeong-myeon was not getting enough attention from the public or from institutions like the POCOG and national government. So she introduced me to important people in Daegwallyeong-myeon and invited me to community events.

At the meeting, residents actively exchanged and discussed their opinions on the issue of post-Olympic community development:

Resident C: Now the Olympics are over, but it is a new start for our community. We should maintain the enhanced value and image of Daegwallyeong-myeon, and further develop them into resources of cultural tourism. . . . We should work on sport marketing as well. . . . By optimizing the resources we have acquired through the Olympics we can make our community a Mecca of sport.

Resident D: I think we should organize a community-level committee or commission to develop these conversations into practice. We need to encourage ourselves to speak up with one voice.

Resident E: I agree with Resident D that we should organize a committee or a commission. I heard that the Main Stadium is being broken down into pieces and will be shipped to Beijing for the 2022 Winter Games. If that's true, we should move faster so that we can secure at least some parts of the Stadium to use the space for the Olympic Museum.

Resident F: I expect much bigger development of Daegwallyeong-myeon after the Olympic Games. We can host the Youth Olympic Games, I am sure. The Youth Olympic Games is an event for younger athletes and I think it is one of the best strategies for optimizing the use of existing Olympic facilities in our community.

As these excerpts demonstrate, residents considered various strategies for achieving sustainable community development after the Olympic Games. The strategies included: (a) establishing a local commission to extend the Olympic-driven community development for decades; (b) hosting another winter sport event such as the Youth Olympic Games or the Asian Games; and (c) Securing the opportunity to build an Olympic Museum in the Main Stadium. Through these community meetings residents reached a consensus and launched a local commission for building the Olympic Museum (the Local Commission for the Development of the Olympic Museum hereafter) shortly after the large meeting. The Commission was one of the significant collective actions taken by the residents after the Olympic Games. It was chaired by participant #20. He held multiple roles in diverse organization from local level to national level.

His roles across different institutions and associations helped draw the attention of governing institutions and South Korean media to the issue of retaining the Main Stadium and building an Olympic Museum.

The Commission's inaugural meeting was held in April of 2018, and included reporters from *Gangwon People's Daily*. I was able to conduct a non-participant observation thanks to the chair's enthusiasm that their discussion would be recorded in an academic publication. I found that the chair and other members of the Commission had begun to work towards an Olympic Museum long before the Olympic Games. The chair, participant #20, gave a briefing to members on what he and other founding members had prepared so far:

I led the building of Daegwallyeong Ski Museum 20 years ago when we hosted the Asian Winter Games. Of course there was ample support from skiers of Daegwallyeong-myeon. After 20 years, we hosted the Winter Olympic Games. I strongly believe that the most important legacy is the artifacts from the Olympics, like the athletes' equipment, uniforms, and other symbolic materials. . . . In January 2017, I met with the POCOG president and government officials to discuss strategies for preserving and promoting the Olympic legacy. That's when the discussion on the Olympic Museum was initiated. . . . In November 2017 there was another meeting for all the parties concerned. It was decided that we would request that the National Olympic Committees of the participating countries donate their athletes' equipment and related materials. . . . In February 2018, we initiated this Commission. We made calls to every individual whom we wanted to liaise as a member of the Advisory Committee for the Commission. The governor of PyeongChang County, Mr. Jae-Gook Shim, agreed to serve the Committee on February

21, and the governor of Gangwon Province, Mr. Moon-soon Choi, agreed on February 22.

As participant #20's briefing indicates, he and the other founding members started preparing for the Olympic Museum more than a year before the Olympic Games. They had organized meetings with people who had political leverage to inform them that an Olympic Museum held significance for Daegwallyeong-myeon's future. Each of the members optimized their social networks to achieve the plan. As a result, the Commission was able to appoint the governors of Gangwon Province and PyeongChang County, two members of the Gangwon Provincial Assembly, and the president of PyeongChang County Council as members of the Advisory Committee.

Participant #20 continued his briefing by explaining how they had worked to draw media attention. A few days before the inaugural meeting participant #20 and one of the founding members of the Commission – who had been serving as the president of Daegwallyeong-myeon Cooperative – held a press conference at the Gangwon Province Office in ChunCheon. During the press conference they highlighted the need to keep the Main Stadium from being demolished so that they could start building the Olympic Museum. They also called for the POCOG's financial investment to the Olympic Museum project by asking for some of the profits produced by the Olympic Games. This press conference received substantial media attention and was reported on the next day on the *Gangwon People's Daily* website.

While the political and media strategies were relatively new, residents had initiated the artifact collecting process much earlier. Participant #20 explained that he was a founding member of the Korean Ski History Museum and the Daegwallyeong Ski History Museum, which opened in 1990 and 1999 respectively. The Korean Ski History Museum was located in Alps Ski

Resort, an hour from Daegwallyeong-myeon. When the Resort went bankrupt in the early 2000's the Museum was closed, too. Since participant #20 took a role in opening the Korean Ski History Museum he knew that the exhibits in the Museum could be moved to the new Olympic Museum:

When I met with the POCOG executive team in February 2018 I asked for their support and collaboration. I specifically asked them to support the transfer of artifacts from the Korean Ski History Museum to the new Olympic Museum. The Korean Ski History Museum had been closed and neglected for years. . . . I and vice president [of the Commission] went to the POCOG Office to check how many exhibits we now have [they have stored collected materials in the storage place in the POCOG Office building]. We have around 3,000 artifacts, souvenirs, mementos, athletes' equipment, and other props. We have hand-printings of more than 300 athletes who competed in the 2018 Olympics. We also have uniforms, the Olympic Torch, the Olympic badges, and coins. With these artifacts, we can make the Olympic Museum profitable and contributing to our community in the long term.

While participant #20 and the vice president of the Commission had been able to collect Olympic-related artifacts through more formal channels, other residents collected a significant number of these materials by themselves. For example, at the interview with participant #18, member of the Commission, said he would donate his collected materials to the Olympic Museum. At the time he had his own exhibition inside a container located next to his restaurant (Figure 5-13). As can be seen in Figure 5-13, he collected artifacts related to the three consecutive Olympic bids and the Olympic Games itself.



Figure 5-13. Participant #18's individual exhibition place in Daegwallyeong-myeon (Photos by the author)

Residents strived to build the Olympic Museum in Daegwallyeong-myeon using multiple strategies: (a) they utilized their social networks to gain political recognition and legitimacy, (b) they promoted what they needed through media outlets, and (c) they prepared what they would put into the Museum in advance. These were the practices by which residents helped themselves and participated to accomplish sustainable community development using Olympic-related resources. For the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon, the Olympic Museum was an apparatus for sustaining Olympic-driven development. In this way the Olympic Museum was a material tool used to sustain the globality of the Olympic Games in Daegwallyeong-myeon. They believed that the Olympic Museum could be a ‘global Mecca’ for Winter Olympic tourism that could draw foreign visitors looking to experience the Olympic legacy.

In spite of their efforts residents faced difficulties realizing their plan. According to multiple reports in South Korean media, the Olympic Museum project was stopped due to lack of financial support from government institutions. Ultimately, the resident's wishes were ignored and the Main Stadium was demolished, despite the fact that building a new facility on the site would cost much more than utilizing the existing facility. During my second fieldwork

participants were worried that the Main Stadium would be demolished because they had heard that the building materials were going to be transferred to Beijing for the next Winter Olympic Games. Their worries were well founded. According to news reports (Kwon, 2019), the Main Stadium was completely demolished by June 2018 (Figure 5-14 and Figure 5-15).



Figure 5-14. The Main Stadium (Park, 2018)



Figure 5-15. The Stadium after demolition (Kwon, 2018)

In August 2018 Gangwon Province unilaterally notified the Commission that it could not provide the previously agreed upon financial support to build a four-floor Olympic Museum. As chair of the Commission, participant #20 took immediate action against the government of Gangwon Province. Park's article (2018), which covered participant #20's individual protest, explained that the government of Gangwon Province had agreed to build the Olympic Museum as a four-floor facility but then later changed the plan into a two-floor facility. The Commission and the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon wanted a four-floor facility so that they could exhibit the more than 3,000 artifacts in an appealing way. In response to the government having reneged on its agreement, participant #20 started a hunger strike on August 27, 2018. In a news article released on September 13, 2018 (*PyeongChang News*, 2018) it was reported that participant #20 would maintain his hunger strike until the government of Gangwon Province agreed to reflect the

Commission's request for the Olympic Museum (i.e., participant #20 was willing to open his identity in my study; he agreed that I could provide information of him doing these community-related activities).

For the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon, the Olympic Museum would have been a significant community resource for sustainable community development over the next few decades. They believed that the Olympic Museum would be a global destination for tourists. Thus, residents organized the Commission as a way of taking collective action and exerting their influence in the decision-making process. By doing so they used what resources were available to them to exert the most possible control, but they were limited in their influence. However, although the Main Stadium was demolished, the Olympic Museum project had finally been launched, according to news reports that circulated in January 2019 (Kwon, 2019).

5.4 Solidarity and Agency: The Goal

The theory of community development (Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004) suggests that the purpose of community development is the promotion of solidarity and agency. In what follows, I turn the focus to RQ-3c that asks how the solidarity among the residents was impacted by the process of community development. I analyze how the POCOG and the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon experienced inter-group conflicts, which hindered them from developing solidarity. Then I delineate how Olympic-driven community development impacted Daegwallyeong-myeon's internal solidarity. Lastly, I provide an analysis of how the residents' commitment to winter sports influenced the process of Olympic-driven community development. In doing so I attempt to integrate the global-local nexus as an important feature connecting the global and the local. Although the global-local nexus may have played a significant role in

building multi-level solidarity, I draw on the theory of community development (Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004) to claim that agency derived from grassroots activism can empower Daegwallyeong-myeon. I analyze the residents' perceptions and experiences of agency in the context of the Olympic Games. This section provides a response to RQ-3d that focuses on how the residents' agency was influenced by the community development process.

5.4.1 Conflicts and Solidarity in Managing Olympic-Driven Community Development

Solidarity is defined as “a shared identity (derived from place, ideology, or interest) and a code for conduct or norms, both deep enough that a rupture affects the members emotionally and other ways” (Bhattacharyya, 2004, p. 12). Solidarity is a necessary component for achieving sustainable community development and is needed between both local and transnational communities. Through data analysis, however, I found conflicts between the employees of the POCOG and the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon instead of solidarity. Residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon strived to build up their community and make the best of their in-group solidarity.

5.4.1.1 Conflicts between the POCOG and Daegwallyeong-Myeon's Residents

As previously discussed in **Chapter IV**, the Organizing Committees can be classified as transnational agents because of their field of influence and network. The Organizing Committees' transnational characteristics conflicted with the local ones of Daegwallyeong-myeon. During my first and second fieldworks participants from both groups revealed that there had been visible and invisible conflicts between how the POCOG employees and

Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents planned and practiced Olympic-driven community development.

Perspective of the POCOG

The employees of the POCOG who participated in my study expressed the coherent opinion that the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon did not have enough knowledge of Olympic-related development to influence the transnational agents (Organizing Committees), whose practices go beyond the national border. The Organizing Committees represent the IOC within the country where the Olympic Games are to be held, and its employees communicate internationally and transnationally with the IOC, NOCs, and IFs.

Participants who worked at the POCOG had a level of cultural capital that local residents did not, including the ability to speak English, international educational experiences, and/or international athletic experiences. Most participants from the POCOG were from one of the metropolitan cities, while Daegwallyeong-myeon is a rural, mountainous community where the major industry is agriculture and small businesses. In the eyes of POCOG employees, Daegwallyeong-myeon was not qualified to host the Olympic Games. Participant #32, an employee of the POCOG who graduated from a university in North America, thought that the civic consciousness of Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents was not sufficient to be Olympic hosts. He was in charge of communicating with Daegwallyeong-myeon's representatives about Olympic-related development projects. He shared that he struggled to communicate with residents. His main job was to host the Olympic Games on a site with fully qualified facilities. As he did not want his interview to be recorded, I took notes:

Participant #9 introduced me to participant #32 today. He [participant #32] was a young man who studied in the US. He said he was from Seoul and he came to Daegwallyeong-myeon an year ago when he got a job at the POCOG. . . . His main job was to coordinate between the POCOG and the community of Daegwallyeong-myeon. He said he had done tasks like organizing a cheering team comprised of the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon and managing meetings between the POCOG and the community representatives of Daegwallyeong-myeon. . . . He said the civic awareness of Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents were below his expectation. He said they were countrified in many ways. He shared that he had been having hard times to communicate with the residents because they only think about their situation.

From his perspective the residents were selfish because they were more concerned with the development of Daegwallyeong-myeon than with the success of the Olympic Games.

Another participant (#39) agreed that the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon did not collaborate well with the POCOG employees in several ways. For example, when the POCOG Office moved to Daegwallyeong-myeon from Seoul, two years before the 2018 PyeongChang Games, community representatives told the POCOG that they would not raise the monthly rent for its employees. This issue was important because most POCOG employees were not from Daegwallyeong-myeon so they had to rent in the community. A year later when the Olympic Games drew closer, the Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents who owned apartments and condos raised the monthly rent two and three fold. As a result, POCOG employees struggled to find a place to live until the end of the Olympic Games. According to participant #39 many of them had to move to Gangneung, a neighboring city, because they could not afford the higher rent in Daegwallyeong-myeon. In an interview that took place in July, 2017, she said:

When I first came to Daegwallyeong-myeon, my rent was \$300 [calculated from Korean Won to US dollar by the author]. It was 2016. This spring, in March of 2017, my landlord raised the rent to \$1,000. I did not want to pay that much, so I moved to Gangneung. Because a lot of landlords in Daegwallyeong-myeon raised their rent so much, many of my colleagues moved to Gangneung like me. . . . I felt that the residents only thought about their individual benefit, and did not think about the success of the Olympic Games. In light of these encounters, the POCOG employees felt that the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon did not care about successfully hosting the Olympic Games, and were only concerned with making money out of the employees and the Games. Moreover, since most of the POCOG employees were not from Daegwallyeong-myeon and consequently had a limited contextual understanding of the region, they struggled to put themselves in the residents' shoes.

Perspective of the residents

From the perspective of the Daegwallyeong-myeon residents, POCOG employees were not committed to the host community. The residents revealed that they were distrustful of POCOG employees because they believed the employees did not care about the community or the lives of the residents. Although there were multiple public hearings organized by the POCOG so as to openly communicate with the residents, the residents were not satisfied with those encounters. Residents believed that the source of the distrust was the fact that most of the POCOG employees were from outside Daegwallyeong-myeon. Participant #18 shared:

The first president of the POCOG was the governor of Gangwon County [Mr. Jin-Sun Kim; served from 2011 to 2014]. He had a commitment to our region. He would have thought of the local residents in any situation. But other employees, they don't have any

affection for Daegwallyeong-myeon. They are here to work, and they are not interested in knowing Daegwallyeong-myeon and its residents. They will be back to where they are from right after the Olympic Games. They won't live here after the Olympics. So they don't have a commitment to our community [Daegwallyeong-myeon]. They are not paying attention to what the residents have been arguing because they don't have a commitment. We wish they would listen to what we insist, but they don't. We [residents] think that we are the host and the owner of Daegwallyeong-myeon, but we can't do anything about our community. Rather, we think that the guests, the POCOG employees, are doing whatever they would like to do to our community. It's like putting the cart before the horse.

Participant #1 shared a similar opinion regarding how the POCOG was indifferent to Daegwallyeong-myeon's community development:

The Organizing Committee only pays attention to managing the Olympic Games. I mean, the sports events like skiing or snowboarding. The people who work there, they are not interested in the community development of Daegwallyeong-myeon. They think that their one and only job is to stage the sports events without any conflict or unfortunate incident.

Another participant (#38) who was a local government official of Daegwallyeong-myeon explained that what the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon wanted from Olympic-related community development was very different from what the POCOG and the IOC wanted. He said:

The IOC and the POCOG are the best people for the Olympic Games, I mean, the sports part of the Olympic Games. They are the experts in planning and operating the sports

event. But you know, there are a lot more than just sports in the case of the Olympic Games. We, the people of Daegwallyeong-myeon, may not know well enough about the sports event. But we know about this community and local culture. When we plan and try to initiate something, it has been often controlled by the POCOG. We feel like we don't have any stakes in the planning and staging of the Olympic Games, even though the event is held in our community.

There was thus a collective feeling among residents that the POCOG and the IOC were getting their way without consulting the owners of the community. The feeling of being deprived of the agency over their own community was pervasive among the residents.

Another participant (#20) argued that POCOG employees were not willing to contribute to post-Olympic community development. When participant #20, with other members, tried to obtain government approval to initiate the construction of the Olympic Museum, as the president of the Commission for the Building of the Olympic Museum, he felt that the POCOG employees were not giving enough attention to the project because the Games were over. Consequently, he expressed distrust of their intention and commitment to developing the community after the Olympic Games.

The residents' feelings were related to their frustration with the communication between them and the POCOG employees. The residents I interviewed collectively argued that when they participated in the public hearings organized by the POCOG they felt that the employees did not actually consider the residents' perspectives. I conducted a participant observation in July 2017 at one of the public hearings organized by the POCOG. Around a hundred residents gathered in the Daegwallyeong-myeon Office to hear about updates related to the Olympic Games and ask relevant questions. Multiple presentations were given by POCOG employees regarding

transportation, the streetscape improvement project, and compensation for displacement. During the presentation a lot of abbreviations were used, such as IPC (denotes the International Paralympic Committee), NOC, and IF. Most residents did not understand what these abbreviations meant, which resulted in their feeling alienated. One participant (#12), a small business owner in Daegwallyeong-myeon, complained:

We all know they [the POCOG employees] are experts in sports and sports events. But we know our community. But they don't think they are lacking in understanding about our community. They seem to believe that they have expertise knowledge, so they can ignore what the residents say. In the public hearings or in casual conversation with the residents, they use abbreviations. The abbreviations are all English and we don't have any idea what they mean. But the POCOG people, they don't explain to us in a detailed manner. I feel like they do the public hearing only because they have to do it. I don't feel that they come to the public hearing to actually talk to and have a decent conversation with us [the residents].

Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents and the POCOG employees had very different worldviews and execution plans for the Olympic Games and Olympic-related community development. They had different foci, considered different things important, and had different goals and motivations for the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Games. While POCOG employees focused on how to stage the Olympic Games successfully by planning and operating it in a well-prepared manner, residents focused on how to optimize the PyeongChang Olympic Games as an opportunity to develop, transform, and advance Daegwallyeong-myeon. These two groups belonged to very different socio-economic stations and backgrounds, and those distinctions hindered their communication and cooperation.

5.4.1.2 Solidarity of Daegwallyeong-Myeon

As discussed in the sections entitled **5.1.2.1 Residents' Contribution to Three Consecutive Olympic Bids** and **5.2.5.1 Collective Action for the Community**, the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon organized multiple collective actions to contribute to their community's development. Their collective practices of self-help and their attempts to participate in the community reflected and strengthened their in-group solidarity. Before Daegwallyeong-myeon and PyeongChang County won the Olympic bids, local residents organized climbing crews to build in-group solidarity and promote the village to the public. The climbing crew, whose members included participants #15, #18, #20, and #22 of this study, began their climbing from the mountain in Gangwon Province 400 days before the Olympic host city was announced in July 2011. Every 100 days the crew climbed another mountain in South Korea. As a last event they climbed a mountain in another country. Participant #22 shared the story of the climbing crew in detail:

At that time, I was the president of Daegwallyeong-myeon Cooperative. We [residents] organized an event where we would climb the Bal-Wang Mountain [located near Daegwallyeong-myeon] to offer a mass prayer 400 days prior to the IOC's Host City Announcement. So we made the event, and we did it. I remember it was June of 2010. Then we went to Tae-Baek Mountain [a mountain in Gangwon Province] to offer another mass prayer as a D-300 event. It was September of 2010. 200 days prior to the announcement, we went to Halla Mountain [a mountain in Jeju Island, South Korea] and offered a mass prayer. It was December 2010. For the last event, 100 days prior to the announcement, we planned to climb Baek-Du Mountain [a mountain located on the border between North Korea and China; considered a holy mountain by Koreans]. Almost

100 residents went there. It was a large number, you know? And we paid the travel by ourselves. There was no subsidy. . . . When we arrived at the top of the mountain, we saw the sun shining despite the bad weather. Then we all thought that our community will make it to the Olympic Games. We [residents] all shouted all together, held each other's hands, and prayed together. It was March 2011.

Participant #22 also told me that residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon established a foundation to contribute to the Olympic bids. Through this foundation, residents provided financial support to local winter sports athletes who were struggling. According to him, the foundation raised 1.2 billion South Korean Won to donate to Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents:

We are a small community, but we raised 1.2 billion Won. That is an amazing thing for a small community. Residents still keep donating money that they raised in community meetings or charity events. We feel that our community unites well. We are proud of this foundation and our community.

As participant #15 observed, residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon unanimously supported the three consecutive bids:

There is no single person in our community who went against the Olympic bids. We are a small community, which sometimes is a disadvantage, but we collaborate better than bigger communities. We unite well and I believe that's why we made it to the Olympic Games.

Such unification was evident in the creation of the Commission for building the Olympic Museum in Daegwallyeong-myeon. The collective actions taken by the residents were evidence of Daegwallyeong-myeon's solidarity. However, despite the strong solidarity among residents, it was still difficult for them to leverage that solidarity so as to impact the Olympic-related

decision-making processes. Thus, although they united their voices and took actions as a community, they still felt that their actions were limited to the boundary of their own group – the community of Daegwallyeong-myeon. Because the POCOG, and possibly the IOC, did not sufficiently collaborate with residents, the solidarity practiced by Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents did not develop into inter-group solidarity. In what follows I suggest a potential to grow inter-group solidarity in the context of the Olympic Games.

5.4.2 Achieving Sustainable Community Development

Because of inter-group conflicts between residents and employees, the residents' solidarity was limited to the in-group; this solidarity was not extended to the POCOG. Below I suggest that there is a potential to grow the in-group solidarity among the residents to a global-local solidarity by incorporating 'sport', especially winter sports in this study's context. Creating a global-local solidarity can enable the local community to demonstrate its agency and independently decide to act on the issues related to their development. This section addresses RQ-3 in that it provides implications to establish solidarity and agency, both of which can be a foundation in achieving sustainable community development.

5.4.2.1 Commitment to Sport: Potential for Global-Local Solidarity

Inter-group solidarity between the IOC, the POCOG, and the residents was not found in the collected data. That said, the residents' commitment to sport, particularly winter sports, was found to offer the potential to connect the global and the local so as to develop the global-local solidarity. As previously noted, solidary means a shared identity (Bhattacharyya, 2004) and in

the context of Daegwallyeong-myeon, the residents' identities were strongly associated with winter sports.

Indeed, the participants in my study considered Daegwallyeong-myeon a 'Mecca' of snow sports in South Korea because the Korean snow sports culture originated in Daegwallyeong. There was a collective perception among the local research participants that Daegwallyeong-myeon is the best place to participate in winter sports, particularly snow sports like skiing and snowboarding. Many participants boasted that Daegwallyeong-myeon is the only town in South Korea capable of hosting an epic winter sports event like the Olympic Games.

Participant #22 explained:

Daegwallyeong-myeon is the birthplace of Korean skiing. I think that is more than enough reason for our community to host the Winter Olympic Games. I don't think in our country there is another community that can host the Winter Olympic Games. There is not enough snow nor enough facilities. We have YongPyong Resort, and recently [2010] Alpensia Resort opened, too.

Similarly, participant #29 added:

The foundation of the Winter Olympic Games began in Daegwallyeong-myeon around 50 years ago when the first ski courses were constructed in our village. Later, modern ski resorts and facilities were developed, and from then on our community has hoped for the Winter Olympic Games.

In participant #20's view, Daegwallyeong-myeon was "the center of South Korean winter sports. It is absolutely without doubt that Daegwallyeong-myeon is the most qualified town to host the Winter Olympic Games in South Korea."

Not only did these participants recognized Daegwallyeong-myeon as the only town in South Korea capable of hosting the Winter Olympics, they emphasized that families living in Daegwallyeong-myeon had at least one family member who is a winter sport athlete. Participants #1, #2, #11, #14, and #20 had competed as skiers themselves, while participants #1, #14, #15, #18, #20, and #25 had family members who are or were skiers. Participant #25 mentioned:

Here in Daegwallyeong-myeon, with a pinch of exaggeration, there are skiing or snowboarding athletes from house to house. I have two daughters, one of them is a former athlete and the other is on the national team. My younger daughter, although she was not qualified to compete at this Olympic Games, has worked as a forerunner [who checks the course's safety before athletes run]. I know many other families who had their sons or daughters volunteer as forerunners or other related positions. . . . I would tell you that people in Daegwallyeong-myeon are very familiar with skiing and snowboarding.

We are closer to mountains and we traditionally have good local coaches.

And so while Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents found it difficult to practice their agency and build solidarity with the POCOG and the IOC, what made them persistently supportive of the Olympic Games was their strong commitment to winter sports.

Local residents supported the 2018 Winter Olympic Games because of their pride and commitment to winter sports, particularly the ski culture. For them, the winter sports culture was a shared identity between Daegwallyeong-myeon and the Winter Olympic Games, capable of connecting the local and the global in spite of the gap between them. Their strong pride and commitment sustained their support for the Olympic Games and empowered them to create an Olympic Legacy in Daegwallyeong-myeon.

5.4.2.2 Agency from Grassroots: Empowering the Host Community

Agency is defined as the “capacity of people to order their world, the capacity to create, reproduce, change, and live according to their meaning systems, to have the powers to define themselves as opposed to being defined by others” (Bhattacharyya, 2004, p. 12). When community members practice self-help and participate in their community according to their felt-needs, they are enacting their agency. During the pre-Olympic period (see **5.1 Prior to Winning the Winter Olympic Bid: 1999-2011**), residents felt that they needed to host the Olympic Games. So they actively participated in multiple community-initiated activities and events (see **5.1.2.1 Residents’ Contribution to Three Consecutive Olympic Bids** and **5.4.1.2 Solidarity of Daegwallyeong-Myeon**) to help their community. Participants claimed that they felt they had more opportunities and power to contribute to Olympic-related projects and activities during the pre-Olympic period than during its planning and execution phases.

During the Olympic preparation period, when the global encountered the local in a more straight forward way, the size and scale of the Olympic Games led residents to feel less empowered in the decision-making process. Because Daegwallyeong-myeon’s residents experienced a gap between the ‘global world’ of the Olympic Games management and themselves, they did not have enough leverage to resist the developmental imposition from above, the POCOG and the IOC. They often found it difficult to facilitate community development through their own agency, according to how they wanted the process to unfold.

Interestingly, as discussed in **5.2.5.2 Aspiration to Be a Global Town**, residents complied with global standards by voluntarily adopting the foreigner’s gaze in the process of developing their own community. Because the community of Daegwallyeong-myeon spontaneously disqualified the existing condition of their community the result of its

development went against the definition of agency. By internalizing the foreign gaze residents did not adhere to their own meaning systems when they practiced the improvement projects, but to the systems of outsiders.

In the IOC's Executive summary of their sustainability strategy it stated (p. 6):

The IOC Sustainability Strategy is framed around three spheres of responsibility. . . .The IOC has three primary spheres of responsibility: as an organization; as owner of the Olympic Games; as leader of the Olympic Movement. To define its long-term strategic sustainability approach, the IOC needs to take account of its roles and activities in each of these spheres and the relative degrees of control and influence it can bring to bear . . .

As this excerpt demonstrates, the IOC defined itself as owner of the Olympic Games. As stated above, agency means that a community can be owner of itself. Participant #18 stated in his interview that: "We are the owners of this community, and we should not let others, I mean, the guests, the outsiders make decisions with our community." Here a conflict arose. Although the Olympic Games were held in a particular host community the IOC argued that the event was owned by the organization. The IOC's agency then clashed with the host community's agency during the event's planning, preparation, and staging. Due to the hierarchy of power and scale discussed in **5.2.1 Perceived Gap between the Local and the Global: Hierarchy of Power and Scale**, the IOC's and the Organizing Committee's agency trumped the agency of the host community.

There is a contradiction found in one of the POCOG's publication. The *2018 POCOG sustainability framework: Creating a new horizon for sustainable 2018 PyeongChang Olympic Winter Games* states (p. 10):

As the global society has come up with the concept of sustainable development as a new paradigm for promoting peace and prosperity against the challenges surrounding climate change and depletion of natural resources, the world is expecting the host city to play a leading role in materializing sustainable Olympics.

The POCOG thus insisted that the host city should play a leading role in materializing sustainable Olympics. But in the field, the host community's agency was not sufficient, particularly during the Olympic preparation period when the Olympic management practices dominated. Since different documents delivered conflicting descriptions of who leads and even 'owns' the Olympic Games and management, especially sustainable development, understanding this issue requires a more extensive discussion that incorporates the findings provided in this Chapter. Furthermore, the intricate but interdependent relationship between solidarity and agency in achieving sustainable community development should also be analyzed. In the next chapter, I examine these discussion points by drawing theoretical frameworks and existing scholarship into the context of Daegwallyeong-myeon and the Olympic Games.

5.5 Summary of Chapter V

In responding to RQ-1, Daegwallyeong-myeon's characteristics were closely related to the management of the Olympic Games with a goal to develop the community. Residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon felt that the community was very underdeveloped compared to other regions in South Korea as well as to previous host communities of the Winter Olympic Games. Their strong perception of underdevelopment generated a strong Olympic aspiration. Residents believed that hosting the Olympic Games would fully transform Daegwallyeong-myeon to a community of global level.

Addressing the second group of research questions that collectively ask the dynamics and interactions between the global, the transnational, and the local, findings suggested that each stakeholder group had different values, plans, and practices for achieving the successful development of the host community. Among these, local residents' values, plans, and practices were peripherized within the global Olympic management structure. It is noteworthy that the residents also located Daegwallyeong-myeon at the periphery within the world system (Wallerstein, 1977, 1998, 2004). As they self-peripherized the community, they endeavored to transform the community so that Daegwallyeong-myeon could satisfy the standards and requirements of the IOC as well as foreign visitors. The transformation plan included the improvement of the community's outlook (e.g., streetscapes, restaurants, and accommodations) as well as the community's civic awareness. Over time, residents' everyday life was negatively impacted by the global standards. The POCOG as a transnational mediator, in this kind of situation, preferred the global. When the global standards and the local conditions conflicted, the POCOG gave a priority to the global. In doing so, local's knowledge, needs, expectations, and priorities were subjugated.

In response to the third group of research questions that examined the process of community development, findings revealed that residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon had actively participated in the community development process to the degree they can based on their felt-need. From when they were working toward the first Olympic bid to the post-Olympic period, residents clearly recognized what they could and should do to develop Daegwallyeong-myeon using the Olympic Games as a stepping stone. While residents' solidarity among themselves was strong from the pre-Olympic to post-Olympic period, multi-level solidarity was not achieved in the case of Daegwallyeong-myeon. However, a shared identity between the global, the

transnational, and the local was found. Commitment to snow sports sustained the residents' support for the Olympic Games. Nevertheless, there was not enough communication between the residents and the POCOG and the IOC. This lack of communication, and therefore, lack of coordination, resulted in deteriorated agency of Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents.

In the next chapter, I advance these findings by integrating them with theoretical frameworks and literature in order to suggest 'what we should do about the status quo.' Bringing in a political purpose and applying a critical perspective are important practices of critical ethnography. I do these through embracing critical theories further than the framework discussed in **Chapter II** such as Andre Gunder Frank's dependency model (1969), Dipesh Chakrabarty's (2008) postcolonial thesis of 'provincializing Europe,' and Emile Durkheim's thesis of social solidarity ([1893] 1969).

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

I begin this chapter with a summary of the study followed by a discussion that interprets the findings of this study and explains how they fit within and add to the current scholarship on sport mega-event management, globalization, and community development. My discussion is built on the theoretical frameworks presents in **Chapter II**, which include theories of globalization (Robertson, 1994, 1995; Ritzer, 1995, 2000; Wallerstein, 1974, 1998, 2004) and community development (Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004). I draw on these paradigms to address the guiding research questions presented in **Chapter I**. In what follows I will highlight several salient issues that emerged as a result of this research and discuss the limitations of my study, offer suggestions for future inquiries, and explain the implications for theories and practice.

6.1 Summary of the Study

To date, most research on the Olympic Games has largely focused on the economic and environmental impacts of the event, with particular attention directed at Western host nations and the Summer Olympic Games (Chen & Tian, 2015; Hall, 1996; Konstantaki & Wickens, 2010; Lenskyj, 2002; Mihalik & Simonetta, 1999; Muller, 2012; Prayag et al., 2013; Ritchie & Aitken, 1984; Ritchie & Lyons, 1990; Toohey, 2008; Waitt, 2003; Zhou & Ap, 2009). Few studies have explored the social impact of the Olympic Games and how Olympic-driven community development projects impact host communities (Cuthill, 2010; Dempsey et al., 2011; Kunz, 2006; Magis & Shinn, 2009; Partridge, 2005). Moreover, relatively little attention has been given to the experiences and perceptions of local host communities, or to their aspirations for, frustrations with, and/or fears of the community development projects that unfold as part of

Olympic management (Clark et al., 2016; Blumert, 2012; Dahill, 2010; Porter, 2009). In particular there has been a lack of research examining how an Olympic community is developed from an intersectional global-local perspective. Such a perspective is necessary if we are to understand the dynamic interactions between global priorities and the local need for sustainable community development.

In response to these critical gaps my study departs from macro-level economic and environmental impact studies so as to examine the process of managing Olympic-driven community development, from pre-Olympic planning through the post-Olympic period. My geographical focus is Daegwallyeong-myeon, a small, rural, underdeveloped mountain village in PyeongChang County, South Korea that hosted the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games. This research draws on globalization, community development, and world-systems theory so as to examine both the local residents' and the POCOG's perspectives of Olympic-driven community development. I am especially interested in the encounter between the global and local.

My methodology for collecting and analyzing multi-faceted data from two extensive visits to Daegwallyeong-myeon was informed by critical ethnography. Daegwallyeong-myeon is one of the host communities of the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games. PyeongChang is a county within the province of Gangwon-do, South Korea, which includes Daegwallyeong-myeon: a small, rural, and underdeveloped mountain village. Daegwallyeong-myeon is where the Main Stadium for the Olympic Games and the Olympic Village were constructed. I chose Daegwallyeong-myeon because its unique rurality and underdevelopment, when juxtaposed with large scale Olympic-related development projects, offers a prime site for studying the encounter between local and global. So as to study the influence of the Olympic-related global-local

interaction on Daegwallyeong-myeon's Olympic-driven community development, I analyzed participant and non-participant observations, in-depth interviews, documents, media reports, and field notes. This study benefited from having a wide range of participants, including Government officials, employees of the POCOG, and local residents.

My findings revealed that Daegwallyeong-myeon was a contested Olympic host community where stakeholders (agents) had conflicting interpretations of the global and the local, especially as it related to community development and Olympic management.

Daegwallyeong-myeon is the only community in the world that applied three times for the Olympic bid, respectively for the 2010, 2014, and 2018 Winter Games. The community's strong desire to host the Games came from the perception that they were relatively underdeveloped compared to other regional communities in South Korea, and that hosting the Olympic Games could generate fast and drastic development. Given these strong aspirations, Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents actively devoted their time and resources to all three consecutive Olympic bids. Such contributions to the Olympic bids were a way by which the community helped themselves (i.e., self-help) (Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004).

However, when it came time to develop the community, the local residents proved to have inadequate stakes. The developmental process was consequently driven by the POCOG in partnership with the governments of PyeongChang County and Gangwon Province, instead of Daegwallyeong-myeon's municipality. Not only did these upper level directors failed to distribute proper knowledge of the process to local residents, but they also enforced the IOC's globalized standards when constructing the Olympic Village. Due to the massive scale of the Olympic Games residents were not able to participate in its development projects, even though its construction standards impacted their everyday mobility and businesses. When the Olympic

standards inevitably clashed with local condition or needs, the global standards were given priority because they represented the route to becoming a global community. Yet, these same ‘Global’ standards also generated the displacement of residents and annihilated existing community resources.

The POCOG employees differed from the local residents, who were mostly mountain-natives with occupations like farming and small businesses. The employees were mostly from the city area near Seoul or other large cities in South Korea. These distinctions were often a source of conflict and tensions. Residents believed that POCOG employees were not committed to Daegwallyeong-myeon because they were mostly from Seoul and catered to the needs and expectations of the IOC rather than the locals. Thus, within this global-local configuration there were conflicting interests between stakeholders who were transnational agents and those who were local agents (Mato, 1997). Nevertheless, POCOG employees revealed that they struggled to negotiate these differing needs, expectations, and priorities.

I found that residents had an ambivalent perception of Olympic-driven community development. Although their everyday lives were at times negatively impacted by the construction projects, they were still enthusiastic about transforming Daegwallyeong-myeon into a global town. Ultimately, the community was developed and globalized in order to meet the expectations of the global institution (the IOC) and global (i.e., foreign) visitors. Indeed, the community’s position on various improvement projects was managed by the collaborative efforts of the POCOG, the local government of Daegwallyeong-myeon, and its residents. Campaigns to ‘improve’ the local residents’ civil awareness were also initiated by community organizations with support from the local government and the POCOG. Such efforts suggest that the existing

conditions of Daegwallyeong-myeon, both tangible and intangible, were seen as needing to be corrected and improved.

Throughout the development process residents strived to help themselves and their community. Since they were not able to participate in the Olympic-related projects they focused on what they could do, like organizing collective actions to secure infrastructures such as the Main Stadium and train station. Such participation was especially high during the post-Olympic period (Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004) because the IOC and the POCOG had left the community and given over the responsibilities and rights to manage the development and legacy to the community. Thus, residents organized committees to act in ways that would optimize the use of the tangible and intangible outcomes of the Olympic Games. By doing so the Daegwallyeong-myeon residents' in-group solidarity strengthened.

While in many ways the locality of Daegwallyeong-myeon differed from the globality of the Winter Olympic Games, its stakeholders shared a pride and commitment to winter sports, especially snow sports. This shared devotion can thus be the key to enhancing the town's relational dynamics. Solidarity entails a shared identity (Bhattacharyya, 2004) and since the residents' identity was strongly associated with winter sports their agency was more active during the pre-Olympic period when they enthusiastically expressed their felt-need (Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004) to host the Winter Games. However, during the Olympic preparation period, the size and scale of the Games led residents to feel less empowered, consequently lessening their agency. Interestingly, despite their diminished agency residents were still eager to comply with global standards, which they expressed by voluntarily adopting the foreigner's standard and gaze in the process of developing their own community.

6.2 Discussion

This section begins by explaining how my study contributes to existing scholarship and theories, and then moves to a discussion of how my findings fit with and add to the current literature on sport mega-event management, globalization, and community development.

The purpose of this study was to understand how community development and globalization unfold in Daegwallyeong-myeon, the host community of the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games. I was specifically interested in how the global, transnational, and local interact to successfully advance their own priorities for Olympic management, and community development.

My study revisits the relationship between globalization and the local, a subject that has received significant attention in theoretical discussions (e.g., Wilson, 2003), within the context of the Olympic Games. I contribute to our understanding of how Olympic-driven community development is managed and staged in the social and cultural context of South Korea. Moreover, my research study furthers our grasp of the dynamic processes by which the global and local interact in an Olympic host community, and how these two positions are continuously negotiated and transformed by their differing – though at times intersecting – interpretations of global, transnational, and local agents. According to Saskia Sassen (2000, 2013), it is only by investigating local context that we can gain a critical understanding of globalization. Indeed, Lewellen's (2002) similar argument supports this study's goal:

If . . . globalization, regionalization, and localization comprise a single, unified system, then it is as valid to look at that system from the local perspective as from the higher one. This is done by examining ways that global forces impinge on the local communities or even households and individuals, by showing how the individuals and groups react

defensively or adaptively to global threats, and by showing how people use and, within the local setting, even alter global forces. (p. 32)

My research thus responds to the increasing calls for studies on how the globalizing sports culture changes the landscape of sport mega-event management (Kaplanidou & Karadakis, 2010; Lamberti, Noci, Guo, & Zhu, 2011; Swart & Bob, 2007). I suggest that embracing the perspectives and demands of the host community through communication, coordination, collaboration, and consensus is crucial for achieving sustainable community development. This is perhaps easier said than done. As Ziakas and Costa (2011) have argued, “the main challenge is to assemble a web of fragmented event stakeholders and to foster collaboration toward devising common strategies . . .” (p. 153). Such collaboration is a tall order given the complexity of managing mega-events and the corresponding interactions among stakeholders (Andersson & Getz, 2008). Nevertheless, strategies for managing these dynamic relationships can be developed through collaborative links, a greater degree of local involvement, and a commitment to fostering consensus and decreasing conflicts (Karlsen & Stenbacka Nordström, 2009; Larson & Wikström, 2001). The only way to achieve these goals is to understand and incorporate the diverse voices of stakeholders in decision-making processes.

There is still a lack of research on practices of understanding and incorporation between Olympic host communities and the people who work on site, namely the Organizing Committee and residents (Kim, Jun, Walker, & Drane, 2015). This dissertation steps into this gap by conducting an empirical study of Daegwallyeong-myeon, the host community of the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games and the second Asian host community of the Winter Games in 40 years. I focus on the longitudinal change in the community and its different stages of development (from the pre-Olympic to the post-Olympic period) so as to identify the diverse

and oftentimes conflicting perspectives, experiences, and interpretations of the local residents and POCOG employees. By using a global-local nexus perspective I also advance our understanding of the dynamic interactions, negotiations, hierarchies, and power relations among global priorities, transnational management, and local needs in the context of Olympic-driven community development in a South Korean rural mountain community.

My first research question asked how the unique characteristics of Daegwallyeong-myeon as a Winter Olympic host community related to Olympic management. I found that the long history of underdevelopment in Daegwallyeong-myeon led the community to desire hosting the Olympic Games as a way to rapidly advance the community. This motivation is supported by existing literature, which suggests that hosting the Games is an express way to developing a nation and host community (Burbank et al., 2001; Parent, 2008; Roche, 2000; Singh & Hu, 2008). The historical and cultural context of Daegwallyeong-myeon as the first winter sports oriented mountain village of South Korea also precipitated the residents' felt-need to host the Olympic Games. Given their existing notoriety for Winter sports and mountainous geography, Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents perceived the Winter Games as a shortcut to becoming a globalized community.

Put differently, the residents' Olympic aspirations were connected to their desire to 'go global,' an aspiration they shared with other host communities (Black, 2007; Cornelissen, 2010; Paul, 2005; Surborg et al., 2008; Tolzman, 2015). As Surborg et al. (2008) found to be the case with the 2010 Vancouver Winter Games host community, Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents wanted to connect with the global. Previous studies on the global aspirations that focused on hosting the Olympic Games have focused on national governments. This study adds to that literature by exploring a host community that aspired to the global benefits of hosting the

Olympics due to the lack of developmental benefits distributed by its national government. Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents evidently recognized the infrastructural differences between their community and other regions in South Korea. Thus, their Olympic aspiration was derived from two lines of reasoning: first, that by hosting the Olympic Games they could catch up with the developmental status of other regions in South Korea, and second, that Olympic-driven community development would raise the community to a global level.

These findings differ from Paul's (2005) study, which was also conducted at the level of a regional community, that of St. Paul, Minnesota. Paul (2005) found that there was a tension between different stakeholders when it came to managing the Olympic bid, which happened before the IOC announced a host community. Yet, Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents collectively stated that as a small community they did not experience internal tension or conflict during the Olympic bid stage. While St. Paul went through a tough internal conflict between the pro-Olympic group and the anti-Olympic group, the solidarity among Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents were strong enough to have a collective plan to host the Winter Olympic Games.

My findings align instead with Black's (2005), in that Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents sought to use the Olympic Games as a way to "reframe" their community (p. 263). Indeed, residents believed that hosting the Olympic Games would completely transform the community. Such conviction supports Black's (2005) claim that the globalizing impulse manifests most often by rapidly growing semi-peripheral countries, which include South Korea. Daegwallyeong-myeon thus showed the same characteristics of a community located in a semi-peripheral country in its recognition that the Olympics could potentially enable them to "transcend provincialism" and "embrace globality" (Whitson, 2004, pp. 1218-1224, as cited in Black, 2005, p. 264).

My second group of research questions asked how the value systems and world views differed between the global (the IOC), the transnational (the POCOG), and the local (residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon). Subquestions asked how the local residents broadly locate Daegwallyeong-myeon within the global Olympic structure, and how they experienced their encounter with the globality of the Olympic Game. Another important part of my inquiry sought to know what strategies they adopted, negotiated, or negated in the face of overwhelming global expectations. The last subquestion asked to what extent the POCOG succeeded as a transnational mediator to negotiate, accommodate, and arrange differing goals between the global and the local. These questions were significant in that globalization has become a popular concept in the social sciences, according to Hirst, Thompson, and Bromley (2009), “a core dictum in the prescriptions of management gurus, a catch-phrase for journalists and politicians of every stripe” (p. 2).

As local agents, Daegwallyeong-myeon’s residents and government officials engaged in two lines of community development. First was globalizing and developing the tangible. By tangible I mean the material culture, which makes up the hardware of the community. Second was globalizing and developing the intangible. By intangible I mean the moral culture and civic consciousness, which make up the software of the community. The global, and more specifically the globality of the Olympic Games, was considered essential for these processes because it represented a prototype in both time and space, both a destination and a future. Meanwhile the local – and more specifically the locality of Daegwallyeong-myeon – was classified as obsolete in both time and space, a point of departure and a past. Based on world-systems theory (Wallerstein, 1974, 1998), I interpret the global as the core (the center) while the local exists at the periphery. Since South Korea is classified as a semi-periphery nation in the context of this

study, Daegwallyeong-myeon can be understood as the periphery within South Korea because it is characteristically underdeveloped. Put differently, in a globally expanded configuration of the world made up of core (center), semi-periphery, and periphery spaces, Daegwallyeong-myeon is at the periphery (Wallerstein, 1974, 1998). This interpretation of the relation between Daegwallyeong-myeon and South Korea aligns with Lee's (2016) conceptual analysis of the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games' sociocultural meaning – which he derived from a post-colonial world-systems theory. Lee (2016) also categorized South Korea as a semi-periphery nation because like others of this demarcation, it holds a strong desire to lessen its distance from the center. While world-systems theory has been criticized for focusing too heavily on the economy and not enough on culture (Barfield, 1997), in the context of my study it offers a useful tool for analyzing and understanding the perceived developmental and cultural gap between the core and periphery.

The modern Olympic Games were revived by Pierre de Coubertin, an 19th century French aristocrat. According to Edwards and Skinner (2006), who analyzed the IOC's hegemony using Hardt and Negri's (2000) thesis on 'Empire', the IOC is a Eurocentric institution that reflects the age of imperialism, which was characterized by European colonial domination. As the center the IOC is a "cultural entity and in its formative years the IOC sought to establish a set of practices and policies for the global operation of sport" (Zakus, 2005, p. 2) that reflected its cultural identity. Since the IOC's history and its cultural management position it as the core (center), its Eurocentrism is significant and remains the case, even as its hegemony has moved slightly towards North America. Within this configuration of Olympic management and culture, South Korea is located at the semi-periphery due to its experience hosting the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games. But Daegwallyeong-myeon itself, despite having hosted other sport events, is

still located at the periphery. Daegwallyeong-myeon's classification as peripheral came from both the residents' self-peripherization and Olympic history. This is why I found world-systems theory to be a useful framework for understanding this study's context: a host community located outside the center of the world system. Lee (2016) also found this framework useful for arguing that Western cultural hegemony would be reinforced through the 2018 Winter Olympic Games because the Olympic Games themselves represent Western cultural imperialism. Although the theory was introduced in late 1970's, my study proves that it still has a relevance in understanding the global Olympic structure. This relevance suggests that further applications of world-systems theory in the field of sport governance and sport management is also warranted. For example, sport governance researchers may wish to utilize world-systems theory to examine how the history of leadership looks like for global sport governing bodies, particularly the organizations that have been operating in Western countries and governing sports that have Western cultural roots (e.g., ski, tennis, soccer, fencing, skating, among others), whether or not their leadership history has been skewed toward the leaders from the core countries.

Another criticism of world-systems theory is that it is too state-centric (Robinson, 2011). While this critique certainly makes a good point, the theory's relevancy for my study derives from the structure of the Olympic Games' themselves. The Games are a sports competition among different nations in which each nation organizes a team composed of its best athletes. The Opening and Closing Ceremonies, as well as the Medal Ceremony, are nationalistic displays that make use of national anthems, flags, and parades. Thus, the emphasis on the nation-state in world-systems theory, which in other contexts might be limiting, is especially appropriate for my study.

As briefly mentioned in Chapter II and related to the world-systems theory, findings of this study can be also understood through Andre Gunder Frank's dependency model (1969, 2015). Gunder Frank's fundamental assumption was that "most of our theoretical categories and guides to development policy have been distilled exclusively from the historical experience of the European and North American advanced capitalist nations" (2015, p. 105). With this assumption, he argued that in the model of dependency, the developed part extracts resources and profits from the underdeveloped part while the latter believe that it is getting developed to the level of the former. The extraction of resources and profits therefore hinder closing the developmental gap between the two. In other words, according to dependency theorists:

Underdevelopment in the periphery is the direct result of development in the center, and vice versa. The center-periphery hierarchy and its exploitation was repeated along a chain from wealthy nations to capital cities in poor nations, to their regional cities and then to their hinterlands. (Roberts, Hite, & Chorev, 2015, p. 98)

However, there has been a belief or view maintained by underdeveloped countries and regions that the development of underdeveloped countries or domestic areas "must and will be generated or stimulated by diffusing capital, institutions, values, etc., to them from the international and national capitalist metropolises" (Gunder Frank, 2015, p. 106).

Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents believed that hosting the Olympic Games would make the community developed to a certain level. The diffusion of global standard, management strategies, taste, and culture from the IOC to the local community was perceived as an important way of developing Daegwallyeong-myeon. Interestingly, the residents' recognition that the benefits of community development were not enjoyed by Daegwallyeong-myeon's people but by outsiders from city areas in the country was not carried over to a criticism against hosting the

Olympic Games itself. Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents on the one hand appreciated the community's encounter with the forces from outside, both global and domestic, and they believed that the encounter would expedite the process of community development. That is, there was a collective perception that Olympic-driven community development could easily be precipitated with an involvement of 'developed' counterpart. This finding can be tied back to Hirst et al.'s (2009) argument that one key effect of globalization is a radical reforming of national and local strategies and networks due to their inability to satisfy the judgement and standards of the global forces. The perception of underdevelopment held by Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents not only made them hold a strong aspiration toward the global sport mega-events, but also lessened the residents' resistance against the global and external forces coming into their community because they believed that this 'incoming' of developed forces was an important part of globalization. However, what I emphasize in this study is, borrowing from Hirst et al. (2009, p. 16), that "the myths of globalization still need challenging if social stability and economic performances are to be protected."

My findings compliment Ritzer's (1995, 2003) concept of globalization by adding a different direction of desire to grow. Ritzer's (1995, 2003) thesis of globalization focused on the desire of the global to grow to the local level. But in the case of Daegwallyeong-myeon, a strong desire for the local to grow to the global level prevailed throughout the community's Olympic management timeline. This local desire to grow to a global level is common among peripheries. Tsing (2011) suggested that this is the case because the global offers the local the chance to participate in the global stream. The desire to globalize by establishing global connections with the core is thus especially powerful when those at the periphery perceive themselves as periphery. Because the self-perception of the periphery produces a strong desire to move closer

to the core, the periphery perceives that moving closer to the core can be done by building a global connection through which the periphery can use. Globalization entailed producing uniformity between Olympic standards and the locality of Daegwallyeong-myeon (Andrews & Grainger, 2007). Only through such global homogeneity was an Olympic host community considered successful.

Thus, I am suggesting to add the strong local aspiration to grow to a global level, which is perceived by the aspirants to be more advanced than the previous local condition, to Ritzer's (1995, 2003) concept of globalization. In this process the local tried to abandon its pre-existing local conditions in order to transform a community into a global town. Daegwallyeong-myeon's locality was marginalized by the locals themselves, who considered it obsolete, outdated, and in need of improvement. Their locality was thus subjugated to the globality of the Olympic Games, and consequently was not sufficiently incorporated to achieve globalization. Put differently, euphony between the global and the local was not accomplished in Daegwallyeong-myeon. Lewellen (2002) argued that "global forces and structures impinge on societies and communities in different ways, depending on multitude of factors: local histories, religions, social structures, local leadership, and the like. There are myriad different ways that people can respond to the same global input" (p. 36). Similar to Lewellen's argument, Daegwallyeong-myeon residents' perception of underdevelopment and practice of self-peripherization was integrated with their desire for globalization, despite the possibility that local culture and structures might be manipulated or lost.

My findings also align with Thibault's (2009) work, insofar as the globality of the Olympic Games produced both positive and negative influences on Daegwallyeong-myeon's community development. The scale, power, and size of the Olympic Games were often

overwhelming for the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon, a small, rural, and underdeveloped community. The gap between the Olympic's globality and Daegwallyeong-myeon's locality made it difficult for residents to pursue their original plans for Olympic-driven community development. Despite their strong motivation and felt-need to participate in and manage local hospitality for the Olympic Games, and despite having implemented extensive self-help practices during the Olympic bidding processes, residents were not able to seize the opportunities. This finding aligns with Lewellen's (2002) review of ethnographic studies of globalization, which explained that "most ethnographies that deal with the issue [globalization] have demonstrated how development tends to destroy indigenous cultures, disrupt communities, and marginalized individuals" (p. 34).

In short, I found that a top-down approach to managing Olympic-related community development still dominated. Strategies, standards, and regulations were delivered from the global agent (the IOC) to the transnational agent (the POCOG). But as a transnational mediator the POCOG did not build strong solidarity or support networks with the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon. This top-down developmental process inhibited the residents' agency from being fully activated.

According to Tetlak (2013, p. 102) "the IOC, as the owner of the Olympic Games, expects the host to establish a preferential regime" and make the changes necessary for successfully staging the Olympic Games. Olympic-driven community development is a dynamic process that requires a significant level of interaction and negotiation between the global, the transnational, and the local. In the case of Daegwallyeong-myeon, however, the residents were considered ill prepared to face and negotiate the changes initiated by global expectation, and so management was not inclusive and did not embrace or represent residents' concerns.

It is noteworthy that these findings corroborate a study on the management of global institutions, which labeled this kind of top-down phenomena as the ‘headquarters knows best’ syndrome (Bouquet, Birkinshaw, & Barsoux, 2016). The syndrome explains that too much power is concentrated in the head office of global institutions while local managers are constrained by the parochial mindset at headquarters. Such dynamics hinder the institution’s global presence turning into a managerial advantage. Knowledge generation and distribution is an important part in managing the Olympic Games (Frawley, 2013) because it is through this informational experience of the ‘headquarters’ (i.e., the IOC) that power relations are established between Olympic management and the host community. Knowledge is thus linked to power.

According to Frawley (2013), knowledge, experience, and power are distributed through different interdependent organizational actors. In the context of the Olympics, the IOC’s knowledge, experience, and power were fused to the POCOG and the host community through interactions. As mentioned in **Chapter II**, the IOC has promoted itself as owner of the Olympic Games, positioning the Organizing Committees and host communities as governed agents who have limited control over managing the Olympic Games because they are perceived as lacking the requisite knowledge, experience, and power. These power dynamics are problematic because in order to pursue sustainable management of Olympic-driven community development, authority and agency need to be distributed to local managers, which includes the host communities. Thus, the perception that knowledge can only be created in the headquarters should not dominate the management process. However, in both cases of the Olympic Games and more general global governance, so-called ‘global governors’ make rules through “strategic interaction at high-level conferences” as well as set agendas and create issues, evaluating, monitoring, and adjudicating outcomes (Avant, Finnemore, & Sell, 2010, p. 15). This study’s

findings can problematize the existing global governance in which power of producing knowledge, standards, and rules is concentrated in the global level.

Relatedly, since the outcomes of global influence in a local community's development are not always positive (Thibault, 2009), it is important to establish a firm basis of locality so that the global successfully intermingles with the local: glocalization (Robertson, 1994; Khondker, 2005). As a theoretical concept 'glocalization' suggests that the characteristics of global-local interaction differ depending on particular localities. Moreover, the very meaning of 'locality' may be reshaped and rearticulated over time because of the dynamic nature of global-local interactions. In the context of the Olympic Games, the transnational agent is responsible for mediating the global and local interactions. To successfully glocalize Olympic host communities, local agents need the power to autonomously and strategically manage global influences. Ideally, the global IOC and local host communities should have equal power, knowledge, and status when developing a successful Olympic host community. If power is not equally distributed then the demands and expectations of the IOC (as a global institution) can negatively influence the host community by making them look identical with other host communities, that is, placeless and meaningless (Park, 2017).

The complex dynamics of global Olympic management involves a diverse groups of stakeholders (Parent, 2005; Frawley, 2013), and it is important to engage the groups in a study. Lewellen (2002) pointed out that multiple groups should be studied to understand the process of development, in which different agencies, institutions, governmental and non-governmental organizations as well as targeted populations could be all considered. Frawley (2013), specifically toward the Olympic context, emphasized that there is a scarcity of research despite the significance of the topic:

The organization of the Olympic Games is a complex enterprise, involving a diverse range of individuals and groups. Given the institutional complexity involved in staging Olympic Games, it is surprising that little research has explored the relationships that develop between the main stakeholder groups over the course of the Games preparations (p. 527).

Frawley (2013) found that the configuration between the Australian Olympic Committee and the Sydney Organizing Committee played a vital role in shaping the management of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. An important point here is Frawley's (2013) observation that the organizational character of the institutions involved impacted how the Olympic Games were managed on site. I extend Frawley's (2013) analysis to encompass a broader structure, ranging from the global IOC to the local host community. My findings align with Frawley's (2013) claim that we cannot view the organizations involved in Olympic management as separate or isolated because they are interdependent. In the context of the 2018 PyeongChang Olympic Games, the IOC, the POCOG, and the host community worked together to execute the event directly and indirectly. There were direct connections between the IOC and the POCOG as well as between the POCOG and the host community. There were indirect connections between the IOC and the host community due to scarce opportunities for the two branches to communicate – a scarcity that was derived from the geographical and perceived symbolic distance between the two groups.

My last group of research questions asked about the community development in Daegwallyeong-myeon initiated by the Olympic Games. Subquestions asked residents what needs they felt for Olympic-driven community development, how they participated in the development process, and how the solidarity and agency of residents were influenced by this

development. I also inquired into the significant changes and development that occurred in Daegwallyeong-myeon due to Olympic-related projects.

While the IOC stated that “the [Olympic] Games are a community project, involving the whole host population” (2003, p. 4), scholars like Lenskyj (2008) have shown that the Olympic host communities of Seoul (1988), Barcelona (1992), Atlanta (1996), Athens (2004), Beijing (2008) and London (2012) were responsible for displacing an astronomical number of people, which disrupted communities. Similar to the phenomena Lenskyj (2008) described, the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon were displaced due to Olympic-related construction. My findings also resonate with Holland’s (2006), which revealed a gentrifying trend by which Olympic host communities evicted tenants to make space for tourists, resulting in the loss of public spaces that once existed for the community. Daegwallyeong-myeon’s previous community resources – including community parking lots and a community library – were both a part of the community’s public sphere that were lost due the construction of a local farm store and hotel for Olympic visitors.

Olympic-driven community development brings opportunity costs (Kavetsos & Szymanski, 2009; Porter, 2009). Kavetsos’s and Szymanski’s study of London 2012 (2009) found negative opportunity costs because they did not fully consider its impact on local participation in the Olympic-related development process. Despite the increase in developmental projects, which on the surface seemed to offer the host community opportunities, local residents of London were not able to win project bids. Daegwallyeong-myeon’s residents underwent a similar experience, in which the bids they made for construction projects involving high financial investment and profit were won by conglomerates and large companies from the capital city, Seoul. My findings add to existing literature by illustrating that the massive scale and size of the

Olympic Games was most impactful in its exclusion of residents' from large community development projects. The size, scale, and extravagant globality of the Olympic Games was attractive to Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents because it offered an apparatus for overcoming the community's lingering underdevelopment. The language requirement for managing the Olympics and its related development projects also hindered local residents' active participation in the community development process.

More specifically, the findings can be understood using Hustedde and Ganowicz's (2002) three major concerns for community development – structure, power, and shared meaning – all of which were influenced by Bhattacharyya's theory of community development. The global Olympic management structure, which was inherently vertical and hierarchical from the IOC to the host community, hindered initiating and building of solidarity among the global, the transnational, and the local agent. Structure refers to the social practices, organizations, and groups that have a role to play in solidarity. In this study's context, the IOC and the POCOG as major organizations managing the Olympic-driven community development did not prioritize developing networks and solidarity with the host community. Thus, very few social practices were initiated to yield communications among the agent groups. Power was involved as well in that the IOC and the POCOG controlled and had greater access to resources than the residents, such as institutional authority, political leverage, expertise knowledge of management, and national and global networks. However, related to the point argued in the next paragraph, shared meaning among the agent groups was found. Hustedde and Ganowicz (2002) defined shared meaning as “social meaning” that people give to events or action (p. 4). The IOC, the POCOG, and the host community's residents shared a social meaning given to the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games. Three groups had a strong commitment to winter sports as well as the

Olympic Games. I found this shared meaning to be an apparatus to initiate and strengthen solidarity.

Despite the limited opportunities given to residents, I found that there existed a potential to establish multi-level solidarity between the global and the local. The residents' pride and commitment to winter sports were of the greatest significance for establishing global-local solidarity. In other words, despite the perceived gap and cacophony between these groups, their shared commitment to winter sports was the key for building emotional solidarity with the Olympic Games. Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents were proud of belonging to the community that initiated Korean ski culture. They believed that Daegwallyeong-myeon is the only place that could host the Winter Olympic Games because of its history as a ski village. The residents' emotional attachment to the Olympic Games created a bridge between their locality and the Olympics' globality. According to Bhattacharyya (2004), solidarity means a shared identity, and in the case of this study, Daegwallyeong-myeon and the Olympic Games shared a strong identity link to sports, which could be a starting point for inter-level solidarity. The key to successful and sustainable Olympic-related community development is to maintain the residents' commitment to growing the Olympic Legacy. In Daegwallyeong-myeon, the residents' commitment to winter sports was the basis for furthering their agenda for sustainable community development. The potential for global-local solidarity is connected to the concept of *communitas* as suggested by Chalip (2004). *Communitas* is a psychological state that can influence the social outcomes of events. As a concept *communitas* offers strategic insights for social development because it is a way to foster social interaction. This study finds that the residents' pride and commitment to winter sports can create *communitas*, and thus serves as the foundation for global-local solidarity.

Durkheim's thesis of social solidarity ([1893] 1969) can be embraced to better understand inter-level solidarity suggested here. Durkheim suggested two types of solidarity: mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. In the case of mechanical solidarity, he highlighted the link between likeness and cohesion that is generated among the members of a relatively close-knit assembly. On the other hand, organic solidarity emphasizes the diversity existing between solidarity parties. In this case, the recognition of the value of difference and otherness is essential to successfully integrating parties into an organic whole. Integrating these concepts to the findings of this study, solidarity in the community of Daegwallyeong-myeon is interpreted as mechanical solidarity in that the residents held a relatively close network due to the small population and few relocations taken place within the community. Whereas, organic solidarity can be applied to the inter-level solidarity among the global, the transnational, and the local in which each group should recognize each other's different attribute and context. By better and clearly identify, acknowledge, and embrace the diversity existing between the global, the transnational, and the local, organic solidarity can be established.

When global-local solidarity is established in the Olympic management structure, with support of the Organizing Committee as the transnational agent (Mato, 1997), then the host community's agency can grow. Bhattacharyya (2004) defines agency as the "capacity of people to order their world, the capacity to create, reproduce, change, and live according to their meaning system, to have the power to define themselves as opposed to being defined by others" (p. 12). When community members practice self-help and participate in their community according to their felt-needs (Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004), they are enacting their agency.

In Daegwallyeong-myeon's case, residents enacted their agency the most during the pre-Olympic period when they participated in the Olympic bid process. My findings showed their

agency continuously declined after the community won the Olympic bid, when the POCOG was established and took over managing the event preparation and staging. During these planning and execution stages, the residents' autonomy to make decisions related to community development was hindered.

According to Giddens (1984), agency is significant because it provides community members with the potential to resist developmental imposition from above and facilitates their participation in community initiatives. Giddens' (1984) argument relates to my second group of research questions, through which I found that residents were willing to accommodate the Olympics' global expectations and priorities. More precisely, there were two differing perceptions articulated by residents: on the one hand, they suffered from the POCOG's and the IOC's decisions to prioritize the requirements and standards of the Olympic management; on the other hand, in terms of improving the community's hardware and software residents spontaneously adopted the global Olympic expectations as a reference point.

Interestingly, this second perception leads back to the 'headquarters knows best' syndrome (Bouquet et al., 2016). Although residents were not a part of the POCOG, a pseudo-branch of the IOC within the global Olympic management structure, they shared the belief that something 'global' should come prior to the local. Within the Olympic management hierarchy, the host community and its residents were on the lower stratum because they were perceived as the existing local condition that needs to be improved. What happened in Daegwallyeong-myeon is similar to what Pileggi (2015) found in the rural Chinese host community for the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympic Games: both communities' were homogenized by the global/Olympic standards and forced to accommodate to the already globalized areas.

In line with other studies, Daegwallyeong-myeon's development followed a similar trajectory as earlier developments in South Korea. For example, Daegwallyeong-myeon's Olympic-driven community development exemplifies Chang's (2015) theory of compressed modernity: South Korea grew faster than other emerging nations like Brazil, Turkey, India, and Mexico (Amsden, 1989) and so Chang (2015) signified its characteristically quick development as 'compressed modernity.' According to Chang (2015), compressed modernity is a "civilizational condition in which economic, political, social, and/or cultural change occur in an extremely condensed manner in respect to both time and space" (p. 33). Although he initially derived the concept based on South Korea, compressed modernity has been used to describe emerging areas around the globe. Among others, the concept has been most relevantly applied to East Asian countries, the so-called Asian Tigers (refer to **Chapter II** for details). These countries' share a compressed modernity that comes from late development/dependent modernization and submissive, nationalist, neoliberal cosmopolitization/globalization (Chang, 2015). The term 'Asian Tigers' was coined by Amsden (1979, 1989, 2001) to denote late developers who underwent unusual ascendance in the world-system. As Amsden (2001) argued, the Asian Tigers' upward mobility should be analyzed and understood differently from that of other countries, and I find Chang's (2015) notion of 'compressed modernity' to be a useful theory for understanding this difference in the South Korean context.

Earlier-modernized countries imposed a tacit demand on other nations to catch-up, and provided an opportunity for economized modernization. Chang (2015) argued that the earlier-modernized country for South Korea was the US, followed by European countries. As South Korea has realized the opportunities for economic modernization, its supposed local backwardness has continued to be questioned. Externally-driven modernization has also been

connected to South Korea's submissive globalization. Interestingly enough, a seemingly contradictory juxtaposition has emerged in South Korea, whereby it is simultaneously dependent on external actors and extremely nationalistic. But its nationalism has actually been a strategy for its aggressive and condensed development. Put differently, both externally-driven modernization and submissive globalization have been effective apparatuses for elevating the country's status because these practices were considered upgrades regardless of where they originated.

Daegwallyeong-myeon's experience of hosting the Olympic Games can be well understood through the notion of compressed modernity. The Games represented a nationalistic desire that is connected to the South Korean nationalist development strategy. As explained in **Chapter II**, one of the region's important development apparatus was hosting sport mega-events, which accompany aggressive and condensed development (Chang, 2015). In this process global forces enter the host community but are understood as benevolent actors contributing to the nation's speedy development. While preparing for the 2018 PyeongChang Olympic Games, Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents and the POCOG executed rapid community development projects. This development was being driven by both the Olympic Game timeline and South Korean characteristics of development (Chang, 2015), which more generally strive to compress the modernization process. The Daegwallyeong-myeon's aspiration to fully transform the community within a decade through the Olympics is thus an example of compressed modernity.

6.3 Theoretical Implications

Theoretically, this study advances an understanding of how residents of Olympic host communities perceive, experience, and respond to the Olympic-driven community development in the era of globalization. It also extends an understanding of how the Organizing Committee

working onsite for the Olympic Games negotiates, accommodates, and arranges differing goals between the global institution, the IOC, and the local during the Olympic management as a transnational mediator. In doing so, this study provides a disposition of the IOC as a global agent, the Organizing Committee as a transnational agent, and the local residents as local agents using Mato's (1997) configuration of agents involved in the process of globalization. This configuration will inform future studies that examine sport mega-events and their stakeholders' interactions and practices in a wider 'global' context.

This study affirms the value of applying Wallerstein's world-systems theory (1977, 1998, 2004) to the study of sport event management. So far, few studies in our field have utilized world-systems theory to examine the ways in which global sport mega-events are managed. However, as detailed in 6.2 Discussion, most sport mega-events existing today (e.g., the Olympic Games, the FIFA World Cup, and the IAAF World Championships in Athletics) have their origin in the West, and more specifically, Europe. World-systems theory, despite its criticisms, is an advantageous theoretical lens because in the context of sport mega-events, the configuration of the core, semi-periphery, and periphery still concretely exist. Furthermore, Gunder Frank's dependency model is applied as well to understand the different status of the developed areas and the underdeveloped areas both within a country and in the global sphere. This study's findings show the applicability of the dependency model to understand sport mega-event and community development, but the applicability can be extended to studies of sport development in general, particularly to examine the diffusion of sport talents and skills from developed parts to underdeveloped parts.

Regarding Ritzer's (1995, 2003) concept of globalization, this study demonstrates a possibility for expanding the concept. As indicated in the findings, there were two directions of

desire to grow in the context of globalization. The IOC had a desire to own the Olympic Games as a global governing body with authority, and this desire was reflected in its publications in which Western culture was regarded as ‘the global.’ By managing the Olympic Games that are held in different countries in different continents, the culture of the West, and sometimes of Europe, was delivered to host communities. The other direction of a desire to grow, which is the unique contribution of this study, was drawn from the residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon. They expressed a strong aspiration to catch up to the globalization happening around them by transforming their community, style of living, and morals and ethics. To reflect this point, my study incorporates Ritzer’s (1995, 2003) globalization and Wallerstein’s (1977, 1998, 2004) world-systems theory. The desire of the periphery, residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon, to move close to the core was presented as the periphery’s desire for globalization.

Lastly, this is the first study in the field of sport event management that employed Bhattacharyya’s theory of community development (1995, 2004). The theory has value in that it considers the empowerment of a community as the most significant goal of sustainable community development. Rather than community development led by change agents who are not from the community, this theory values the grassroots participation of community members. That said, my study found this theory useful to explore how we can achieve sustainable community development through sport event management, particularly within the context of global and local encounter. Integrating the usage of theories of globalization and theory of community development, this study advances the theoretical ways in which we diagnose the influences of globalized sport mega-events on rural mountain communities, which are the most cases of the Winter Olympic Games’ host communities. The theory of community development enabled the representation of community members’ needs, experiences of participation, and the process of

building and concretizing their solidarity and agency under the situation in which global and transnational agents activate and practice their power, knowledge, and strategies. Incorporation of the concepts – solidarity and agency – that highlight the democratic and procedural aspects of community development contributes to suggesting practical implications for future Olympic management.

Furthermore, the theory of community development and its extensions (e.g., Hustedde & Ganowicz, 2002) enable us to see the impact of globalized structure of Olympic management, which ironically is practiced at a local level with a purpose of local community development. A concrete structure of power and hierarchy within the globalized Olympic management structure impeded the local residents' developmental needs to be reflected on the community development process. As such, this finding suggests that changes should be implemented to the current Olympic management structure, which will be presented in the next section.

6.4 Practical Implications

Since the Winter Olympic Games are unique in that they are being held in countries like South Korea and China – where winter sports are not a traditional part of their sports culture – my study can inform future Olympic organizers and managers of how their global standards will interact with local communities. Put differently, my study can advance how international sport governing bodies deliver culturally diverse sport mega-event to newer stakeholders, by establishing a sustainable global-local network and building solidarity with host communities.

To achieve sustainable community development and successfully represent the locality involved in a global mega-event, I suggest four critical concepts for Olympic practitioners and organizers: Communication, Coordination, Collaboration, and Consensus (4Cs for sustainable

community development through the Olympic Games; refer to Figure 6-1). There should be multi-level communication between the different stakeholders/agents: global, transnational, national, and local. Each group should be provided with the proper tools and avenues with which to communicate with other groups. For example, local agents who are residents of the hosting communities should be able to request communication with the IOC or the Organizing Committees. Collaboration should also be practiced between the different levels of stakeholders/agents. Existing research – mine included – strongly suggests that a top-down approach should not dominate Olympic-related community development because of how it sidelines local needs and voices. Thus the IOC, Organizing Committees, governments, and residents must collaborate to integrate top-down and grassroots methods. Lastly, stakeholders and agents should strive to reach a consensus, which can only be established through communicating and collaborating. In sum, communication produces collaboration, and communication with collaboration produces consensus. Global, transnational, national, and local agents thus need to hold the same power and legitimacy if they hope to achieve sustainable community development through the Olympic Games.

However, more important than the 4Cs is that the IOC must revisit its status as owner of the Olympic Games. As mentioned in previous chapters, the IOC through its publications has been promoting that it is the owner of the Olympic Games (International Olympic Committee, 2017). The current Olympic management structure is a top-down and vertical system through which plans, strategies, and evaluations are created at the top, the IOC, and diffused to the next level – the Organizing Committees and host communities. To achieve the suggested 4Cs, the IOC should endeavor to reconsider its own status within the global Olympic management structure. The IOC's reconsideration should be followed by restating its status, not as the owner

of the Olympic Games, but as a collaborator of the Olympic management. That is, the IOC needs to lessen its overall authority as a supervisor or evaluator of the Olympic management process, so that it can practice a supportive role. For example, the IOC members visit selected host communities prior to actual Olympic Games. The purpose of these visits is to make an inspection of the Olympic preparation process. What I suggest here is that these visits' purpose should be reconsidered, potentially restated. The IOC's existing top-down inspection does not engage enough communication with the Organizing Committee or local residents. These visits must be a chance for those who work at the local level to present managerial difficulties and suggestions with the IOC being willing to incorporate the voices from the local.

The IOC has been promoting sustainability as its most pressing value for the future of the Olympic Games. According to Magee (2018), an important element of social sustainability is sustainable governance in which governing power is distributed equally within a management structure. This study's findings indicate that current Olympic management structure is not suitable nor promising for sustainable governance. To distribute the long-standing authority of the IOC as a center of the Olympic management to the Organizing Committees and most importantly to host communities, I suggest a revision of the IOC's current documents' statement that the IOC is the owner of the Olympic Games. The Olympic Games must be co-owned by multiple stakeholders who are involved in the Olympic management and Olympic-driven community development. Host communities should not be treated as a colony or a mine from which powerful global institutions extract resources.

In addition, as a next step, actual action plans to initiate and sustain communication among different agent groups should be articulated in the published documents as well as the Technical Manuals for Olympic management. I suggest the action plans to be as specific and

detailed as possible. Abstract regulations may not result in promoting active conversations among different groups. Thus, for example, the IOC should consider including ‘plans for communication with host community’ in one of the Technical Manuals, or developing a new Technical Manual solely dedicated to the strategies of engaging host communities by implementing the suggested 4Cs.

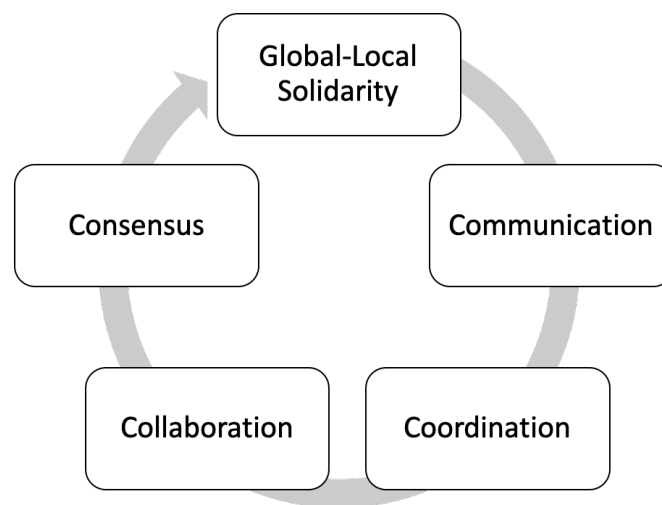


Figure 6-1: 4Cs for sustainable community development through the Olympic Games

6.5 Limitations

By adopting critical ethnography my research involved participant and non-participant observation, interviews, field notes, and the collection of archival and text data. These practices were used to better understand the local context of an Olympic host community located outside of the West. Indeed, this methodological approach enabled me to understand the POCOG’s and residents’ lived experience of Olympic-driven community development by offering me a way to

incorporate the characteristics of complex and dynamic interactions between global, transnational, and local actors. While participant and non-participant observations initially helped me understand the general context of Daegwallyeong-myeon as an Olympic host community, the IOC and POCOG documents revealed the power relations ruling the local Olympic management context. Interviews and field notes enabled me to pursue in greater depth specific questions, topics, and issues.

I made significant efforts to represent the perspectives and experiences of both the POCOG's and local residents' by engaging a variety of stakeholders involved in Olympic management and Olympic-driven community development. These included the local residents with different occupations (such as restaurant owner, farmer, employees at local stores), unemployed residents, government officials, and POCOG employees. Moreover, I tried to balance the number of participants from the POCOG and the community of Daegwallyeong-myeon (15 from the POCOG and 25 from Daegwallyeong-myeon) so as to represent each group's voice in a more balanced way.

Despite the strengths of this study, certain limitations do remain that may have impacted the findings. First, due to the sensitive nature of the topic and fear of reprisal – particularly for POCOG employees if they were identified – study participants could have withheld key information about their lived experiences with the IOC, government officials, the details of community development, and/or their responses to the developmental changes in Daegwallyeong-myeon. They may have also chosen to withhold information from me due to the fact that I am an outsider. In South Korea the term “Teot-sae” means territoriality: locals from rural communities do not welcome newcomers in general. Due to this tendency, residents may have not revealed the full information to me.

Keeping these contextual and geographical particularities in mind, it is worth mentioning that while some participants were slightly guarded in their responses at the outset of the study, they became more open and responsive during their follow-up interviews, suggesting the value of a longitudinal study. They valued and appreciated the fact that I returned to Daegwallyeong-myeon after the Olympic and Paralympic Games were over. There were also opportunities to interact informally with participants throughout the course of the study, and as participants grew to know and trust me they were increasingly honest about their experiences. I was also aided by my acquaintances, who had worked at the POCOG for years and helped me build a strong rapport with other POCOG employees and some local residents. Directly observing participants in meetings and community events also provided a measure of triangulation, which helped support the interview, text, and field note findings. Nevertheless, I was not able to meet all participants who I interviewed during the first fieldwork during my second fieldwork visit. Some of those whom I could not interview again were very busy with everyday life. Others had an intention to meet with me again, but due to logistical issues, I was not able to meet all of them.

Second, my presence as an academic researcher may in some way have influenced the interactions and interviews I had with participants. It is possible that they could have adjusted the contents of their interviews because they knew they were involved in a research study (Creswell & Poth, 2017). I tried to lesson this concern by being present in the community of Daegwallyeong-myeon for a total of four-months, which afforded me the opportunity to gain the trust of study participants and observe them in their natural state.

Third, a related limitation is that my interpretations and conclusions could be subjective, and influenced by my background and biases (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2019). I mitigated this by testing my interpretations and conclusions with peer reviewers, including the director of

research, who had qualitative research experience and knowledge on sporting events. They offered a sounding board throughout the study to make sure its progress made sense. As described in **Chapter III**, I regularly met with the reviewers to discuss the course of the study, and they often had suggestions for new angles or considerations which I later incorporated into the conduct of the study. The peer reviewers also reviewed my findings and discussions, providing meaningful suggestions based on their expertise in qualitative research, sport mega-event management, and/or South Korean culture. This guidance was integrated into the final presentation of the findings, discussion, and conclusions.

I also revisited my interpretations and conclusions with study participants to check if they authentically reflected what was going on in the community of Daegwallyeong-myeon over the period of Olympic preparation and management. A summary of the results as well as my interpretations were sent to the participants for their feedback. Participants generally agreed with the results and interpretations, which lessened my concern of biases.

Fourth, although this study involved a four-month longitudinal perspective that covered pre- and post-Olympic periods, the timeframe may still have been too constrained to thoroughly capture the nuances and complex conditions of Olympic-driven community development. Thus, the four-month timeframe of my study only encapsulates a snapshot of the Olympic-driven community development process. I may also have insufficiently portrayed the complex dynamics transpiring in the community of Daegwallyeong-myeon, though I tried to mitigate this concern by adopting a longitudinal approach, which incorporates the role of time to a greater degree than a cross-sectional study. This study was thus able to portray a thicker description of both the Olympic-driven community development process and people's experiences of the process over time.

Fifth, given the nature of language, meaning could have been lost when I translated the originally collected data from Korean to English. That said, I am a native speaker of Korean, fluent in English, and a trained Korean-English language interpreter (approved by the Institutional Review Board of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; see **Appendix R**). Thus, I am confident in my capacity to have translated relevant data, mainly important quotations, from Korean into English. The translations were also reviewed by my peer reviewer, who was also one of the peer debriefers for this study. They are also fluent in both English and Korean, and we both engaged in Brislin's (1970) back-translation process to lessen the loss of meanings.

Sixth, although I endeavored to represent many groups of stakeholders in this study, there were at least two important groups that did not participate in this study: the IOC and officials from the South Korean national government. To mitigate this limitation, I examined the IOC's ideas and action plans for Olympic-driven community development through its publications. As the IOC has published many documents containing its past practices and future plans for sustainable community development, analyzing the documents complimented the absence of the IOC's direct participation in this study. The South Korean national government was an important part of the Olympic Games as well, however, officials from the national government rarely visited Daegwallyeong-myeon during the preparation and the post-Olympic period. As the local governments of Daegwallyeong-myeon, PyeongChang County, and Gangwon Province were in charge of the Olympic preparation, and the POCOG led the Olympic management, this study focused fully on representing the experiences and perceptions of the employees of the POCOG and officials from the local governments.

Lastly, the findings may not be generalized beyond this study's specific context and setting (Creswell & Poth, 2017). From a regional and situational perspective, each Olympic (or other sport mega-events) host community has unique social, cultural, political, and historical factors that influence the perspectives and lived experiences of its different stakeholders. However, since my study is ethnographic and has an explorative character, my findings and conclusions could be tested with other host communities to see if they are regionally-specific to East Asia or have broader merit. Moreover, since Daegwallyeong-myeon is a small community with a relatively few social and economic classes, there were very few discussions on what kinds of different development plans were practiced by different local groups who hold different socio-economic status. For example, local elites could be a group that may have a significant influence on the process of community development and their relatively high status and power could generate internal conflicts among different residents' groups. Considering these limitations, it may be that further research will add or modify the interpretations and conclusions of this study so as to provide a stronger empirical basis for understanding other host communities.

6.6 Directions for Future Research

As a critical ethnography focused on the lived experiences of participants, and perhaps the first study on the intersection of globalization and community development in an Olympic setting, there are a myriad of future research directions motivated by this dissertation study. One may, for example, explore in greater detail how the IOC understands its role as a global force entering future Olympic host communities. As I discussed in previous chapters, the IOC claims to be the owner of the Olympic Games, the disseminating force of Olympic values and its managerial strategies. While this study incorporated documents the IOC has published, we can

further investigate the perspectives and experiences of its members and employees. Indeed, we need future research to determine if there is an incongruence between the perspective and experiences of 1) IOC members and employees, 2) the local Organizing Committees, and 3) the residents of future host communities. A relatedly significant area of inquiry may consider whether IOC members and employees consider the impact their presence and managerial strategies might have on future host communities, particularly in terms of globalization and development. This line of research could embrace postcolonial theory and methods in that the IOC has been regarded as, as mentioned in Chapter II, an institution begun in the era of European expansion through which European empires colonized areas of three continents, Africa, Asia, and America. The ongoing tendency of Eurocentric managerial strategies, standards, and leadership of the IOC should be integrated into this line of research, so that it can result in suggesting the ways in which a more sustainable global Olympic governance and management can be pursued.

Another direction for future research can be to investigate other Olympic host communities located in diverse continents. For example, researchers could choose the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympic Games host communities as a potentially productive site to compare to Daegwallyeong-myeon. Whether these communities experience Olympic-driven community development management in similar or different terms can help us better understand the general Asian collectivity as well as the particularity of each country. Although there is already ample research on the Summer Olympic Games, it would still be valuable to study these Games in the context of the upcoming host sites: Los Angeles and Paris. This study can offer a point of comparison for future studies seeking to assess whether host communities in the West, or the Global North, go through different trajectories when preparing and managing the Olympic

Games. Are these localities subjugated like Daegwallyeong-myeon's? Is the IOC's global force accepted by the local Organizing Committees of the Los Angeles and Paris Games?

We can also delve more into the examination of networks within a host nation as well as a host community. As briefly mentioned above, Daegwallyeong-myeon showed a relatively flat social and economic class construction due to its small population and less diverse business opportunities limited to hospitality and farming. However, other host communities and nations, particularly those of the Summer Olympic Games that are usually held in relatively bigger city areas may have a much more complicated social and economic networks. That said, it is important to investigate how different stakeholder groups with diversified socio-economic status interact and negotiate Olympic-driven community development. More specifically, local and domestic elite groups' role as national and/or transnational agent in managing Olympic Games can be examined in detail using, for example, social representation theory or Foucault's thesis of knowledge, power, and social class.

Deconstructing the Olympic history and management structure can be practiced by a line of research embracing archival data and postcolonial theories such as Dipesh Chakrabarty's (2008) thesis of 'provincializing Europe.' As Wamsely (2004) argued that Olympism is Eurocentric, complicit in the colonizing process and used for legitimizing the commercial world of capitalism, Chakarabarty's thesis is useful in that it can enable us to revisit the Olympic history and management that have been constructed and perpetuated based on Europe's perspective. If we are to understand how Olympic-driven community development and Olympic-driven globalization reshape and reconfigure Olympic host communities, Chakrabarty (2008) inspires us to find out how the Olympic history, practice, and administration have been provincialized, in other words, have preferred the experience and perspectives of Europe. This

line of research will contribute to our understanding on how we can emancipate the colonized Olympic management culture, that is, how we can de-colonize and de-center the management structure of the Olympic Games. This study aimed to be a starting point of the line of research.

Finally, we could also benefit from continuing this exploration with the present host community, Daegwallyeong-myeon, to see how the Olympic-driven community development is potentially maintained in the post-Olympic period, from short-term and long-term perspectives. It would be interesting to investigate how the residents experience and perceive the changing dynamics within the community as the Olympic legacy is established and managed by the *community's* initiatives. As I have explained, the IOC and local Organizing Committee are not responsible for the post-Olympic management of its legacy nor for any legacy-related community development. Thus, the post-Olympic period may be a contested time during which Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents can engage more in the process of community development. Another important area for future research could examine how the landscape of Daegwallyeong-myeon changes when Olympic facilities and related infrastructure are re-modeled.

Quantitative assessments could be coupled with qualitative methods so as to continue to expand and investigate the findings and conclusions I have presented here. For example, future studies can assess the host community's pre- and post-event perception on the event's contribution to the development of the host community. In this case, quantitative assessment can reflect a more collective perception of a host community with a larger sample size. Such a continuation would provide the opportunity to involve a large number of participants and thus assess a broader and more collective opinion on post-Olympic community development. A network analysis could also be employed to assess whether the solidarity developed between residents has continued to be cultivated in the years after the Olympic Games.

6.7 Conclusion

The Olympic Games have been, without a doubt, the most impactful sport mega-event in modern history. Numerous reports and scholarly studies have put unlimited energy into unraveling the ever-changing dynamics of the Olympic Games within each host community. Nevertheless, scholars still argue that there should be more attention paid to the *consequences* of the Olympic Games for particular host communities (Minnaert, 2012). This study sought to address that gap in sport event management and globalization scholarship, by examining the cross-cultural encounter between stakeholders with differential power and knowledge to determine how these interactions impacted an Olympic host community's development.

As such, I asked the following overarching research questions 1) What are the unique characteristics of Daegwallyeong-myeon as a host community and how are those characteristics interwoven with the Olympic management? 2) How are the value systems and world views similar or different in managing Olympic-driven community development between the global, the transnational, and the local, and how do these agents react to encountering each other in an Olympic context? and 3) What are the processes and practices of the Olympic-driven community development that occurred in Daegwallyeong-myeon? By embracing world-systems theory, concepts of glocalization and grobalization, and the theory of community development my findings revealed that the global-local encounter produced significant outcomes that influenced Olympic-driven community development.

A key finding from this study was that because the IOC, as a global power, represented a traditional and conventional management structure, its globality underwent both consensus and cacophony when it encountered the local. Daegwallyeong-myeon is the third Asian town to host the Winter Olympic Games, and it demonstrated a strong aspiration to catch up to global level

development, thereby coming one step closer to the core (center). Theoretically, this study contributes to our understanding of how the Olympic Games' may sustainably develop a community in the context of globalization. The theories applied in this study – world-systems theory, concepts of glocalization and grobalization, and dependency model added in the discussion – enabled us to learn the experience and perspective of the periphery who were willing to leave behind its own culture to comply with the expectations, priorities, and standards of the globalized and the developed.

However, since the Olympic Games are held in different locations every two years (every four years for the Summer Games and the Winter Games; either the Summer or Winter Games takes place every two years), their management structure frequently encounters host communities with unique characteristics. This encounter can engender conflicts and struggles that unfurl along the process of Olympic preparation and staging. Another theoretical implication of this study is that it integrates theories of globalization and community development to better understand the influence of the Olympic's global size, scale, and power on a small, rural, and underdeveloped community located in a semi-periphery nation state. Theory of community development was built upon

This study also contributes to the field of sport event management through my development of the 4Cs for sustainable community development through the Olympic Games (Figure 6-1). This model maintains that the global, transnational, national, and local agents should collectively endeavor to open a forum for conversation through which communication, coordination, collaboration, and consensus among the groups can be fostered not only in the context of the Olympic Games, but also of other sport mega-events with a similar large footprint, such as the FIFA World Cup. Global expectations and priorities should be properly negotiated

through the 4Cs in order to adequately reflect what local residents deem priorities and needs with regards to Olympic-driven community development. “We still need to learn,” as Singer (2002) argues in *One world: The ethics of globalization*, “how to prevent global bodies becoming either dangerous tyrannies or self-aggrandizing bureaucracies, and instead make them effective and responsible to the people whose lives they affect” (p. 199). This study can inform the IOC on how to practice self-reflection as an institution so as to re-structure its global Olympic management structure in ways that distribute the current concentration of knowledge and power. As a practical example of action plan, revisiting and restating the statement that the IOC is the owner of the Olympic Games is suggested as a starting point to distribute the IOC’s global authority and to deconstruct the existing managerial hierarchy of the Olympic Games. Thorough revision of existing Technical Manuals or development of a new Technical Manual that will specifically committed to the management strategies and regulations for host community relations is also recommended.

There is a growing imbalance between global forces and local agency, particularly in the context of sport mega-events that tour different host communities. Given these challenges, I hope my study will aid researchers in sport studies and practitioners in sport event management by demonstrating the applicability of the theories utilized here which explain the process of globalization. Through my study and its theoretical implications, researchers and practitioners can advance their knowledge of best practices for sustainable community development through sport mega-events so that host communities can derive long-term benefits. By promoting the local to the status of the global, sport mega-events can be managed in a truly inclusive way that embrace the diverse aspects of the global-local encounter, therefore, achieve sustainable governance.

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APPENDIX A: Institutional Review Board Approval

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research
Office for the Protection of Research Subjects
805 West Pennsylvania Ave
Urbana, IL 61801



May 30, 2017

Jon Welty-Peachey
Recreation Sport and Tourism
104 Huff Hall
1206 South Fourth Street
Champaign, IL 61820

RE: *Contesting socially sustainable development through the Olympic Games: The case of 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games and its hosting town of Hoenggye-ri*
IRB Protocol Number: 17796

Dear Dr. Welty-Peachey:

This letter authorizes the use of human subjects in your project entitled *Contesting socially sustainable development through the Olympic Games: The case of 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games and its hosting town of Hoenggye-ri*. The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved, by expedited review, the protocol as described in your IRB application. The expiration date for this protocol, IRB number 17796, is 05/29/2020. The risk designation applied to your project is *no more than minimal risk*.

Copies of the attached date-stamped consent form(s) must be used in obtaining informed consent. If there is a need to revise or alter the consent form(s), please submit the revised form(s) for IRB review, approval, and date-stamping prior to use.

Under applicable regulations, no changes to procedures involving human subjects may be made without prior IRB review and approval. The regulations also require that you promptly notify the IRB of any problems involving human subjects, including unanticipated side effects, adverse reactions, and any injuries or complications that arise during the project.

You were granted a three-year approval. If there are any changes to the protocol that result in your study becoming ineligible for the extended approval period, the RPI is responsible for immediately notifying the IRB via an amendment. The protocol will be issued a modified expiration date accordingly.

If you have any questions about the IRB process, or if you need assistance at any time, please feel free to contact me at the OPRS office, or visit our website at <https://www.oprs.research.illinois.edu>.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'jennifer ford'.

Jennifer Ford, MS

Human Subjects Research Specialist, Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

Attachment(s): 1 Research Team Attachment, 1 Waiver of Documentation, 4 Consent Forms

c: Na Ri Shin

APPENDIX B: Verbal Recruitment Script for Individual Interviews (English)

For members of the Organizing Committee:

Hello,

My name is Na Ri Shin and I am a doctoral student from the Recreation, Sport and Tourism Department at the University of Illinois, in the United States of America. I'm here to talk to you about participating in my research study. This is a study about socially sustainable community development of Hoenggye-ri through the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games. You're eligible to be in this study because you have been working at the Organizing Committee. I obtained your contact information from my friend who also have been working at the Committee, XXX (name of co-investigator's acquaintance)

If you decide to participate in this study, you will take part in an interview, or multiple interviews about your perceptions and experiences about the Olympic preparation process, which will take approximately 60-75 minutes per one individual interview. If you also agree to participate in a follow-up interviews to share more of your stories, that will take approximately 60-75 minutes per interview.

Remember, this is completely voluntary. You can choose to be in the study or not. If you'd like to participate, we can go ahead and schedule a time for me to meet with you to give you more information. If you need more time to decide if you would like to participate, you may also call or email me with your decision.

Do you have any questions for me at this time?

If you have any more questions about this process or if you need to contact me about participation, I may be reached at 010-3396-0607 (co-investigator's Korean cell phone number) or nshin2@illinois.edu.

Thank you so much.

For local residents of Hoenggye-ri:

Hello,

My name is Na Ri Shin and I am a doctoral student from the Recreation, Sport and Tourism Department at the University of Illinois. I'm here to talk to you about participating in my research study. This is a study about socially sustainable community development of Hoenggye-ri through the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games. You're eligible to be in this study because you have been living in Hoenggye-ri for a long time. I came to Hoenggye-ri XX days ago to meet residents and hear their opinions about the upcoming Winter Olympic Games.

If you decide to participate in this study, you will take part in an interview, or multiple interviews about your perceptions and experiences about the Olympic preparation process, which will take approximately 60-75 minutes per one individual interview. If you also agree to participate in a follow-up interviews to share more of your stories, that will take approximately 60-75 minutes per interview.

Remember, this is completely voluntary. You can choose to be in the study or not. If you'd like to participate, we can go ahead and schedule a time for me to meet with you to give you more information. If you need more time to decide if you would like to participate, you may also call or email me with your decision.

Do you have any questions for me at this time?

If you have any more questions about this process or if you need to contact me about participation, I may be reached at 010-3396-0607 (co-investigator's Korean cell phone number) or nshin2@illinois.edu.

Thank you so much.

APPENDIX C: Verbal Recruitment Script for Individual Interviews (Korean)

개인 인터뷰 참여자 모집을 위한 모의 대본 (구두용)

조직위원회 직원들을 대상으로:

안녕하세요?

저는 미국 일리노이 대학에서 스포츠 매니지먼트 전공으로 박사 과정에 재학 중인 신나라라고 합니다. 제가 올 여름 동안 박사 논문 자료 수집 차 황계리에 머물면서 조직위원회 직원 분들과 황계리 지역 주민 분들을 대상으로 인터뷰를 계획하고 있습니다. 제 박사 논문의 주제는 2018 년 평창 동계올림픽을 통한 황계리의 지속 가능한 발전입니다. 선생님께서 조직위원회에서 일하고 계시기 때문에 이렇게 찾아 뵙고 부탁 드리게 되었습니다. 지금 조직위원회에서 일하는 XXX 가 저의 대학 동창입니다. XXX 가 선생님을 소개시켜 주었습니다.

만약에 제 연구에 참여하신다면, 저와 일대일로 1 회 혹은 그 이상의 개인 인터뷰를 하시게 됩니다. 인터뷰의 주요한 내용은 선생님께서 조직위원회에서 일하시면서 경험하시거나 느끼신 점들로서, 특히 올림픽 개최지로서의 황계리가 어떠한 지역 발전을 이루게 될 지에 대한 질문을 주로 드릴 것입니다. 첫 인터뷰는 대략 60 분에서 75 분 정도 소요될 것으로 예상합니다. 만약에 그 이후에도 인터뷰에 응해 주신다면 2 회나 3 회, 그 이후의 인터뷰 또한 60 분에서 75 분 정도 예상하고 있습니다.

제 연구에 참여하시는 것은 완전히 선생님 개인의 자발적 의사대로 결정하시면 됩니다. 참여하셔도 되고, 하지 않으셔도 되며, 선생님께 어떠한 불이익도 없습니다. 만약에 참여하기로 결정하신다면 저와 함께 인터뷰 일정이나 장소에 대해 보다 자세하게 의논하실 수 있도록 추가적으로 자리를 마련하겠습니다. 지금 결정하시기 어려우면 제 핸드폰 (010-3396-0607)이나 이메일 (nshin2@illinois.edu)로 천천히 연락 주셔도 됩니다.

혹시 질문 있으십니까?

연구에 관한 어떤 것이라도 저에게 묻고 싶으시면 위의 핸드폰이나 이메일로 언제든지 연락주세요. 저는 8 월 말까지 황계리에 체류할 예정입니다.

그럼 또 뵙겠습니다. 고맙습니다.

횡계리 지역 주민들을 대상으로:

안녕하세요?

저는 미국 일리노이 대학에서 스포츠 매니지먼트 전공으로 박사 과정에 재학 중인 신나리라고 합니다. 제가 올 여름 동안 박사 논문 자료 수집 차 횡계리에 머물면서 조직위원회 직원 분들과 횡계리 지역 주민 분들을 대상으로 인터뷰를 계획하고 있습니다. 제 박사 논문의 주제는 2018 년 평창 동계올림픽을 통한 횡계리의 지속 가능한 발전입니다. 선생님께서 오랫동안 횡계리에 거주 하셔서, 올림픽 관련한 많은 경험이 있으시기 때문에 이렇게 찾아 뵙고 부탁 드리게 되었습니다. 저는 6 월 중순부터 횡계리에 머물면서 지역 주민들께서 올림픽에 대해 어떤 경험이 있고, 어떤 생각을 하시는지 알아보고자 하고 있습니다.

만약에 제 연구에 참여하신다면, 저와 일대일로 1 회 혹은 그 이상의 개인 인터뷰를 하시게 됩니다. 인터뷰의 주요한 내용은 선생님께서 횡계리에서 거주하시면서 올림픽 개최, 개최 실패 등과 관련하여 경험하시거나 느끼신 점들로서, 특히 올림픽 개최지로서의 횡계리가 어떠한 지역 발전을 이루게 될 지에 대한 질문을 주로 드릴 것입니다. 첫 인터뷰는 대략 60 분에서 75 분 정도 소요될 것으로 예상합니다. 만약에 그 이후에도 인터뷰에 응해 주신다면 2 회나 3 회, 그 이후의 인터뷰는 60 분에서 75 분 분 정도로 예상하고 있습니다.

제 연구에 참여하시는 것은 완전히 선생님 개인의 자발적 의사대로 결정하시면 됩니다. 참여하셔도 되고, 하지 않으셔도 되며, 선생님께 어떠한 불이익도 없습니다. 만약에 참여하기로 결정하신다면 저와 함께 인터뷰 일정이나 장소에 대해 보다 자세하게 의논하실 수 있도록 추가적으로 자리를 마련하겠습니다. 지금 결정하시기 어려우면 제 핸드폰 (010-3396-0607)으로 천천히 연락 주셔도 됩니다.

혹시 질문 있으십니까?

연구에 관한 어떤 것이라도 저에게 묻고 싶으시면 위의 핸드폰이나 이메일로 언제든지 연락주세요. 저는 8 월 말까지 횡계리에 체류할 예정입니다.

그럼 또 뵙겠습니다. 고맙습니다.

APPENDIX D: Informed Consent Form for First Fieldwork (English)

Informed Consent Form

Title of Project: Contesting socially sustainable development through the Olympic Games - The case of 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games and its hosting town of Hoenggye-ri

Responsible Principal Investigator: Dr. Jon Welty Peachey, University of Illinois

Other Investigator: Na Ri Shin, University of Illinois

1. Purpose of the Study:

You have been asked to participate in a research study about the socially sustainable development through the Olympic Games, especially about the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games and its hosting town of Hoenggye-ri, South Korea. The purpose of this study is to critically explore local residents' and the Olympic Organizing Committee members' perceptions and practices regarding the socially sustainable development of Hoenggye-ri community through the Olympic preparation process. In addition, this study aims to suggest future strategies to stage and manage the Olympic Games in better ways.

2. Procedures to be followed:

If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to take part in a face-to-face personal interview of 60-75 minutes in length with one of the researchers. The interview will be digitally audio recorded, with your consent. You may be asked to take part in a personal interview more than once. The 2nd and perhaps 3rd interview would also take approximately 60-75 minutes each.

- ☐ Yes, I permit an audio recording to be made of my interview(s).
- ☐ No, I do not permit an audio recording to be made of my interview(s).

3. Discomforts and Risks:

This study poses no more than minimal risk of what you may encounter in everyday life. There is a slight risk of breach of confidentiality. To address this risk, your information and all study materials will be kept in a password-protected computer of the co-investigator, and/or in a locked file cabinet in the office of the lead researcher.

4. Benefits:

While there are no personal benefits to taking part in this research, your participation will help us gain a better understanding of the socially sustainable community development of the Olympic hosting towns, which can benefit society at large.

5. Will my study-related information be kept confidential?

Yes, but not always. In general, we will not tell anyone any information about you. When this research is discussed or published, no one will know that you were in the study. However, laws and university rules might require us to disclose information about you. For example, if required by laws or University Policy, study information which identifies you and the consent form signed by you may be seen or copied by the following people or groups:

The university committee and office that reviews and approves research studies, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) and Office for Protection of Research Subjects;
University and state auditors, and Departments of the university responsible for oversight of research

6. Whom to contact:

Please contact Dr. Jon Welty Peachey or Ms. Na Ri Shin with any questions or concerns about the research. You may contact Dr. Welty Peachey if you feel you have been injured or harmed by this research. He can be reached by email at jwpeach@illinois.edu or by phone at 217-244-2956. Ms. Na Ri Shin can be reached by email at nshin2@illinois.edu or by phone at 217-281-2094 (US) or 010-3396-0607 (Korea). If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study or any concerns or complaints, please contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board at 217-333-2670 or via email at irb@illinois.edu.

7. Voluntariness:

Your participation is voluntary and you may discontinue at any time without any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Your decision to participate or not participate in this study will have no effect on your relationship with the University of Illinois.

8. Dissemination:

Results of this research will be published in academic journals, and presented at academic conferences.

9. Signature:

- I am 18 years of age or older. (when appropriate)
- I have read and understand the above consent form and voluntarily agree to participate in this study.
- You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.

Participant's Signature

Date

APPENDIX E: Informed Consent Form for First Fieldwork (Korean)

연구참여 동의서

연구명: 올림픽 개최 준비과정을 통한 지역공동체의 지속 가능한 사회적 발전 - 2018 평창 동계올림픽 개최지인 대관령면 횡계리의 사례를 중심으로

대표 연구원: Jon Welty Peachey 박사 (일리노이대학교)

부 연구원: 신나리 (일리노이대학교)

1. 연구의 목적

본 연구의 목적은 국제 스포츠이벤트의 대표 격인 올림픽이 개최 지역 공동체의 지속 가능한 사회적 발전에 미치는 영향을 알아보기 위함입니다. 2018 평창 동계올림픽 개최지인 대한민국 강원도 평창군 대관령면 횡계리의 사례를 중심으로, 횡계리 지역주민과 평창 동계올림픽 조직위원회 직원들이 올림픽 개최에 대해 어떤 인식을 가지고 있는지, 그리고 그 인식에 기반하여 어떠한 계획과 행동들을 조직하고 있는지 탐구하는 것이 보다 구체적인 연구의 목적입니다.

2. 연구의 절차

참여를 동의하신 후, 개인 별 인터뷰에 응하시게 됩니다. 인터뷰는 일대일 혹은 전화를 이용해 진행되며, 약 60 분에서 75 분 가량 소요될 예정입니다. 인터뷰 내용은 디지털 기기를 이용해 녹음될 것입니다. 녹음은 전적으로 참여자의 동의에 의해 이루어질 것입니다. 연구자가 추가 인터뷰를 요청 드릴 수도 있습니다. 추가 인터뷰 참여 역시 참여자의 자발적 선택에 의해 이루어 질 것입니다. 추가 인터뷰의 경우도 60 분에서 75 분 가량 소요될 것으로 예상합니다.

☐ 네, 인터뷰 내용 녹음에 동의합니다.

☐ 아니오, 인터뷰 내용 녹음에 동의하지 않습니다.

3. 연구참여에서 발생할 수 있는 각종 위험에 대한 설명

본 연구는 사회과학 분야의 일반적인 연구로서, 참여자에 대한 위험요소가 없습니다. 참여자의 신분은 보안장치가 설치된 컴퓨터에 보관될 것이며 연구자 이외의 어떤 사람도 접근할 수 없습니다.

4. 보상

연구참여에 대한 금전적/물질적 보상은 제공해 드리지 못하는 점 양해 부탁드립니다. 그러나 귀하의 참여는 본 연구의 목적을 충실히 이행하는 데 큰 기여를 할 것이며, 앞으로 올림픽을 개최할 국가와 지역 공동체의 지속 가능한 발전에 기여할 것입니다.

5. 신분 보호

참여자의 개인정보는 연구자의 철저한 보안 하에 관리될 것입니다. 보안프로그램이 설치된 컴퓨터에 저장될 것이며 문서는 잠금장치가 설치된 캐비닛에 보관될 것입니다. 연구원 이외의 어떤 사람도 접근할 수 없을 것이며, 그 어떤 개인정보도 논문이나 보고서에 노출되지 않을 것입니다.

그러나 예외적인 경우 일리노이대학교 측에서 정보공유를 요청할 수도 있습니다.

이는 연구자가 참여자의 정보를 공개하는 것과는 전혀 다르다는 것을 분명하게 말씀드립니다. 본 연구를 발표 및 출간할 시에는 그 어떤 경우도 참여자의 정보가 노출되지 않을 것입니다. 그러나 미국 현지법과 대학규정 상 대학 측에서 연구팀에게 정보공유를 요청할 수 있습니다.

예를 들어, 미국 현지법과 대학의 공식규정에 따른 정보공유 요청이 들어올 경우 참여자의 이름과 서명이 포함된 연구참여동의서 등의 연구 관련 정보를 아래의 대학기관에 제공해야 할 수도 있습니다:

일리노이대학교 내에서 이루어지는 모든 학술연구를 심사 및 승인하는 Institutional Review Board 와 Office for Protection of Research Subjects;

대학교 및 감사원, 그리고 연구과정에서 발생 가능한 실수를 감독하는 대학 내 기관

6. 연구자의 연락처

본 연구에 대한 문의사항이 있으시면 Jon Welty Peachey 박사나 신나리 연구원에게 연락주십시오. 연구에 참여하는 과정에서 위험을 느끼거나 본인에게 해가 된다고 판단되시면 Jon Welty Peachey 박사에게 바로 연락하실 수 있습니다(이메일: jwpeach@illinois.edu, 전화: 217-244-2956). 한국어가 편하신 분들은 신나리 연구원에게 연락하시면 됩니다(이메일: nshin2@illinois.edu, 전화: 217-281-2094; 한국 전화: 010-3396-0607). 본 연구와 관련하여 참여자로서 어떠한 권리를 보장받을 수 있는지에 대한 문의사항, 또는 건의사항이 있으시면 일리노이대학교 리뷰보드 (University of Illinois Review Board)로 연락주시면 됩니다(이메일: irb@illinois.edu, 전화: 217-333-2670). 연구참여자라고 신분을 밝히시면 수신자부담으로 전화하실 수 있습니다.

7. 참여의 자발성

연구 참여는 전적으로 참여자의 자발적 선택에 의해 이루어집니다. 언제든지 참여를 중단하실 수 있으며 어떠한 불이익도 없을 것입니다. 참여/불참 여부 또한 참여자 본인과 일리노이 대학교 간 관계에 어떠한 영향도 미치지 않을 것입니다.

8. 연구 결과의 활용

연구의 결과는 학술지 논문과 관련 학회 발표의 주요 내용으로 활용될 것입니다.

9. 참여자 서명

- 나(참여자)는 18 세 혹은 18 세 이상의 성인입니다.
- 나(참여자)는 위의 내용을 충분히 읽어보았으며 본 연구에 대한 자발적 참여를 결정하였습니다.
- 본 서류는 참여자분께 1 부 지급되고 연구팀에서도 1 부를 보관할 것입니다.

참여자 본인의 서명

날짜

Appendix F Informed Consent Form for Second Fieldwork (English)

APPENDIX F: Informed Consent Form for Second Fieldwork (English)

Informed Consent Form

Title of Project: Contesting socially sustainable development through the Olympic Games - The case of 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games and its hosting town of Daegwallyeong-myeon

Responsible Principal Investigator: Dr. Jon Welty Peachey, University of Illinois

Other Investigator: Na Ri Shin, University of Illinois

5. Purpose of the Study:

You have been asked to participate in a research study about the socially sustainable development through the Olympic Games, especially about the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games and its hosting town of Daegwallyeong-myeon, South Korea. The purpose of this study is to critically explore local residents' and the Olympic Organizing Committee members' perceptions and practices regarding the socially sustainable development of Daegwallyeong-myeon community through the Olympic preparation process. In addition, this study aims to suggest future strategies to stage and manage the Olympic Games in better ways.

6. Procedures to be followed:

If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to take part in a face-to-face personal interview of 60-75 minutes in length with one of the researchers. The interview will be digitally audio recorded, with your consent. You may be asked to take part in a personal interview more than once. The 2nd and perhaps 3rd interview would also take approximately 60-75 minutes each.

- ☐ Yes, I permit an audio recording to be made of my interview(s).
- ☐ No, I do not permit an audio recording to be made of my interview(s).

7. Discomforts and Risks:

This study poses no more than minimal risk of what you may encounter in everyday life. There is a slight risk of breach of confidentiality. To address this risk, your information and all study materials will be kept in a password-protected computer of the co-investigator, and/or in a locked file cabinet in the office of the lead researcher.

8. Benefits:

While there are no personal benefits to taking part in this research, your participation will help us gain a better understanding of the socially sustainable community development of the Olympic hosting towns, which can benefit society at large.

5. Will my study-related information be kept confidential?

Yes, but not always. In general, we will not tell anyone any information about you. When this research is discussed or published, no one will know that you were in the study. However, laws and university rules might require us to disclose information about you. For example, if required by laws or University Policy, study information which identifies you and the consent form signed by you may be seen or copied by the following people or groups:

The university committee and office that reviews and approves research studies, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) and Office for Protection of Research Subjects;
University and state auditors, and Departments of the university responsible for oversight of research

10. Whom to contact:

Please contact Dr. Jon Welty Peachey or Ms. Na Ri Shin with any questions or concerns about the research. You may contact Dr. Welty Peachey if you feel you have been injured or harmed by this research. He can be reached by email at jwpeach@illinois.edu or by phone at 217-244-2956. Ms. Na Ri Shin can be reached by email at nshin2@illinois.edu or by phone at 217-281-2094 (US) or 010-3396-0607 (Korea). If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study or any concerns or complaints, please contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board at 217-333-2670 or via email at irb@illinois.edu.

11. Voluntariness:

Your participation is voluntary and you may discontinue at any time without any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Your decision to participate or not participate in this study will have no effect on your relationship with the University of Illinois.

12. Dissemination:

Results of this research will be published in academic journals, and presented at academic conferences.

13. Signature:

- I am 18 years of age or older. (when appropriate)
- I have read and understand the above consent form and voluntarily agree to participate in this study.
- You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.

Participant's Signature

Date

APPENDIX G: Informed Consent Form for Second Fieldwork (Korean)

연구참여 동의서

연구명: 올림픽 개최 준비과정을 통한 지역공동체의 지속 가능한 사회적 발전 - 2018 평창 동계올림픽 개최지인 대관령면의 사례를 중심으로

대표 연구원: Jon Welty Peachey 박사 (일리노이대학교)

부 연구원: 신나리 (일리노이대학교)

10. 연구의 목적

본 연구의 목적은 국제 스포츠이벤트의 대표 격인 올림픽이 개최 지역 공동체의 지속 가능한 사회적 발전에 미치는 영향을 알아보기 위함입니다. 2018 평창 동계올림픽 개최지인 대한민국 강원도 평창군 대관령면의 사례를 중심으로, 대관령면이라는 공간적 범위 안에서 일어나는 사회적 변화의 과정을 살피고자 합니다. 대관령면 지역주민과 평창 동계올림픽 조직위원회 직원들이 올림픽 개최에 대해 어떤 인식을 가지고 있는지, 그리고 그 인식에 기반하여 어떠한 계획과 행동들을 조직하고 있는지 탐구하는 것이 보다 구체적인 연구의 목적입니다.

11. 연구의 절차

참여를 동의하신 후, 개인 별 인터뷰에 응하시게 됩니다. 인터뷰는 일대일 혹은 전화를 이용해 진행되며, 약 60 분에서 75 분 가량 소요될 예정입니다. 인터뷰 내용은 디지털 기기를 이용해 녹음될 것입니다. 녹음은 전적으로 참여자의 동의에 의해 이루어질 것입니다. 연구자가 추가 인터뷰를 요청 드릴 수도 있습니다. 추가 인터뷰 참여 역시 참여자의 자발적 선택에 의해 이루어 질 것입니다. 추가 인터뷰의 경우도 60 분에서 75 분 가량 소요될 것으로 예상합니다.

☐ 네, 인터뷰 내용 녹음에 동의합니다.

☐ 아니오, 인터뷰 내용 녹음에 동의하지 않습니다.

12. 연구참여에서 발생할 수 있는 각종 위험에 대한 설명

본 연구는 사회과학 분야의 일반적인 연구로서, 참여자에 대한 위험요소가 없습니다. 참여자의 신분은 보안장치가 설치된 컴퓨터에 보관될 것이며 연구자 이외의 어떤 사람도 접근할 수 없습니다.

13. 보상

연구참여에 대한 금전적/물질적 보상은 제공해 드리지 못하는 점 양해 부탁드립니다. 그러나 귀하의 참여는 본 연구의 목적을 충실히 이행하는 데 큰 기여를 할 것이며, 앞으로 올림픽을 개최할 국가와 지역 공동체의 지속 가능한 발전에 기여할 것입니다.

14. 신분 보호

참여자의 개인정보는 연구자의 철저한 보안 하에 관리될 것입니다. 보안프로그램이 설치된 컴퓨터에 저장될 것이며 문서는 잠금장치가 설치된 캐비닛에 보관될 것입니다. 연구원 이외의 어떤 사람도 접근할 수 없을 것이며, 그 어떤 개인정보도 논문이나 보고서에 노출되지 않을 것입니다.

그러나 예외적인 경우 일리노이대학교 측에서 정보공유를 요청할 수도 있습니다.

이는 연구자가 참여자의 정보를 공개하는 것과는 전혀 다르다는 것을 분명하게 말씀드립니다. 본 연구를 발표 및 출간할 시에는 그 어떤 경우에도 참여자의 정보가 노출되지 않을 것입니다. 그러나 미국 현지법과 대학규정 상 대학 측에서 연구팀에게 정보공유를 요청할 수 있습니다.

예를 들어, 미국 현지법과 대학의 공식규정에 따른 정보공유 요청이 들어올 경우 참여자의 이름과 서명이 포함된 연구참여동의서 등의 연구 관련 정보를 아래의 대학기관에 제공해야 할 수도 있습니다:

일리노이대학교 내에서 이루어지는 모든 학술연구를 심사 및 승인하는 Institutional Review Board 와 Office for Protection of Research Subjects; 대학교 및 감사원, 그리고 연구과정에서 발생 가능한 실수를 감독하는 대학 내 기관

15. 연구자의 연락처

본 연구에 대한 문의사항이 있으시면 Jon Welty Peachey 박사나 신나리 연구원에게 연락주십시오. 연구에 참여하는 과정에서 위험을 느끼거나 본인에게 해가 된다고 판단되시면 Jon Welty Peachey 박사에게 바로 연락하실 수 있습니다(이메일: jwpeach@illinois.edu, 전화: 217-244-2956). 한국어가 편하신 분들은 신나리 연구원에게 연락하시면 됩니다(이메일: nshin2@illinois.edu, 전화: 217-281-2094; 한국 전화: 010-3396-0607). 본 연구와 관련하여 참여자로서 어떠한 권리를 보장받을 수 있는지에 대한 문의사항, 또는 건의사항이 있으시면 일리노이대학교 리뷰보드 (University of Illinois Review Board)로 연락주시면 됩니다(이메일: irb@illinois.edu, 전화: 217-333-2670). 연구참여자라고 신분을 밝히시면 수신자부담으로 전화하실 수 있습니다.

16. 참여의 자발성

연구 참여는 전적으로 참여자의 자발적 선택에 의해 이루어집니다. 언제든지 참여를 중단하실 수 있으며 어떠한 불이익도 없을 것입니다. 참여/불참 여부 또한 참여자 본인과 일리노이 대학교 간 관계에 어떠한 영향도 미치지 않을 것입니다.

17. 연구 결과의 활용

연구의 결과는 학술지 논문과 관련 학회 발표의 주요 내용으로 활용될 것입니다.

18. 참여자 서명

- 나(참여자)는 18 세 혹은 18 세 이상의 성인입니다.
- 나(참여자)는 위의 내용을 충분히 읽어보았으며 본 연구에 대한 자발적 참여를 결정하였습니다.
- 본 서류는 참여자분께 1 부 지급되고 연구팀에서도 1 부를 보관할 것입니다.

참여자 본인의 서명

날짜

APPENDIX H: Verbal Recruitment Script for Participant Observation (English)

Verbal Recruitment and Consent Script for Participant Observation

Instances: Local businesses

Community meetings

Public meetings

Informal gatherings in the community

Informal gatherings among members of the Organizing Committee

Hello,

My name is Na Ri Shin and I am a doctoral student from the Recreation, Sport and Tourism Department at the University of Illinois, in the United States of America. I'm here to talk to you about participating in my research study. This is a study about socially sustainable community development of Hoenggye-ri through the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games. I would like to ask for your permission for me to observe and write what I will see, hear, and experience related to the Olympic preparation process happening in Hoenggye-ri.

If you allow me to observe XXX (e.g., your business, community meeting, public meeting, and informal gatherings), I will visit whenever you feel comfortable with me in the situation. Please know that I will do everything I can to protect your privacy. Your identity or personal information will not be disclosed in any publication that may result from the study. Notes that are taken during the observations will be stored in a secure location.

Remember, this is completely voluntary. You can choose to be in the study or not. If you'd like to participate, we can go ahead and schedule a time for me to meet with you to give you more information. If you need more time to decide if you would like to participate, you may also call or email me with your decision.

If you would like a copy of this letter for your records, please let me know and I will bring you a copy in a few days. If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study or any concerns or complaints, please contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board at 217-333-2670 or via email at irb@illinois.edu.

Do you have any questions for me at this time?

If you have any more questions about this process or if you need to contact me about participation, I may be reached at 010-3396-0607 (co-investigator's Korean cell phone number) or nshin2@illinois.edu.

Thank you so much.

APPENDIX I: Verbal Recruitment Script for Participant Observation (Korean)

참여관찰 요청, 동의를 위한 모의 대본 (구두용)

참여관찰 장소 및 경우: 지역 주민 운영 소규모 사업장 (자영업)

지역주민 회의 (반상회 등)

정부 공청회

지역주민 모임 (비공식)

조직위원회 직원 모임 (비공식)

안녕하세요?

저는 미국 일리노이 대학에서 스포츠 매니지먼트 전공으로 박사 과정에 재학 중인 신나라라고 합니다. 제가 올 여름 동안 박사 논문 자료 수집 차 황계리에 머물면서 조직위원회 직원 분들과 황계리 지역 주민 분들을 대상으로 어떻게 준비하고 계신지 보고, 듣고, 경험하면서 논문 자료 수집을 할 계획입니다. 제 박사 논문의 주제는 2018 년 평창 동계올림픽을 통한 황계리의 지속 가능한 발전입니다. 올림픽 준비과정에 있어서 황계리 안에서 있을 다양한 행사나 회의, 공청회, 모임 등에 제가 자리해서 보고, 듣고, 기록하고자 합니다. 이에 선생님(들)의 허락을 구하고자 이렇게 찾아뵙게 되었습니다.

만약에 제가 각종 행사나 선생님(들)의 사업장에 방문하여 자료 수집하는 것을 허락해 주신다면, 선생님(들)께서 편하신 장소 혹은 시간에 맞추도록 하겠습니다. 저는 선생님(들)을 비롯한 행사 참여자, 사업장 손님들에 관한 어떤 개인 정보도 유출하거나 노출하지 않을 것임을 약속 드립니다. 저는 모든 분들의 개인 정보를 보호하기 위해 제가 할 수 있는 한 최대한의 노력을 할 것입니다. 논문이나 학회 발표 시 각별한 주의를 기울일 것이고, 제가 개인적으로 기록한 내용은 안전한 장소에 보관할 것입니다.

제 연구에 참여하시는 것은 완전히 선생님 개인의 자발적 의사대로 결정하시면 됩니다. 참여하셔도 되고, 하지 않으셔도 되며, 선생님께 어떠한 불이익도 없습니다. 만약에 참여하기로 결정하신다면 저와 함께 일정이나 장소에 대해 보다 자세하게 의논하실 수 있도록 추가적으로 자리를 마련하겠습니다. 지금 결정하시기 어려우면 제 핸드폰 (010-3396-0607)이나 이메일 (nshin2@illinois.edu)로 천천히 연락 주셔도 됩니다. 연구 참여자로서의 권리 행사에 관해 질문이 있으시면 일리노이 대학 리뷰 보드로 연락 주시기 바랍니다. 연락처는 미국 전화 217-333-2670, 또는 이메일 irb@illinois.edu 입니다. 통역이 필요하시면 제가 도와드리겠습니다.

혹시 질문 있으십니까?

연구에 관한 어떤 것이라도 저에게 묻고 싶으시면 위의 핸드폰이나 이메일로 언제든지 연락주세요. 저는 8 월 말까지 황계리에 체류할 예정입니다.

그럼 또 뵙겠습니다. 고맙습니다.

APPENDIX J: Consent Handout for Observation for First Fieldwork (English)

Consent Handout for Observation

Hello,

My name is Na Ri Shin and I am a doctoral student from the Recreation, Sport and Tourism Department at the University of Illinois, in the United States of America. I'm here to talk to you about participating in my research. This is a study about socially sustainable community development of Hoenggye-ri through the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games. The purpose of this study is to examine the Olympic preparation process happening in Hoenggye-ri and to suggest better Olympic practices that can contribute to socially sustainable community development of hosting towns. I would like to ask for your permission for me to observe and write what I will see, hear, and experience related to the Olympic preparation process happening in Hoenggye-ri.

If you allow me to observe XXX (e.g., your business, community meeting, public meeting, and informal gatherings), I will visit whenever you feel comfortable with me in the situation. Please know that I will do everything I can to protect your privacy. Your identity or personal information will not be disclosed in any publication that may result from the study. Notes that are taken during the observations will be stored in a secure location. Faculty, students, and staff who may see your information will maintain confidentiality to the extent of laws and university policies. Personal identifiers will not be published or presented.

Remember, this is completely voluntary. You can choose to be in the study or not. If you'd like to participate, we can go ahead and schedule a time for me to meet with you to give you more information. If you need more time to decide if you would like to participate, you may also call or email me with your decision.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, including questions, concerns, complaints, or to offer input, you may call the Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS) at 217-333-2670 or e-mail OPRS at irb@illinois.edu.

Do you have any questions for me at this time?

If you have any more questions about this process or if you need to contact me about participation, I may be reached at 010-3396-0607 (co-investigator's Korean cell phone number) or nshin2@illinois.edu.

Thank you so much.

APPENDIX K: Consent Handout for Observation for First Fieldwork (Korean)

참여관찰 동의서 (구두용)

안녕하세요?

저는 미국 일리노이 대학에서 스포츠 매니지먼트 전공으로 박사 과정에 재학 중인 신나라라고 합니다. 제가 올 여름 동안 박사 논문 자료 수집 차 횡계리에 머물면서 조직위원회 직원 분들과 횡계리 지역 주민 분들을 대상으로 어떻게 준비하고 계신지 보고, 듣고, 경험하면서 논문 자료 수집을 할 계획입니다. 제 박사 논문의 주제는 2018 년 평창 동계올림픽을 통한 횡계리의 지속 가능한 발전입니다. 본 연구의 목적은 올림픽 준비 과정에서 일어나는 여러가지 사건들을 토대로 앞으로의 올림픽 개최 및 준비과정이 나아가야 할 방향을 탐구하는 데 있습니다. 올림픽 준비과정에 있어서 횡계리 안에서 있을 다양한 행사나 회의, 공청회, 모임 등에 제가 자리해서 보고, 듣고, 기록하고자 합니다. 이에 선생님(들)의 허락을 구하고자 이렇게 찾아 뵙게 되었습니다.

만약에 제가 각종 행사나 선생님(들)의 사업장에 방문하여 자료 수집하는 것을 허락해 주신다면, 선생님(들)께서 편하신 장소 혹은 시간에 맞추도록 하겠습니다. 저는 선생님(들)을 비롯한 행사 참여자, 사업장 손님들에 관한 어떤 개인 정보도 유출하거나 노출하지 않을 것임을 약속 드립니다. 저는 모든 분들의 개인 정보를 보호하기 위해 제가 할 수 있는 한 최대한의 노력을 할 것입니다. 논문이나 학회 발표 시 개인을 식별할 수 있는 어떤 정보도 공개하지 않을 것이며, 제가 개인적으로 기록한 내용은 안전한 장소에 보관할 것입니다. 교수진, 학생, 그리고 직원 등 정보에 접근할 수 있는 사람들 모두 개인 정보 유출을 철저히 막을 것이며, 이는 대학 내규에 준하여 이루어질 것입니다.

제 연구에 참여하시는 것은 완전히 선생님 개인의 자발적 의사대로 결정하시면 됩니다. 참여하셔도 되고, 하지 않으셔도 되며, 선생님께 어떠한 불이익도 없습니다. 만약에 참여하기로 결정하신다면 저와 함께 일정이나 장소에 대해 보다 자세하게 의논하실 수 있도록 추가적으로 자리를 마련하겠습니다. 지금 결정하시기 어려우면 제 핸드폰 (010-3396-0607)이나 이메일 (nshin2@illinois.edu)로 천천히 연락 주셔도 됩니다. 연구 참여자로서의 권리 행사에 관해 질문이 있으시면 일리노이 대학 리뷰 보드로 연락 주시기 바랍니다. 연락처는 미국 전화 217-333-2670, 또는 이메일 irb@illinois.edu 입니다. 통역이 필요하시면 제가 도와드리겠습니다.

혹시 질문 있으십니까?

연구에 관한 어떤 것이라도 저에게 묻고 싶으시면 위의 핸드폰이나 이메일로 언제든지 연락주세요. 저는 8 월 말까지 횡계리에 체류할 예정입니다.

그럼 또 뵙겠습니다. 감사합니다.

APPENDIX L: Consent Handout for Observation for Second Fieldwork (English)

Consent Handout for Observation

Hello,

My name is Na Ri Shin and I am a doctoral student from the Recreation, Sport and Tourism Department at the University of Illinois, in the United States of America. I'm here to talk to you about participating in my research. This is a study about socially sustainable community development of Daegwallyeong-myeon through the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games. The purpose of this study is to examine the Olympic development process happening in Daegwallyeong-myeon and to suggest better Olympic practices that can contribute to socially sustainable community development of hosting towns. I would like to ask for your permission for me to observe you and write what I will see, hear, and experience related to the Olympic-related development practices and happening in Daegwallyeong-myeon, and your experiences and thoughts on the practices.

If you allow me to observe you (e.g., your business, community meeting, public meeting, and informal gatherings), I will visit whenever you feel comfortable with me in the situation. Please know that I will do everything I can to protect your privacy. Your identity or personal information will not be disclosed in any publication that may result from the study. Notes that are taken during the observations will be stored in a secure location. Faculty, students, and staff who may see your information will maintain confidentiality to the extent of laws and university policies. Personal identifiers will not be published or presented.

Remember, this is completely voluntary. You can choose to be in the study or not. If you'd like to participate, we can go ahead and schedule a time for me to meet with you to give you more information. If you need more time to decide if you would like to participate, you may also call or email me with your decision.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, including questions, concerns, complaints, or to offer input, you may call the Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS) at 217-333-2670 or e-mail OPRS at irb@illinois.edu.

Do you have any questions for me at this time?

If you have any more questions about this process or if you need to contact me about participation, I may be reached at 010-3396-0607 (co-investigator's Korean cell phone number) or nshin2@illinois.edu.

Thank you so much.

APPENDIX M: Consent Handout for Observation for Second Fieldwork (Korean)

참여관찰 동의서 (구두용)

안녕하세요?

저는 미국 일리노이 대학에서 스포츠 매니지먼트 전공으로 박사 과정에 재학 중인 신나리라고 합니다. 이번 3-4 월 동안 박사 논문 자료 수집 차 대관령면에 머물면서 조직위원회 직원 분들과 대관령면 지역 주민 분들을 대상으로 올림픽을 어떻게 치루셨는지, 또한 올림픽 후에 어떤 경험을 하셨는지 보고, 듣고, 여쭙면서 논문 자료 수집을 할 계획입니다. 제 박사 논문의 주제는 2018 년 평창 동계올림픽을 통한 대관령면의 지속 가능한 발전입니다. 본 연구의 목적은 올림픽 준비 과정, 올림픽 기간, 그리고 올림픽 이후까지의 기간 동안 일어나는 여러가지 사건들을 토대로 앞으로의 올림픽이 나아가야 할 방향을 탐구하는 데 있습니다. 이에 선생님(들)의 허락을 구하고자 이렇게 찾아 뵙게 되었습니다.

만약에 제가 각종 행사나 선생님(들)의 사업장에 방문하여 자료 수집하는 것을 허락해 주신다면, 선생님(들)께서 편하신 장소 혹은 시간에 맞추도록 하겠습니다. 저는 선생님(들)을 비롯한 행사 참여자, 사업장 손님들에 관한 어떤 개인 정보도 유출하거나 노출하지 않을 것임을 약속 드립니다. 저는 모든 분들의 개인 정보를 보호하기 위해 제가 할 수 있는 한 최대한의 노력을 할 것입니다. 논문이나 학회 발표 시 개인을 식별할 수 있는 어떤 정보도 공개하지 않을 것이며, 제가 개인적으로 기록한 내용은 안전한 장소에 보관할 것입니다. 교수진, 학생, 그리고 직원 등 정보에 접근할 수 있는 사람들 모두 개인 정보 유출을 철저히 막을 것이며, 이는 대학 내규에 준하여 이루어질 것입니다.

제 연구에 참여하시는 것은 완전히 선생님 개인의 자발적 의사대로 결정하시면 됩니다. 참여하셔도 되고, 하지 않으셔도 되며, 선생님께 어떠한 불이익도 없습니다. 만약에 참여하기로 결정하신다면 저와 함께 일정이나 장소에 대해 보다 자세하게 의논하실 수 있도록 추가적으로 자리를 마련하겠습니다. 지금 결정하시기 어려우면 제 핸드폰 (010-3396-0607)이나 이메일 (nshin2@illinois.edu)로 천천히 연락 주셔도 됩니다. 연구 참여자로서의 권리 행사에 관해 질문이 있으시면 일리노이 대학 리뷰 보드로 연락 주시기 바랍니다. 연락처는 미국 전화 217-333-2670, 또는 이메일 irb@illinois.edu 입니다. 통역이 필요하시면 제가 도와드리겠습니다.

혹시 질문 있으십니까?

연구에 관한 어떤 것이라도 저에게 묻고 싶으시면 위의 핸드폰이나 이메일로 언제든지 연락주세요. 저는 4 월 중순까지 횡계리에 체류할 예정입니다.

그럼 또 뵙겠습니다. 감사합니다.

APPENDIX N: Interview Guides for First Fieldwork (English)

Interview Guide for Hoenggye-ri residents (Spradley, 1979)

Descriptive questions	
Tour questions	• How would you describe your average working day at the Hoenggye-ri? What do you do? • How would you describe the space of your work? • How would you describe the change happening in town because of the 2018 Winter Olympic Games? • How would you describe the community-level development practices related to the Olympic preparation? • How would you describe what you have heard or been notified about Hoenggye-ri's development through the Olympic Games?
Example questions	• How would you recount an example of a particular day you participated in any kinds of community meeting, public discussion, public hearing, or visiting of politicians or the International Olympic Committee members? • How would you explain about an example of a particular communication or interaction between you (or your neighbors in Hoenggye-ri) and the members of the Organizing Committee? • Can you suggest an example of the developmental processes of Hoenggye-ri as an Olympic hosting town?
Experience questions	• How would you describe your lived experiences as a resident of the 2018 Olympic hosting town? • How would you describe your participation, if any, regarding Hoenggye-ri's development? • When there were community meetings, public discussion, or public hearings, what did you do exactly and how did you feel about it? Were there any conflicts between the Organizing Committee and the residents? • Throughout your lived experiences since the first bid preparation in early 2000's until now, how would you describe your life as a local resident has changed because of the Winter Olympic Games?

Native-language questions	Questions will be crafted after conducting observation for a week or two, in order to acquire their own use of terms.
Structural/explanation questions	
- What do the local residents want and need regarding Hoenggye-ri's sustainable development? - How do you think the 2018 Winter Olympic Games contribute to the development of Hoenggye-ri? - How do you think the Organizing Committee's work contributes to the development of Hoenggye-ri? - How do you think the role of the local residents is important in achieving Hoenggye-ri's development? - How would you map the power relations within the preparation process of the 2018 Winter Olympic Games? Where would you put yourself as the local residents of Hoenggye-ri?	
Contrast questions	
- How is your work and goal as a local resident of Hoenggye-ri different from the Organizing Committee's work and goal regarding the Olympic Games and community development? - What is the difference between the Organizing Committee's priority and the local residents' priority regarding the Olympic Games and community development?	
Supplementary questions	
- Do you think the local residents' needs are reflected enough to the preparation process? If yes, how do you actually do it? If not, what do you think the reason? - Do you think the local residents have had any opportunity to participate in decision-making process regarding the Olympic Games? - In your opinion, do you think that the local residents have wanted the Olympic Games? Do you think that yourself and other residents will be benefited by the Olympic Games?	

Interview Guide for members of the Organizing Committee (Spradley, 1979)

Descriptive questions	
Tour questions	• How would you describe your average working day at the Organizing Committee? • How would you describe the space of your work, for example, your office and this local town of Hoenggye-ri? • How would you describe the space of the 2018 Winter Olympic Games? • How would you describe the community-level development plan of the Organizing Committee and the International Olympic Committee?
Example questions	• How would you recount an example of a particular working day you engaged with local residents as a member of the Organizing Committee that you will never forget? • Can you talk about an example of a particular communication or interaction between you and the International Olympic Committee, and between you and Hoenggye-ri's residents? • Can you suggest an example of the developmental processes of Hoenggye-ri as a hosting town?
Experience questions	• How would you describe your working experiences with the International Olympic Committee? How would you describe your working experiences with the local residents of Hoenggye-ri? • How would you describe your working experiences regarding Hoenggye-ri's development? • When there were meetings with the local residents of Hoenggye-ri, what did you do exactly and how did you feel about it? Were there any conflicts between the Organizing Committee and the residents? • Throughout your work experiences at the Organizing Committee, what has been the first priority of your work?
Native-language questions	• Questions will be crafted after conducting observation for a week or two, in order to acquire their own use of terms.

Structural/explanation questions
• How would you describe the Organizing Committee's role regarding Hoenggye-ri's sustainable development? • How do you think your work at the Organizing Committee is related to the development of Hoenggye-ri? • Do you think the Organizing Committee's work is important in achieving Hoenggye-ri's development? If yes, how is it important? If not, why? • How would you map the power relations within the preparation process of the 2018 Winter Olympic Games? Where would you put yourself and the local residents of Hoenggye-ri?
Contrast questions
• How is your work and goal as a member of the Organizing Committee different from the local residents' work and goal regarding the Olympic Games and community development? • What is the difference between the Organizing Committee's priority and the local residents' priority regarding the Olympic Games and community development?
Supplementary questions
• Do you think the local residents' needs are reflected enough in the preparation process? If yes, how do you actually do it? If not, what do you think the reason? • Do you think the local residents have had any opportunity to participate in the decision-making process regarding the Olympic Games? • In your opinion, do you think that the local residents have wanted the Olympic Games? Do you think they will be benefited by the Olympic Games?

APPENDIX O: Interview Guides for First Fieldwork (Korean)

인터뷰 가이드 (횡계리 지역 주민)

묘사에 관한 질문	
도입 질문	• 횡계리에서의 평범한 하루 일과와 일상에 대해 설명해 주시겠습니까? 어떤 일을 하십니까? • 평소에 일하는 업무의 공간은 어떠합니까? • 2018 동계올림픽 개최와 관련해서 횡계리에 일어나고 있는 변화에 대해 설명해 주시겠습니까? • 올림픽 개최 준비과정에서 횡계리의 지역 발전과 관련된 일들이 일어난다면, 어떤 것들이 있습니까? • 올림픽 개최와 관련해서 횡계리의 지역 발전에 대해 전해 듣거나 알게 된 이야기들이 있습니까? 있다면, 어떤 것들이 있습니까?
예시 질문	• 올림픽 조직위원회 직원들이나 정치인들과 함께 하는 주민회의나 지역주민 공청회 따위에 참여해보신 적이 있습니까? 있다면 설명 부탁드립니다. • 조직위원회 직원들과 의사소통을 해보신 적이 있거나, 함께 공청회 따위의 모임에 참여해보신 적이 있다면 그 경험에 대해 설명 부탁드립니다. • 올림픽 개최를 통해 횡계리의 지역 발전이 이루어지고 있다면, 대표적인 예시를 들어주시겠습니까? 설명 부탁드립니다.
경험 질문	• 올림픽 개최지의 지역 주민으로 살아가는 경험은 어떠합니까? • 개최지 지역주민으로서 의사결정 과정 따위에 참여하셨다면, 그 경험에 대해 설명 부탁드립니다. • 지역주민 공청회나 주민회의 (반상회 등)에서 주로 어떤 발언을 하셨습니까? 무엇을 느끼셨습니까? 조직위 직원들과 지역 주민 사이에 갈등이나 언쟁, 논쟁이 발생하기도 했나요? 설명 부탁드립니다. • 평창의 첫번째 올림픽 도전부터 2011 년 세번째 도전의 성공, 그리고 2017 년 현재까지 근 20 년에 걸쳐 횡계리 지역주민으로 살아오신 경험이나 어려움에 대해 설명 부탁드립니다. 귀하의 삶에 어떤 변화가 있었는지요?
사회 구조에 관한 질문	
• 횡계리 지역주민들께서 올림픽을 통한 지속 가능한 지역발전에 관련하여 필요로 하시고, 원하시는 방향은 어떠합니까? • 2018 동계올림픽이 횡계리 지역발전에 기여해왔거나, 앞으로 기여할 것이라고 생각하시나요? 이유는 무엇입니까? • 올림픽 조직위원회에서 수행하는 업무들이 횡계리 지역발전에 기여한다고 생각하시나요? 이유는 무엇입니까? • 횡계리의 지역발전을 이루는데 있어, 지역주민들의 역할이 얼마나 중요하다고 생각하시나요? 설명 부탁드립니다.	

• 2018 동계올림픽 개최 준비과정 상에 있어, 귀하가 경험을 통해 인식하시는 권력관계에 대해 설명 부탁드립니다. 누가, 혹은 어떤 조직이 횡계리의 지역발전에 있어 주도권을 쥐고 있다고 생각하십니까?
비교/대조에 관한 질문 • 횡계리 지역주민으로서 올림픽을 통한 지역발전에 귀하가 추구하시는 목표, 그리고 현재 하고 계시는 일이 있다면 설명해 주시기 바랍니다. 그리고 귀하의 목표나 일과 조직위원회의 목표, 일이 어떻게 다른지도 설명 부탁드립니다. • 올림픽을 통한 지역발전을 도모하는데 있어, 조직위원회가 우선적으로 생각하는 분야와 지역주민이 우선적으로 생각하는 분야에 차이가 있습니까? 있다면 설명 부탁드립니다.
추가적 질문 • 횡계리 지역주민들의 요구나 필요가 올림픽 준비과정에 충분히 반영되고 있다고 느끼시나요? 반영되고 있다면, 그 과정을 자세히 설명 부탁드립니다. 만약에 반영되지 않고 있다면, 그 이유나 걸림돌이 무엇입니까? • 올림픽 개최 도전과 개최 결정 후 준비과정에 있어 횡계리 지역주민들이 의사 결정 과정에 참여하실 수 있었나요? 참여하셨다면, 그 과정을 설명 부탁드립니다. 참여하지 못하셨다면, 그 이유나 걸림돌은 무엇이었습니까? • 개인적인 의견을 여쭙겠습니다. 횡계리 지역주민들은 올림픽 개최를 원하셨습니까? 지금은 올림픽에 대해 어떻게 생각하시나요? 귀하와 지역주민들이 올림픽 개최를 통해 어떤 이익을 얻을 수 있을 것이라 생각하십니까? 이유는 무엇입니까?

인터뷰 가이드 (2018 평창 동계올림픽 조직위원회 직원들)

묘사에 관한 질문	
도입 질문	- 조직위에서의 평범한 하루 일과와 일상에 대해 설명해 주시겠습니까? 어떤 일을 하십니까? - 평소에 일하는 업무의 공간은 어떠합니까? 2018 동계올림픽 개최와 관련해서 횡계리에 일어나고 있는 변화에 대해 설명해 주시겠습니까? - 올림픽 개최 준비과정에서 횡계리의 지역 발전과 관련된 일들이 일어난다면, 어떤 것들이 있습니까? - 올림픽 개최와 관련해서 횡계리의 지역 발전에 대해 전해 듣거나 알게 된 이야기들이 있습니까? 있다면, 어떤 것들이 있습니까?
예시 질문	- 횡계리 지역주민들, 정치인들과 함께 하는 주민회의나 지역주민 공청회 따위에 참여해보신 적이 있습니까? 있다면 설명 부탁드립니다. - 국제 올림픽위원회(IOC) 직원들과 의사소통을 해보신 적이 있다면, 그 경험에 대해 설명 부탁드립니다. 지역주민들과 함께 공청회 따위의 모임에 참여해보신 적이 있다면, 그 경험에 대해 설명 부탁드립니다. - 올림픽 개최를 통해 횡계리의 지역 발전이 이루어지고 있다면, 대표적인 예시를 들어주시겠습니까? 설명 부탁드립니다.
경험 질문	- 평창 조직위원회 직원으로서, 국제 올림픽위원회와 일하는 경험은 어떻습니까? 횡계리 지역주민들과 일하는 경험은 어떻습니까? - 올림픽 조직위원회 직원으로 2016 년 6 월부터 횡계리에서 지내오신 경험은 어떠합니까? - 횡계리의 지역발전과 관련하여 보고, 듣고, 일하신 경험이 있다면 설명 부탁드립니다. - 지역주민 공청회나 주민회의 (반상회 등)에서 횡계리 지역주민들과 의사소통을 한 경험이 있으십니까? 주로 어떤 발언을 하셨습니까? 무엇을 느끼셨습니까? 조직위 직원들과 지역 주민 사이에 갈등이나 언쟁, 논쟁이 발생하기도 했나요? 설명 부탁드립니다. - 조직위원회 직원으로 지금까지 일하시면서, 귀하의 업무에 있어 가장 우선순위는 무엇이었습니까?
사회 구조에 관한 질문	
- 횡계리의 지속 가능한 지역발전을 이루는데 있어 조직위원회와 귀하의 역할은 무엇이라고 생각하십니까? - 조직위원회의 업무가 횡계리의 지역발전과 어떤 관련이 있다고 생각하십니까? - 올림픽 조직위원회에서 수행하는 업무들이 횡계리 지역발전에 기여한다고 생각하시나요? 이유는 무엇입니까? - 횡계리의 지역발전을 이루는데 있어, 지역주민들의 역할이 얼마나 중요하다고 생각하시나요? 설명 부탁드립니다.	

• 2018 동계올림픽 개최 준비과정 상에 있어, 귀하가 경험을 통해 인식하시는 권력관계에 대해 설명 부탁드립니다. 누가, 혹은 어떤 조직이 횡계리의 지역발전에 있어 주도권을 쥐고 있다고 생각하십니까?
비교/대조에 관한 질문 • 조직위원회 직원으로서 올림픽을 통한 지역발전에 귀하가 추구하시는 목표, 그리고 현재 하고 계시는 일이 있다면 설명해 주시기 바랍니다. 그리고 귀하의 목표나 일과 지역주민들의 목표, 일이 어떻게 다른지도 설명 부탁드립니다. • 올림픽을 통한 지역발전을 도모하는데 있어, 조직위원회가 우선적으로 생각하는 분야와 지역주민이 우선적으로 생각하는 분야에 차이가 있습니까? 있다면 설명 부탁드립니다.
추가적 질문 • 횡계리 지역주민들의 요구나 필요가 올림픽 준비과정에 충분히 반영되고 있다고 느끼시나요? 반영되고 있다면, 그 과정을 자세히 설명 부탁드립니다. 만약에 반영되지 않고 있다면, 그 이유나 걸림돌이 무엇입니까? • 올림픽 개최 도전과 개최 결정 후 준비과정에 있어 횡계리 지역주민들이 의사 결정 과정에 참여할 수 있었다고 보십니까? 참여했다고 보신다면, 그 과정을 설명 부탁드립니다. 참여하지 못했다고 보신다면, 그 이유나 걸림돌은 무엇이었습니까? • 개인적인 의견을 여쭙겠습니다. 횡계리 지역주민들이 올림픽 개최를 원했다고 생각하십니까? 귀하가 업무과정에서 보고, 듣고, 경험하신 바에 따르면 지역주민들의 의견은 어떠합니까? 횡계리 지역주민들이 올림픽 개최를 통해 어떤 이익을 얻을 수 있을 것이라 생각하십니까? 이유는 무엇입니까?

APPENDIX P: Interview Guides for Second Fieldwork (English)

Interview Guide for Daegwallyeong-myeon residents: New participants (Spradley, 1979)

Descriptive questions	
Tour questions	• How would you describe your average working day at the Daegwallyeong-myeon? What do you do? • How would you describe the space of your work? • How would you describe the change happened in town because of the 2018 Winter Olympic Games? • How would you describe the community-level development practices related to the Olympic? • How would you describe what you have heard or been notified about Daegwallyeong-myeon's development through the Olympic Games?
Example questions	• How would you recount an example of a particular day you participated in any kinds of community meeting, public discussion, public hearing, or visiting of politicians or the International Olympic Committee members? • How would you explain about an example of a particular communication or interaction between you (or your neighbors in Daegwallyeong-myeon) and the members of the Organizing Committee? • Can you suggest an example of the developmental processes and/or consequences of Daegwallyeong-myeon as an Olympic hosting town?
Experience questions	• How would you describe your lived experiences as a resident of the 2018 Olympic hosting town? • How would you describe your participation, if any, regarding Daegwallyeong-myeon's development? • Throughout your lived experiences since the first bid preparation in early 2000's until now, how would you describe your life as a local resident has changed because of the Winter Olympic Games? • How would you describe the similarities and/or differences you recognize between the plan for the Olympic development and the consequences of the development, particularly regarding the social relationship among residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon?

Native-language questions	Questions will be crafted after conducting observation for a week or two, in order to acquire their own use of terms.
Structural/explanation questions	
- What did the local residents want and need regarding Daegwallyeong-myeon's sustainable development, and what did the residents obtain from the Games? - How do you think the 2018 Winter Olympic Games have contributed to the development of Daegwallyeong-myeon? - How do you think the Organizing Committee's work contributes to the development of Daegwallyeong-myeon? - How do you think the role of the local residents is important in achieving Daegwallyeong-myeon's development? - How would you map the power relations within the preparation process of the 2018 Winter Olympic Games? Where would you put yourself as the local residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon? - How would you explain the dynamics of solidarity among local residents in relation to the Olympic Games? Do you think because of the Games, solidarity in the community has been enhanced? If not, what do you think is the reason?	
Contrast questions	
- How is your work and goal as a local resident of Daegwallyeong-myeon different from the Organizing Committee's work and goal regarding the Olympic Games and community development? - What is the difference between the Organizing Committee's priority and the local residents' priority regarding the Olympic Games and community development? - Is there any difference or change that has happened after the Olympic Games to the solidarity and social networks among local residents? Do you think the difference/change is positive or negative? Please explain the reason.	
Supplementary questions	
- Do you think the local residents' needs were reflected enough throughout the Olympic planning processes? If yes, how did you actually do it? If not, what do you think the reason? - Do you think the local residents have had any opportunity to participate in decision-making process regarding the Olympic Games? - In your opinion, do you think that the local residents have wanted the Olympic Games? Do you think that yourself and other residents are benefited by the Olympic Games? - What do you think the most important impact of the Olympic Games on the social relationships among local residents?	

Interview Guide for members of the Organizing Committee: New participants (Spradley, 1979)

Descriptive questions	
Tour questions	• How would you describe your average working day at the Organizing Committee? • How would you describe the space of your work, for example, your office and this local town of Daegwallyeong-myeon? • How would you describe the space of the 2018 Winter Olympic Games? • How would you describe the community-level development plan of the Organizing Committee and the International Olympic Committee?
Example questions	• How would you recount an example of a particular working day you engaged with local residents as a member of the Organizing Committee that you will never forget? • Can you talk about an example of a particular communication or interaction between you and the International Olympic Committee, and between you and Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents? • Can you suggest an example of the developmental processes of Daegwallyeong-myeon as a hosting town?
Experience questions	• How would you describe your working experiences with the International Olympic Committee? How would you describe your working experiences with the local residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon? • How would you describe your working experiences regarding Daegwallyeong-myeon's development? • When there were meetings with the local residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon, what did you do exactly and how did you feel about it? Were there any conflicts between the Organizing Committee and the residents? • Throughout your work experiences at the Organizing Committee, what has been the first priority of your work?
Native-language questions	• Questions will be crafted after conducting observation for a week or two, in order to acquire their own use of terms.

Structural/explanation questions
• How would you describe the Organizing Committee's role regarding Daegwallyeong-myeon's sustainable development? • How do you think your work at the Organizing Committee is related to the development of Daegwallyeong-myeon? • Do you think the Organizing Committee's work is important in achieving Daegwallyeong-myeon's development? If yes, how is it important? If not, why? • How would you map the power relations within the preparation process of the 2018 Winter Olympic Games? Where would you put yourself and the local residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon?
Contrast questions
• How is your work and goal as a member of the Organizing Committee different from the local residents' work and goal regarding the Olympic Games and community development? • What is the difference between the Organizing Committee's priority and the local residents' priority regarding the Olympic Games and community development?
Supplementary questions
• Do you think the local residents' needs are reflected enough in the preparation process? If yes, how do you actually do it? If not, what do you think the reason? • Do you think the local residents have had any opportunity to participate in the decision-making process regarding the Olympic Games? • In your opinion, do you think that the local residents have wanted the Olympic Games? Do you think they will be benefited by the Olympic Games?

Interview Guide for Daegwallyeong-myeon residents: Follow-ups (Spradley, 1979)

Descriptive questions	
Tour questions	• How would you describe changes that have occurred to your average working day in Daegwallyeong-myeon after the Olympics? • How would you describe changes in Daegwallyeong-myeon as a result of the Olympics? • Throughout the Olympics, what happened in town regarding Daegwallyeong-myeon's development through the Olympic Games?
Example questions	• Can you suggest an example of the developmental outcomes of Daegwallyeong-myeon as an Olympic hosting town? Do you see the outcomes as sustainable? • Can you suggest examples of positive and/or negative impact of the Olympics on the community of Daegwallyeong-myeon?
Experience questions	• How would you describe the changes that have happened to the social relationships, networks, and solidarity among Daegwallyeong-myeon's residents after the Olympics? • How would you describe the similarities and/or differences you recognize between the plan for Olympic development and the consequences of the development, particularly regarding the social relationship among residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon?
Structural/explanation questions	
• How do you think the 2018 Winter Olympic Games have contributed to the community development of Daegwallyeong-myeon? • How do you think the Organizing Committee's work has contributed to the development of Daegwallyeong-myeon? • How would you map the power relations throughout the processes of the 2018 Winter Olympic Games? Where would you put yourself as the local residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon? Who do you think holds the most influence/power in initiating community development of Daegwallyeong-myeon? • How would you explain the dynamics of solidarity among local residents in relation to the Olympic Games? Do you think because of the Games, solidarity in the community has been enhanced? If not, what do you think is the reason?	

Contrast questions
• Is there any difference or change that has happened after the Olympic Games to the solidarity and social networks among local residents? Do you think the difference/change is positive or negative? Please explain the reason.
Supplementary questions
• Do you think the local residents' needs were reflected enough throughout the Olympic Games planning processes? If yes, how did you actually do it? If not, what do you think was the reason? • In your opinion, do you think that the local residents have wanted the Olympic Games? Do you think that you and other residents have benefited from the Olympic Games? • What do you think is the most important impact of the Olympic Games on the social relationships among local residents?

Interview Guide for members of the Organizing Committee: Follow-ups (Spradley, 1979)

Descriptive questions	
Tour questions	• How would you describe your average working day as a closing down team member of the Organizing Committee? • Can you describe your work on the closing down team, particularly related to the post-Olympic community development of Daegwallyeong-myeon?
Example questions	• Can you suggest examples of community-level developmental processes of Daegwallyeong-myeon as a hosting town, including both pre- and post-Olympics?
Experience questions	• How would you describe your working experiences as a closing down team member with the International Olympic Committee? • How would you describe your working experiences as a closing down team member with the local residents of Daegwallyeong-myeon? • How would you describe the role and mission of the closing down team regarding community-level sustainable development of Daegwallyeong-myeon? • What are your work priorities as a closing down team member?
Structural/explanation questions	
• How would you describe the influences the Olympics have had on the local atmosphere? • How would you describe the influence the Olympics have had on the social relationships and solidarity among local residents? • What do you think is you and your team's role in achieving Daegwallyeong-myeon's post-Olympic sustainable development? • Within the Olympic preparation and closing down processes, how do you map the power relations? Who do you think has held the influence/power in initiating community development of Daegwallyeong-myeon?	
Contrast questions	
• Is there any difference or change that has happened after the Olympic Games to the solidarity and social networks among local residents? Do you think the difference/change is positive or negative? Please explain the reason.	

Supplementary questions
• Do you think the local residents' needs were reflected enough throughout the Olympic planning processes? If yes, how did you actually do it? If not, what do you think was the reason? • In your opinion, do you think that the local residents have wanted the Olympic Games? Do you think that residents benefit from the Olympic Games? • What do you think is the most important impact of the Olympic Games on the social relationships among local residents?

APPENDIX Q: Interview Guides for Second Fieldwork (Korean)

인터뷰 가이드 (대관령면 지역 주민 중 새로운 참여자들)

묘사에 관한 질문	
도입 질문	- 대관령면에서의 평범한 하루 일과와 일상에 대해 설명해 주시겠습니까? 어떤 일을 하십니까? - 평소에 일하는 업무의 공간은 어떠합니까? 2018 동계올림픽 개최와 관련해서 대관령면에 일어난 변화에 대해 설명해 주시겠습니까? - 올림픽 개최 준비과정과 올림픽 기간, 그리고 올림픽이 끝난 후까지의 기간 동안에 대관령면의 지역 발전과 관련하여 어떤 중요한 일들이 있었습니까? - 올림픽 개최와 관련해서 대관령면의 지역 발전에 대해 전해 듣거나 알게 된 이야기들이 있습니까? 있다면, 어떤 것들이 있습니까?
예시 질문	- 올림픽 조직위원회 직원들이나 정치인들과 함께 하는 주민회의나 지역주민 공청회 따위에 참여해보신 적이 있습니까? 있다면 설명 부탁드립니다. - 조직위원회 직원들과 의사소통을 해보신 적이 있거나, 함께 공청회 따위의 모임에 참여해보신 적이 있다면 그 경험에 대해 설명 부탁드립니다. - 올림픽 개최를 통해 대관령면의 지역 발전이 이루어졌다면, 대표적인 예시를 들어주시겠습니까? 설명 부탁드립니다. 그 발전이 지속가능하다고 생각하십니까?
경험 질문	- 올림픽 개최지의 지역 주민으로 살아가는 경험은 어떠합니까? 개최지 지역주민으로서 의사결정 과정 따위에 참여하셨다면, 그 경험에 대해 설명 부탁드립니다. - 지역주민 공청회나 주민회의 (반사회 등)에서 주로 어떤 발언을 하셨습니까? 무엇을 느끼셨습니까? 조직위 직원들과 지역 주민 사이에 갈등이나 언쟁, 논쟁이 발생하기도 했나요? 지역 주민들 간의 관계는 어떻게 달라졌습니까? 설명 부탁드립니다. - 평창의 첫번째 올림픽 도전부터 2011 년 세번째 도전의 성공, 그리고 2017 년 현재까지 근 20 년에 걸쳐 대관령면 지역주민으로 살아오신 경험이나 어려움에 대해 설명 부탁드립니다. 귀하의 삶에 어떤 변화가 있었는지요? 주민들 간의 관계에 어떤 긍정적/부정적 영향이 있었다면 설명 부탁드립니다. - 올림픽으로 인한 대관령면의 발전에 대한 질문 드립니다. 기존의 대관령면 발전 계획과 실제 올림픽 후에 나타난 결과 면에서 어떤 차이가 있는지 설명 부탁드립니다. 올림픽 후에도 지속될 수 있는 발전 계획이 있었나요? 그렇다면 계획대로 이루어졌나요?
사회 구조에 관한 질문	
- 대관령면 지역주민들께서 올림픽을 통한 지속 가능한 지역발전에 관련하여 필요로 하시고, 원하시는 방향은 어떠합니까? 2018 동계올림픽이 대관령면 지역발전에 기여해왔거나, 앞으로 기여할 것이라고 생각하시나요? 이유는 무엇입니까? - 올림픽 조직위원회에서 수행하는 업무들이 대관령면 지역발전에 기여한다고 생각하시나요? 이유는 무엇입니까?	

• 대관령면의 지역발전을 이루는데 있어, 지역주민들의 역할이 얼마나 중요하다고 생각하시나요? 설명 부탁드립니다. • 2018 동계올림픽 개최 준비과정 상에 있어, 귀하가 경험을 통해 인식하시는 권력관계에 대해 설명 부탁드립니다. 누가, 혹은 어떤 조직이 대관령면의 지역발전에 있어 주도권을 쥐고 있다고 생각하십니까? • 2018 동계올림픽이 지역주민들 간의 연대와 단합에 어떤 영향을 미쳤다고 생각하십니까? 긍정적/부정적 영향을 미쳤다면, 그 이유는 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?
비교/대조에 관한 질문 • 대관령면 지역주민으로서 올림픽을 통한 지역발전에 귀하가 추구하시는 목표, 그리고 현재 하고 계시는 일이 있다면 설명해 주시기 바랍니다. 그리고 귀하의 목표나 일과 조직위원회의 목표, 일이 어떻게 다른지도 설명 부탁드립니다. • 올림픽을 통한 지역발전을 도모하는데 있어, 조직위원회가 우선적으로 생각하는 분야와 지역주민이 우선적으로 생각하는 분야에 차이가 있습니까? 있다면 설명 부탁드립니다. • 올림픽 전과 후에 지역주민들 간의 연대나 단합에 어떤 변화가 있었습니까? 전과 후의 차이가 있다면 설명 부탁드립니다.
추가적 질문 • 대관령면 지역주민들의 요구나 필요가 올림픽 준비과정에 충분히 반영되었습니까? 반영되었다면, 그 과정을 자세히 설명 부탁드립니다. 만약에 반영되지 않았다면, 그 이유나 결림돌이 무엇이었습니까? • 올림픽 개최 도전과 개최 결정 후 올림픽을 실제로 치뤄내기 까지 대관령면 지역주민들이 의사 결정 과정에 참여하실 수 있었나요? 참여하셨다면, 그 과정을 설명 부탁드립니다. 참여하지 못하셨다면, 그 이유나 결림돌은 무엇이었습니까? • 개인적인 의견을 여쭙겠습니다. 대관령면 지역주민들은 올림픽 개최를 원하십니까? 지금은 올림픽에 대해 어떻게 생각하시나요? 귀하와 지역주민들이 올림픽 개최를 통해 어떤 이익을 얻을 수 있을 것이라 생각하십니까? 이유는 무엇입니까? • 올림픽이 지역주민들의 사회적 관계에 미친 가장 큰 영향은 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?

인터뷰 가이드 (2018 평창 동계올림픽 조직위원회 직원들 중 새로운 참여자들)

묘사에 관한 질문	
도입 질문	- 조직위에서의 평범한 하루 일과와 일상에 대해 설명해 주시겠습니까? 어떤 일을 하십니까? - 평소에 일하는 업무의 공간은 어떠합니까? 2018 동계올림픽 개최와 관련해서 대관령면에 일어나고 있는 변화에 대해 설명해 주시겠습니까? - 올림픽 개최 준비과정에서 대관령면의 지역 발전과 관련된 일들이 일어난다면, 어떤 것들이 있습니까? - 올림픽 개최와 관련해서 대관령면의 지역 발전에 대해 전해 듣거나 알게 된 이야기들이 있습니까? 있다면, 어떤 것들이 있습니까?
예시 질문	- 대관령면 지역주민들, 정치인들과 함께 하는 주민회의나 지역주민 공청회 따위에 참여해 보신 적이 있습니까? 있다면 설명 부탁드립니다. - 국제 올림픽위원회(IOC) 직원들과 의사소통을 해보신 적이 있다면, 그 경험에 대해 설명 부탁드립니다. 지역주민들과 함께 공청회 따위의 모임에 참여해 보신 적이 있다면, 그 경험에 대해 설명 부탁드립니다. - 올림픽 개최를 통해 대관령면의 지역 발전이 이루어지고 있다면, 대표적인 예시를 들어 주시겠습니까? 설명 부탁드립니다. 올림픽이 대관령면 지역 분위기에 미치는 영향은 어떠합니까?
경험 질문	- 평창 조직위원회 직원으로서, 국제 올림픽위원회와 일하는 경험은 어떠했습니까? 대관령면 지역주민들과 일하는 경험은 어떠했습니까? - 올림픽 조직위원회 직원으로 2016 년 6 월부터 대관령면에서 지내오신 경험은 어떠했습니까? - 대관령면의 지역발전과 관련하여 보고, 듣고, 일하신 경험이 있다면 설명 부탁드립니다. - 지역주민 공청회나 주민회의 (반상회 등)에서 대관령면 지역주민들과 의사소통을 한 경험이 있으십니까? 주로 어떤 발언을 하셨습니까? 무엇을 느끼셨습니까? 조직위 직원들과 지역 주민 사이에 갈등이나 언쟁, 논쟁이 발생하기도 했나요? 설명 부탁드립니다. - 조직위원회 직원으로 지금까지 일하시면서, 귀하의 업무에 있어 가장 우선순위는 무엇이었습니까?
사회 구조에 관한 질문	
- 대관령면의 지속 가능한 지역발전을 이루는데 있어 조직위원회와 귀하의 역할은 무엇이라고 생각하십니까? - 조직위원회의 업무가 대관령면의 지역발전과 어떤 관련이 있다고 생각하십니까? - 올림픽 조직위원회에서 수행하는 업무들이 대관령면의 지역발전에 기여한다고 생각하시나요? 이유는 무엇입니까? - 대관령면의 지역발전을 이루는데 있어, 지역주민들의 역할이 얼마나 중요하다고 생각하시나요? 설명 부탁드립니다. 2018 동계올림픽 개최 준비과정 상에 있어, 귀하가 경험을 통해 인식하시는 권력관계에 대해 설명 부탁드립니다. 누가, 혹은 어떤 조직이 대관령면의 지역발전에 있어 주도권을 쥐고 있다고 생각하십니까?	

비교/대조에 관한 질문
- 조직위원회 직원으로서 올림픽을 통한 지역발전에 귀하가 추구했던 목표, 그리고 그 목표를 위해 실행했던 일들이 있었다면 설명해 주시기 바랍니다. 그리고 귀하의 목표나 일과 지역주민들의 목표, 일이 어떻게 달랐는지도 설명 부탁드립니다. - 올림픽을 통한 지역발전을 도모하는데 있어, 조직위원회가 우선적으로 생각하는 분야와 지역주민이 우선적으로 생각하는 분야에 차이가 있었습니까? 있었다면 설명 부탁드립니다.
추가적 질문
- 대관령면 지역주민들의 요구나 필요가 올림픽 준비과정에 충분히 반영되었다고 느끼시나요? 반영되었다면, 그 과정을 자세히 설명 부탁드립니다. 만약에 반영되지 않았다면, 그 이유나 걸림돌이 무엇입니까? 지역주민들이 자신들의 요구와 필요를 도출함에 있어 단합이 잘 되었나요? 잘 되지 않았다면 이유가 무엇이라고 생각하십니까? - 올림픽 준비, 개최, 그리고 정리 과정을 통틀어 대관령면 지역주민들이 의사 결정 과정에 참여할 수 있었다고 보십니까? 참여했다고 보신다면, 그 과정을 설명 부탁드립니다. 참여하지 못했다고 보신다면, 그 이유나 걸림돌은 무엇이었습니까? - 개인적인 의견을 여쭙겠습니다. 대관령면 지역주민들이 올림픽 개최를 원했다고 생각하십니까? 귀하가 업무과정에서 보고, 듣고, 경험하신 바에 따르면 지역주민들의 의견은 어떠합니까? 대관령면 지역주민들이 올림픽 개최를 통해 어떤 이익을 얻을 수 있을 것이라 생각하십니까? 이유는 무엇입니까? 올림픽 전과 후를 비교하여, 대관령면의 동네 분위기나 지역주민들간의 관계가 어떻게 변했다고 생각하십니까? 긍정적인 변화와 부정적인 변화 둘 중에 어떤 쪽이 크다고 생각하십니까? 이유는 무엇입니까?

인터뷰 가이드 (대관령면 지역 주민: 후속 인터뷰)

묘사에 관한 질문	
도입 질문	• 올림픽 후 평범한 하루 일과와 일상에 변화가 있었다면, 그에 대해 설명해 주시겠습니까? • 2018 동계올림픽 개최와 관련해서 대관령면에 일어난 변화에 대해 설명해 주시겠습니까? • 올림픽 개최 준비과정과 올림픽 기간, 그리고 올림픽이 끝난 후까지의 기간 동안에 대관령면의 지역 발전과 관련하여 어떤 중요한 일들이 있었습니까?
예시 질문	• 올림픽 개최를 통해 대관령면의 지역 발전이 이루어졌다면, 대표적인 예시를 들어 주시겠습니까? 설명 부탁드립니다. 그 발전이 지속가능하다고 생각하십니까? • 올림픽 개최로 인해 대관령면에 어떠한 피해, 혹은 부정적 영향이 있었다면, 예를 들어 주시겠습니까?
경험 질문	• 올림픽 개최를 전후 하여 지역 주민들 간의 관계는 어떻게 달라졌습니까? • 올림픽으로 인한 대관령면의 발전에 대한 질문 드립니다. 기존의 대관령면 발전 계획과 실제 올림픽 후에 나타난 결과 면에서 어떤 차이가 있는지 설명 부탁드립니다. 올림픽 후에도 지속될 수 있는 발전 계획이 있었나요? 그렇다면 계획대로 이루어졌나요?
사회 구조에 관한 질문	
• 2018 동계올림픽이 대관령면 지역발전에 기여했다고 생각하시나요? 이유는 무엇입니까? • 올림픽 조직위원회에서 수행하는 업무들이 대관령면 지역발전에 기여했습니까? 이유는 무엇입니까? • 2018 동계올림픽 개최과정에 있어, 귀하가 경험을 통해 인식하시는 권력관계에 대해 설명 부탁드립니다. 누가, 혹은 어떤 조직이 대관령면의 지역발전에 있어 주도권을 쥐고 있다고 생각하십니까? • 2018 동계올림픽이 지역주민들 간의 연대와 단합에 어떤 영향을 미쳤다고 생각하십니까? 긍정적/부정적 영향을 미쳤다면, 그 이유는 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?	
비교/대조에 관한 질문	
• . 올림픽 전과 후에 지역주민들 간의 연대나 단합에 어떤 변화가 있었습니까? 전과 후의 차이가 있다면 설명 부탁드립니다.	
추가적 질문	
• 대관령면 지역주민들의 요구나 필요가 올림픽 준비과정에 충분히 반영되었습니까? 반영되었다면, 그 과정을 자세히 설명 부탁드립니다. 만약에 반영되지 않았다면, 그 이유나 걸림돌이 무엇이었습니까? • 개인적인 의견을 여쭙겠습니다. 대관령면 지역주민들은 올림픽 개최를 원하셨습니까? 지금은 올림픽에 대해 어떻게 생각하시나요? 귀하와 지역주민들이 올림픽 개최를 통해 어떤 이익을 얻을 수 있을 것이라 생각하십니까? 이유는 무엇입니까? • 올림픽이 지역주민들의 사회적 관계에 미친 가장 큰 영향은 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?	

인터뷰 가이드 (2018 평창 동계올림픽 조직위원회 직원들: 후속 인터뷰)

묘사에 관한 질문	
도입 질문	- 청산팀에서의 평범한 하루 일과와 일상에 대해 설명해 주시겠습니까? 어떤 일을 하십니까? - 현재 하고 있는 업무 중, 올림픽 후 대관령면의 지역 발전과 관련된 것들이 있습니까? 있다면, 어떤 것들이 있습니까?
예시 질문	올림픽 개최를 통해 대관령면의 지역 발전이 이루어졌다면, 대표적인 예시를 들어 주시겠습니까? 설명 부탁드립니다.
경험 질문	- 청산팀 직원으로서, 국제 올림픽위원회 및 올림픽 관련 외국 기관들과 일하는 경험은 어떠합니까? - 청산팀 직원으로서, 대관령면 지역주민들과 일하는 경험은 어떠합니까? - 청산팀 직원들과 지역 주민 간 관계는 어떠합니까? - 청산팀 직원으로서 귀하의 업무에 있어 가장 우선순위는 무엇입니까?
사회 구조에 관한 질문	
- 올림픽이 대관령면 지역 분위기에 미친 영향은 어떠합니까? - 올림픽이 대관령면 주민들의 관계나 단합에 미친 영향은 어떠합니까? - 대관령면의 지속 가능한 지역발전을 이루는데 있어 청산팀과 귀하의 역할은 무엇이라고 생각하십니까? 2018 동계올림픽 개최 및 청산 과정에 있어, 귀하가 경험을 통해 인식하시는 권력관계에 대해 설명 부탁드립니다. 누가, 혹은 어떤 조직이 대관령면의 지역발전에 있어 주도권을 쥐고 있다고 생각하십니까?	
비교/대조에 관한 질문	
올림픽 전과 후를 비교했을 때, 지역 분위기와 지역주민들 간의 관계 및 단합이 어떻게 달라졌습니까?	
추가적 질문	
- 대관령면 지역주민들의 요구나 필요가 올림픽 준비과정에 충분히 반영되었다고 느끼시나요? 반영되었다면, 그 과정을 자세히 설명 부탁드립니다. 만약에 반영되지 않았다면, 그 이유나 걸림돌이 무엇입니까? 지역주민들이 자신들의 요구와 필요를 도출함에 있어 단합이 잘 되었나요? 잘 되지 않았다면 이유가 무엇이라고 생각하십니까? - 개인적인 의견을 여쭙겠습니다. 대관령면 지역주민들이 올림픽 개최를 원했다고 생각하십니까? 귀하가 업무과정에서 보고, 듣고, 경험하신 바에 따르면 지역주민들의 의견은 어떠합니까? 대관령면 지역주민들이 올림픽 개최를 통해 어떤 이익을 얻을 수 있을 것이라 생각하십니까? 이유는 무엇입니까? - 올림픽 전과 후를 비교하여, 대관령면의 동네 분위기나 지역주민들간의 관계가 어떻게 변했다고 생각하십니까? 긍정적인 변화와 부정적인 변화 둘 중에 어떤 쪽이 크다고 생각하십니까? 이유는 무엇입니까?	

APPENDIX R: Certification of Translation



CERTIFICATE OF TRANSLATION FORM

Form to Report that Translations of Research Materials are Accurate

For research conducted in languages other than English, the University of Illinois IRB must have all versions of the research material [e.g. consents, recruitment, instruments, etc.] in both English and non-English to be retained in the research file. A certificate of translation is also required to verify the translations are accurate. Those who translate the material are to provide a brief description of their qualifications, skills or experience for serving in this role and sign the certificate of translation form.

- **Translation:** It is acceptable for an investigator listed as research personnel to translate the research material.
- **Timing of the Translation:** the research investigator(s) may wish to delay the initial translation until after the IRB has reviewed the English versions. Doing so may help researchers avoid multiple translations.
- **Modifications:** If the non-English documents are submitted to the IRB after initial approval, please submit a research amendment form along with the translated material and a copy of the certificate of translation.

IRB#: 17796

Principal Investigator: Jon Welty Peachey

Student Investigator [if applicable]: Na Ri Shin

Protocol Title: Contesting the socially sustainable development – The case of 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games and its hosting town of Hoenggye-ri

Translator's Qualifications: The student investigator is a native speaker of Korean (born and educated in South Korea). She has passed the official EPI Test managed by the University of Illinois.

Statement of Translation:

Translator's Name (Print): Na Ri Shin

I declare that I am fluent in and understand the English language and the Korean language. The non-English documents for the above-mentioned study dated, May 18th, 2017 are a true and accurate of the English documents dated, May 18th, 2017. In addition, local contact name and information are provided as well as currency of compensation, when applicable.

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Date: May 25th, 2017

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