The background of the cover is a photograph of a large stadium filled with spectators. A large, semi-transparent blue hexagon is centered over the image, serving as a backdrop for the title. The stadium's roof structure is visible at the top, and the crowd is seen in the lower half.

EDITED BY SIMON DARCY
STEPHEN FRAWLEY
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MANAGING THE PARALYMPICS



Managing the Paralympics

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Managing the Paralympics

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Foreword

It is both an honor and privilege to compose the foreword for **Managing the Paralympics**. It is a major contribution to the academic understanding and industry practice of the Paralympic Games.

As a former coach and leader of Paralympic sport in Canada since the 1960s, being elected as the founding president of the International Paralympic Committee, a role I held from 1989 until 2001, and as a passionate fan and observer of sport for athletes with disability, I have had a unique perspective on the Games' growth and evolution. I have attended every Summer and Winter Paralympic Games since 1968.

Since 1964, I have been working as Professor of Adapted Physical Activity at the University of Alberta and thus have appreciated and seen firsthand the importance and benefits of sport, physical activity, and recreation for persons with disability. This understanding is also reflected in important international declarations such as the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. Unfortunately, we also know that there are still many inequities for people with disability impacting their ability to participate.

One of the best ways to address these inequities and barriers is the hosting of well-managed Paralympic Games. As the pinnacle mega-sport event of the International Paralympic Committee, the Paralympic Games are crucial for the global exposure and changing the realities of the various challenges facing the community with disability. I have seen firsthand

how the exposure from a Paralympic Games can result in social change in both developing and developed nations so that all the people with disability have the opportunity to play.

While past Games have provided tremendous support and growth in the future, I would suggest that for the Paralympic Games to offer further opportunities for social change; more is needed. This book is a significant start to this process.

The chapters in this book provide valuable insights for academics and practitioners regarding the stakeholders, legacy, classification, sport delivery, accessibility, doping, National Paralympic Committees, volunteer management, media representation, marketing, and social media that make up the Paralympic Games. **Managing the Paralympics** thus explores the crucial considerations in managing a Paralympic Games and moves forward our knowledge and understanding of a much overlooked area of sporting excellence.

It is my hope that this book provides the necessary guidance and leadership for future administrators, coaches, athletes, and leaders of Paralympic sport.

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Acknowledgements

Managing the Paralympics follows on from previous publications by Palgrave into the management of mega-events in sport: *Managing the Olympics* (2012), edited by Frawley and Adair, and *Managing the World Cup* (2014), edited by Frawley and Adair. With the addition of Simon Darcy—an expert on para-sport—to the editorial team, *Managing the Paralympics* provides the first study of planning, logistics, policy and practice at one of the world's largest and most important sport events. This book is overdue recognition of the scale and reach of high performance para-sport: since 1988, the Paralympics have been staged shortly after the Olympics and used the same facilities. Cities bidding for the 'Games' have therefore been expected to incorporate both events in their host bid submission. The Paralympics are substantial by way of participant numbers—with approximately half the volume of athletes at the Olympics, and similar contributions by support personnel and volunteers. However, the event is arguably more complex due to the ten eligible impairment types, classification groupings for competition and extra sports specific to the Paralympic programme. The Paralympics are now also much more visible: crowds at the Games have grown substantially, while media coverage—whether on television or digital media—has improved both in quantity and quality. In short, high performance para-sport is now firmly on the public radar, whereas it was once little known, while the athletic status of Paralympians has been elevated to the point that their on-field

athletic achievements are of more significance to sport reporters than narratives of 'inspiration' and 'courage despite adversity'. Much has changed; but much still needs to change.

In framing this volume, the editors were conscious of the need to make the material research-driven. Each of the contributing authors has honoured the intent of the editors and we thank them for their collegiality and enthusiasm. As editors we also wanted to ensure the overall quality of the manuscript and subjected the chapters to review in addition to our own editorial processes. All of this has been important to ensure that the book has coherence and continuity in the development of the concepts and issues.

The editors are very grateful to the contributors in this book. As noted in the introduction to this, Paralympic scholarship has been dominated by sports science and this book has benefited from the recent introduction by the International Paralympic Committee's introduction of an IPC Sport Science Committee's Social Impact Working Group of which many of the authors to this volume are members. Further, the last two International Paralympic Committee VISTA conferences have had substantial social science programmes that included keynote addresses and plenary sessions contributed to by authors of this volume. For the academics who gave up their time and energy, this was a labour of love. All the authors are passionate about the Paralympic Games and Parathletes. The editors are also very appreciative of the support of Palgrave for their support of developing global understandings of managerial aspects of major sport events. The previous volumes together provide a rich collection for sport and event researchers, students and practitioners. The present book, *Managing the Paralympics*, certainly benefited from the keen eye and feedback of Maddie Holder, Liz Barlow and their team at Palgrave. We hope that all readers, but especially those from within the disability, disability sport and broader sport management communities will find value in this collection.

Contents

1	The Paralympic Games: Managerial and Strategic Directions	1
	<i>Simon Darcy, Stephen Frawley, and Daryl Adair</i>	
2	Stakeholders and the Paralympic Games	21
	<i>Mathew Dowling and David Legg</i>	
3	Accessibility as a Key Management Component of the Paralympics	49
	<i>Simon Darcy</i>	
4	Managing Legacy and the Paralympic Games	93
	<i>Laura Misener</i>	
5	Managing Paralympic Bodies: The Technology of Classification and Its Impact on (Dis)abled Athletes	113
	<i>P. David Howe and Paul J. Kitchen</i>	

6	Anti-doping for Paralympians	133
	<i>Daryl Adair</i>	
7	Managing Paralympic Sport Organisations—The STEEPLE Framework	155
	<i>Mary Hums and Eli A. Wolff</i>	
8	Leading the Team: The Role of the Chef de Mission at the Paralympic Games	175
	<i>Darren Peters, Stephen Frawley, and Daniel Favaloro</i>	
9	Volunteer Management at the Paralympic Games	193
	<i>Tracey J Dickson, F. Anne Terwiel, and Fiona Buick</i>	
10	Media and the Paralympics: Progress, Visibility, and Paradox	217
	<i>Gerard Goggin and Brett Hutchins</i>	
11	Communicating and Managing the Message: Media and Media Representation of Disability and Paralympic Sport	241
	<i>Ian Brittain</i>	
12	Marketing and Sponsorship at the Paralympic Games	263
	<i>David Legg and Mark Dottori</i>	
13	Paralympic Paradigm: A Research Agenda	289
	<i>Daryl Adair, Simon Darcy, and Stephen Frawley</i>	
	Index	295

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List of Tables

Table 1.1	The number and gender of athletes at the Paralympic Games from 1972 to 2012	8
Table 1.2	Eligible impairments	9
Table 2.1	Mitchell et al.'s (1997) types of stakeholder	26
Table 2.2	International Federations (IFs)	37
Table 2.3	International co-federations	37
Table 3.1	IPC accessibility guide overview	55
Table 3.2	Key technical requirements for accessible vehicles	73
Table 4.1	Delivering Paralympic legacy	99
Table 8.1	Leadership theories	178
Table 9.1	Estimate of volunteers for the Olympic and Paralympics Games	197
Table 9.2	Examples of strategic human resource management solutions for a volunteer legacy from mega sport events	211
Table 11.1	Number of photographs used from Paralympic Games by country	247
Table 11.2	Number of accredited media at the summer and winter Paralympic Games	251
Table 11.3	Largest audience by nation of the last five Paralympic Games on ParalympicSport TV	254

List of Figures

Fig. 1.1	Proportion of publications by discipline area	11
Fig. 2.1	Stakeholders of the Paralympic Games	28
Fig. 3.1	Games constituents' activities and experiences	60
Fig. 3.2	Access widths	62
Fig. 3.3	Limits of protruding objects for people with vision impairment	63
Fig. 3.4	Stadium seating diagram	65
Fig. 3.5	Unisex left-hand transfer accessible toilet and shower	68
Fig. 3.6	Accessible service counter	68
Fig. 3.7	Accessible guest room floorplan	80
Fig. 4.1	Legacy Definitions Cube adapted from Preuss (2007)	96
Fig. 9.1	Volunteer Canada's volunteer management cycle	198
Fig. 9.2	A strategic approach to Paralympic volunteer management	203
Fig. 9.3	VANOC online orientation and service training: Accessibility and Disability training	209

List of Images

Image 3.1	Integrated wheelchair seating and tactile ground surface indicators at Stadium Australia, the main stadium for the Sydney 2000 Olympic Stadium	66
Image 3.2	Integrated seating at Sydney Olympic and Paralympic games	67
Image 3.3 & 3.4	Signage at Sydney 2000 Olympic and Paralympic Games	71

1

The Paralympic Games: Managerial and Strategic Directions

Simon Darcy, Stephen Frawley, and Daryl Adair

Introduction

In 2020 it will be 60 years since the first Paralympic Games in Rome (International Paralympic Committee [2015a](#), [b](#)). Over that time the Paralympics have grown into the world's third largest sporting event behind the Olympic Games and Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup. Each successive Paralympic Games has made contribution to this growth: introducing new sports, encouraging more countries to attend, increased scope of broadcasting, record ticket sales, and alternative media channels to promote the event and its athletes. From 1960 to 2020 this has led to 11-fold increase in athlete participation, "from less than 400 in 1964 to over 4,250 at London 2012 and a projected 4,350 for Rio 2016" (International Paralympic Committee [2015b](#)). Geographically, those countries represented at the Games have grown from 21 to 164 competing for some 500 medal events

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up from 144. The number of sports has increased $2\frac{1}{2}$ times from 9 to 23, evolving from an event for wheelchair athletes to numerous activities involving nine different impairment types (International Paralympic Committee 2015b). The summer Paralympics now has a cumulative TV audience of 3.8 billion people and has an increasing presence on social media: at London 2012, for example, some 1.3 million tweets mentioned “Paralympic” (International Paralympic Committee 2015b). Like the Olympics, the focus of these statistics has often been on the summer Paralympics, but there has also been important growth in the winter Paralympic Games (Legg and Gilbert 2011).

As with the Olympics, the Paralympics is a significant mega-event that takes place every 2 years, with both summer and winter games. The planning to stage the Paralympics has much in common with the Olympics. Effectively, since Barcelona 1992, there has been an operational partnership whereby the Olympic and Paralympic Games are held in the same host city with increasing levels of operational partnership. This changed at Beijing 2008, where the organisation of both the Olympic and Paralympic Games became the official responsibility of the host city organising committee. The staging of the Olympics and Paralympics now requires more detailed understanding of key managerial aspects of the Paralympics that had not been required previously when bidding to host the Olympics. These considerations are not just about logistics alone; they also incorporate attitudinal and cultural engagement with a need to understand the nature of disability, disability sport and community attitudes. However, the Paralympics are arguably more complex due to the inherent nature of the event being for athletes with a disability from nine different impairment groups. Within those impairment groups are different classifications based on the individual’s ability. Impairment and its classification are at the core of what makes the Paralympics different and arguably more intriguing than the Olympics. This chapter therefore provides an overview to the classification system as a core element of the differentiation with the Olympics, and to provide a foundation for understanding Howe and Kitchin (2016) critique of the system.

There have been some significant books and edited collections that have contributed to the field of Paralympic studies from social science, arts and humanities and business perspectives. These include anthropology

(D. Howe 2007), history (Bailey 2008; Brittain 2012; Scruton 1998), general social science (Brittain 2010), event management case study (Cashman and Darcy 2008), legacy (Legg and Gilbert 2011) and the media (Jackson et al. 2014). However, there has not been an examination of Para sport from the perspective of managing the Paralympic Games; the present book is designed to fill that gap and, in doing so, develop knowledge about how the core elements of the Paralympic Games are addressed from a management perspective. While it is not possible to cover all the nuances of Paralympic event management in this first attempt to examine the field, we hope that the book makes a worthy contribution to our understanding of planning for and staging the Paralympic Games, and that it catalyses further research. We recognise that the topics covered in this book will be a starting point for more detailed logistical and operational aspects as the Paralympics becomes a focus of scholarship in the same way that Olympic and other mega-event research has been.

This opening chapter provides background discussion about the core elements of the Paralympic Games. It does so by providing a synopsis of the history of Paralympic development and the growth of the Games over the past 50 years. It then looks at one of the key elements that makes managing the Paralympic Games fundamentally unique—the challenge of athlete classification. The chapter concludes by examining the balance of Paralympic scholarship as it stands today.

Historical Context of the Paralympic Games

The International Paralympic Committee's (IPC) purpose is to organise the summer and winter Paralympic Games as the global governing body of the Paralympic movement. It acts as the International Federation for nine sports, as well as to supervise and co-ordinate relevant World Championships and other Para sport competitions. The vision of the IPC is “to enable Para athletes to achieve sporting excellence and inspire and excite the world” (IPC 2015a, b, np). However, there has long been tension between what the IPC claims by way of impact compared with wider perceptions and evaluations of such claims and their impact. There is, for example, robust debate about how effective the Games are in terms of

conveying a coherent message: are the Paralympics about “inspiration”—a narrative of pity, or are they now accepted as a showcase of “brilliance”—a narrative of performance. Tensions like this continue to exercise the minds of those who are Paralympic boosters, as well as those critical about the limitations and problems of the Movement (Darcy 2001, 2003; Goggin and Newell 2001; D. Howe 2007; P.D. Howe 2008a, 2011; Purdue and Howe 2012).

The Paralympics is the most prominent and recognised sporting event for athletes with a disability. Originally beginning as the 1948 Stoke Mandeville Games for Paraplegics, its origins are first said to have begun in 1960 at Rome, with the first use of the term Paralympics at the 1964 Tokyo Games. The Paralympics only really achieved significant global notice after being linked directly with the Olympic Games from 1988 onwards (Brittain 2010). Since then, the Paralympics have been held only a few weeks after the Olympics in the same city making use of the same venues. As Cashman and Richmond (2011) notes, “An Olympic endorsement proved a huge boost for the Paralympics, adding status and legitimacy. The timing of the Paralympics, two to three weeks after the Olympics, is also auspicious. By then, people have recovered from the surfeit of Olympic sport and are ready for another”, this time a very different idea sporting festival.

As history shows, Rome became the first city outside of Stoke Mandeville to host the Games, but the first official use of the term Paralympics did not occur until the Tokyo 1964 Paralympic Games (Brittain 2008; International Paralympic Committee 2015b) (Brittain 2010). Olympic and Paralympic Villages and precincts quickly became the focus of international attention from the moment the bidding cities express their interest (Scherer 2011). Prospective host cities and nation states have in recent times competed vigorously for the right to stage the Olympic and Paralympic Games, with each bid city expending tens of millions of dollars¹ in that process. Being selected by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to host an Olympic Games involves the expenditure of billions of dollars of public funds, whether for new or upgraded facilities, associated infrastructure and athlete accommodation (Darcy and Taylor 2013; Gold and Gold 2010).

¹ US Dollars is used generically for all currencies around the world, including Euros.

From a Para athlete perspective it is frustrating that in the midst of the bidding frenzy, it is rare that serious attention is given to issues of accessibility, disability or inclusion as they apply to the Paralympics. This was until London 2012: inclusion became one of the foundation platforms for the bid, with an unprecedented volume of academic and policy papers dedicated to the importance of not simply planning for a great Paralympic Games, but preparing for a post-event legacy that better included disability, accessibility and inclusion in the community (Hayes and Horne 2011; Office of Disability Issues 2011; Weed et al. 2012; Weed and Dowse 2009).

From 1948 to 1984, the history of the Paralympic Games was one of doing “as best as one could under the circumstances” rather than accomplishing best practice. The bidding frenzy to win the right to host the Games is, indeed, a relatively modern phenomenon. In the case of the Los Angeles 1984 Olympic Games there was an absence of any competition for a host owing to the tit-for-tat boycotting of the Olympic Games by some Eastern bloc countries in response to the boycotting of the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games by some Western countries. With a lack of local interest in the Paralympics being held in association with Los Angeles, a decision was made to split the hosting of the Paralympic Games between Stoke Mandeville and New York (Brittain 2012; Gold and Gold 2010). The subsequent Seoul 1988 Olympics proved to be a watershed for the Paralympics: for the first time a host welcomed both Games, with the Paralympics following on shortly after the Olympics. In Seoul the same venues and transport were used, the only major difference being a separate, purpose-built village for Para athletes (Brittain 2010, 2012; Gold and Gold 2007). This Olympic–Paralympic co-relationship became even better in Barcelona, which provided a model for others to follow (Domínguez et al. 2014; Legg and Steadward 2011). Disappointingly, though, the 1996 Atlanta Olympic and Paralympic Games revealed that new relationship to be ad hoc and vulnerable to the priorities of the local organising committee. As Darcy and Taylor (2013) note there were a series of well-documented problems in Atlanta, including the Athlete’s Village and the venues being left in a state of operational chaos, pointed to the need for greater formal integration between the organisers of the two Games (Appleby 2007; Gold and Gold 2007; Heath 1996).

Venues and villages become the focus of the building programme and the major capital costs. These capital costs occur over a relatively short time frame of 7–9 years and effectively accelerate infrastructure provision within the host cities. However, until recently many host cities did not plan beyond the Games' time period. For example, in the case of the Sydney 2000 Olympic and Paralympic Games, it was some 10 years after the event was held that the Sydney Olympic precinct had its first master plan (Cashman and Richmond 2011). In addition to venues and villages, host cities face major infrastructure investment across the Olympic precincts, athletes' village, transport and security that reflect the IPC's legacy vision. To empower the Paralympics, disability and accessibility, transforming it from an ad hoc consideration to one of strategic opportunity to contribute towards the material improvement of people with a disability within the host city and country of the Paralympic Games, the IPC developed the Accessibility Guide (International Paralympic Committee 2009, 2013). While a main motivation of the Accessibility Guide was that there were no globally accepted guidelines on accessibility, the document also identified broader aspirations of the Paralympic movement. In particular, the Accessibility Guide explicitly linked the Paralympic Games to the United Nations *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* (United Nations 2006), with which it sought to integrate the principles within the guidelines. In doing so, the IPC broadened the applicability of the guidelines to a "whole of journey experience" and sought to influence the accessibility of the host city as a destination. While this aspiration is to be applauded, the IPC also needs to resource legacy research at each Paralympic Games and have this embedded in planning documents.

Paralympic Games as a Mega-Event

Are the Paralympic Games a mega-event? Sport mega-events such as the Olympic Games and the Football World Cup display two central characteristics. The first relates to the external organisational factors that shape how they are managed and include: extensive global media coverage; the number of international tourists attracted to visit the host city/nation and attend the event; and the kind of impacts that emerge from hosting such events (Frawley and Adair 2013). Secondly, sport mega-events are shaped

by the extensive and complex internal organisational features that include the scale and scope of the event; the duration of the event and the time needed to prepare the necessary infrastructure; and the number of athletes, officials, fans and media that attend the event (Malfas et al. 2004). It can be argued then that while the Paralympic Games are not shaped to the same extent by external organisational factors as the Olympic Games or Football World Cup are, the internal organisational factors today are very similar, especially in terms of scale, scope and event duration. As the Paralympic Games continues to grow from a media and communications perspective, tourism demands (and the impacts that arise) are likely to become more significant.

Growth

As identified in the opening paragraph of this chapter, since the 1948 Stoke Mandeville Games the Paralympics have undergone phenomenal growth. That growth has also included increasing representations of impairment types, the volume and percentage of female athletes, the quality of sport event offerings and geographic representation across participant nations (Brittain 2009; Sherrill 1993). Table 1.1 presents the overall number and gender breakdown of participants at summer Paralympic Games to 2012. As the percentage of women column shows, there is a significant disparity between the overall numbers of men and women participating in the Games, albeit with a high of 35 % at London 2012. As identified in Table 1.2, the Paralympics has evolved from a single disability group of people with spinal cord injury who were wheelchair users to include amputee, les autres, cerebral palsy, intellectual disability and vision-impaired. These athletes are able to compete in some 25 summer and six winter sports.

Classification

Classification is the key area of differentiation between the Olympics and the Paralympics. The classification system of the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) requires the use of an evidence-based system (S. Tweedy

Table 1.1 The number and gender of athletes at the Paralympic Games from 1972 to 2012

Games	Number of athletes	Men	Women	% of Women
Heidelberg 1972	1004	798	210	20.9 ^a
Toronto 1976	1657	1404	253	15.2 ^a
Arnhem 1980	1973	1614	359	18.2 ^a
New York/Stoke Mandeville 1984	2102	1561	535	25.5
Seoul 1988	3059	2379	680	22.2
Barcelona 1992	3001	2301	700	23.3
Atlanta 1996	3259	2470	791	24.3
Sydney 2000	3881	2891	991	25.5
Athens 2004	3810	2645	1165	30.6
Beijing 2008	4011	2628	1383	34.5
London 2012	4302	2776	1510	35.1

Adapted and added from Cashman and Darcy (2008)

^aNote: Data are based on information contained/sourced by the IPC in the original hardcopy final results publications. Some information from earlier Paralympic Games (i.e. prior to 1984) such as relay and team members is not presented in these sources and therefore, these participation figures may not be complete.

and Vanlandewijck 2011). This system aims to reduce the likelihood of inequitable or one-sided competition where the “least disabled athlete always wins” (International Paralympic Committee 2016a). The classification system has two key roles: to determine an athlete’s eligibility to compete, and to group athletes for competition. Yet, the objectivity of the classification system and its philosophical foundation has been heavily critiqued by numerous authors (Buckley 2008; P. D. Howe 2008b; Jones and Howe 2005; Klenck and Gebke 2007; Peers 2009; Sean Tweedy and Howe 2011). Indeed, there have been several significant classification controversies that have embarrassed the Paralympic movement and led to the exclusion of impairment groups at different times during Paralympic history (Burkett 2010; Cashman and Darcy 2008; Jobling et al. 2008; Richter et al. 1992).

Paralympic athletes are grouped by the degree of activity limitation resulting from their impairment. Disabled athletes compete together in the same categories on the dual premise of fair competition and equal

Table 1.2 Eligible impairments

Impairment	Explanation
Impaired muscle power	Reduced force generated by muscles or muscle groups, may occur in one limb or the lower half of the body, as caused, for example, by spinal cord injuries, spina bifida or poliomyelitis.
Impaired passive range of movement	Range of movement in one or more joints is reduced permanently, for example due to arthrogryposis. Hypermobility of joints, joint instability, and acute conditions, such as arthritis, are not considered eligible impairments.
Limb deficiency	Total or partial absence of bones or joints as a consequence of trauma (e.g. car accident), illness (e.g. bone cancer) or congenital limb deficiency (e.g. dysmelia).
Leg length difference	Bone shortening in one leg due to congenital deficiency or trauma.
Short stature	Reduced standing height due to abnormal dimensions of bones of upper and lower limbs or trunk, for example due to achondroplasia or growth hormone dysfunction.
Hypertonia	Abnormal increase in muscle tension and a reduced ability of a muscle to stretch, due to a neurological condition, such as cerebral palsy, brain injury or multiple sclerosis.
Ataxia	Lack of co-ordination of muscle movements due to a neurological condition, such as cerebral palsy, brain injury or multiple sclerosis.
Athetosis	Generally characterised by unbalanced, involuntary movements and a difficulty in maintaining a symmetrical posture, due to a neurological condition, such as cerebral palsy, brain injury or multiple sclerosis.
Visual impairment	Vision is impacted by either an impairment of the eye structure, optical nerves or optical pathways, or the visual cortex.
Intellectual impairment	A limitation in intellectual functioning and adaptive behaviour as expressed in conceptual, social and practical adaptive skills, which originates before the age of 18".

Source: IPC (International Paralympic Committee [2016a](#))

opportunity to compete (Jones and Howe [2005](#)). However, as different sports require different activities, the impact of the impairment on each sport also differs. As a result, for classification to minimise the impact of impairment on sport performance, classification for the Paralympic Games is sport-specific (International Paralympic Committee [2016a, b](#)).

As such, for each sporting event the eligible impairment will have classifications for that specific sport. When evaluating an athlete, the classification panels must consider three issues, which are answered through the process of evaluation:

1. Does the athlete have an eligible impairment for this sport?
2. Does the athlete's eligible impairment meet the minimum disability criteria of the sport?
3. Which sport class describes the athlete's activity limitation most accurately?

With regard to eligible impairment, the IPC recognises ten specific forms of impairment outlined in Table 1.2.

The presence of an eligible impairment has to be proven by means of medical diagnostic information that must be presented at the time of athlete evaluation (IPC 2016a, b). Each sport's Paralympic classification rules describe how "severe" an eligible impairment must be for an athlete to be considered eligible (IPC 2015a, b). These criteria are referred to as minimum disability criteria: they are defined on the basis of scientific research, which methodically assesses the impact of impairments on sport activities. Scientific criteria also allow for the impact of individual training to improve performance (Tweedy and Vanlandewijck 2011). Because different disabilities will influence different sporting activities, the minimum disability criteria varies from sport to sport (IPC 2015a, b). Tweedy and Vanlandewijck (2011) also note that the application of a classification system for Paralympic athletes may have a significant impact on the success of individual Paralympic athletes by controlling which competitions and sports they are able to compete in. They state that "unfortunately issues relating to the weighting and aggregation of measures used in classification pose significant threats to the validity of current systems of classification" (Tweedy and Vanlandewijck 2011, p. 259).

Third, if an athlete is eligible for a sport, the final step of classification will be an assessment of which sport class the athlete is eligible to compete in. A sport class groups athletes with a similar "activity limitations" together for competition, so that they can participate equitably. Once again sport classes are different by sport. Additionally, sport class does

not necessarily comprise athletes with the same impairment. If different impairments cause similar activity limitation, athletes with these impairments are allowed to compete together. Currently there are 25 summer Paralympic sports and six winter Paralympic sports. While many of these sports are shared with the Olympic Games (e.g. athletics and swimming), other sports are Paralympic-specific (e.g. Boccia, wheelchair rugby, wheelchair dance sport and Goalball). For a detailed understanding of sport-specific classification systems for summer and winter games please see the following guides (International Paralympic Committee 2015a, 2016b).

Paralympic Scholarship

An examination of the Scopus research database provides an understanding of the relative comparison between Olympic and Paralympic scholarship. Searching on the term “Olympic” and “Paralympic” results in some 10,180 Olympic documents and some 840 Paralympic documents. Using this crude measure suggests that there has been some 1200 % more Olympic than Paralympic scholarship. When examining the disciplin-

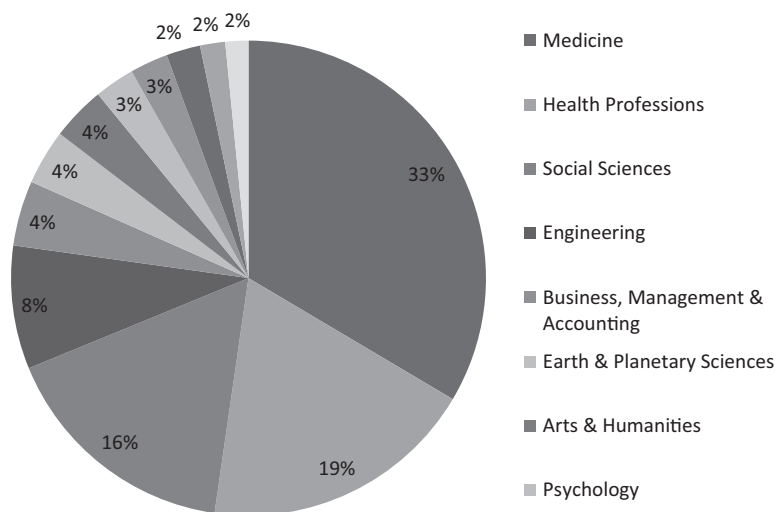


Fig. 1.1 Proportion of publications by discipline area (Source: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Company 2016)

ary origins of Paralympic scholarship, Fig. 1.1 shows the domination of medical and health-related scholarship accounting for over 52 %, with the social sciences and business/management accounting for 24 %. Prior to 2006 there had been a relative trickle of articles with a steady growth since 2006 with 20 articles peaking in 2012, with some 130 articles leading up to the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, followed by a slight decrease on average of 120 articles per year since. Of course, these figures need to be presented with the caveat that there is a bias towards English-language publications. This is supported by the publications by country: the UK with 36 % of all publications, followed by the USA (15 %), Canada (14 %), and Australia (11 %), before the first non-English speaking country of Brazil (6 %) and Germany (5 %), with China and Poland both contributing 4 % of publications.

Chapters

In Chapter 2 by Dowling and Legg, the management of Paralympic Games stakeholders is investigated. The complexity of the Paralympic Games is in part due to the various stakeholders who are responsible for key deliverables. Stakeholders such as the local organising committee, government, athletes, sponsors, media and broadcasters all play pivotal roles in Games management, and how they work together over time is important to the event quality.

Chapter 3 by Darcy focuses on disability access at the Paralympic Games, which is arguably the key logistical consideration of including the Paralympic Games within the bidding city documents and host city operational planning. Darcy examines the key components of accessibility required by host cities to successfully stage a Paralympic Games for athletes, spectators, employees, volunteers, contractors and other stakeholders. While the Paralympics and its origin event, the Stoke Mandeville Games, have been in existence since 1948, much of the early years of Paralympic sporting involvement were held in venues and villages that simply were not up to the standard required by athletes with disabilities. A very ad hoc approach was taken to accessibility where host cities “did what they could” and Paralympic organisers spent relatively little time

pressing accessibility as an issue due to their relative powerless position in finding cities willing to host the Paralympic Games as examined earlier in this chapter. The 1992 Barcelona Games and 2000 Sydney Games showed what could be done if a host city took on board International Best Practice and had the will to implement it within their Olympic and Paralympic planning. This was partly due to the lack of global accessibility standards. All this changed in 2009 with the development of the IPC Accessibility Guide (International Paralympic Committee 2009, 2013), which brought together the key accessibility components for host cities and set this within best practice for a “whole of journey” and “destination management approach” to access planning.

In Chap. 4 by Misener, the management of Paralympic Games legacy is explored. While much of the sport mega-event literature to date has been focused largely on the Olympic Games and Football World Cup, Misener emphasises that there is considerable scope for Paralympic Games legacy research (Frawley and Adair 2014). This chapter explores the potential for greater legacy management to maximise the benefits for people with disabilities—especially for cities and countries that host the Paralympic Games.

In Chap. 5 by Howe and Kitchin, the management of the athlete classification process is explored. The chapter starts by making it clear that the Paralympics should be a celebration of high performance sport, however, this view is often overshadowed by policymakers who are more interested in the (dis) in disability rather than athlete ability. The chapter therefore examines Paralympic classification from a critical perspective, drawing on a range of sociological and disability theorists. The chapter explores in particular how the classification process shapes the experience of athletes at the Games.

Chapter 6 by Adair, doping control at the Paralympic Games, explores the processes involved with drug testing, the rationale for anti-doping, and the policy apparatus underpinning the Paralympic Movement’s commitment to the World Anti-Doping Agency and its Prohibited List of Substances and Methods. Intriguingly, Paralympians are less likely to be tested than Olympians—particularly between Games, while adaptive athletes have more options in terms of pushing performance boundaries and seeking an “edge” over rivals than do their able-bodied peers.

In Chap. 7 by Hums and Wolff, a framework is presented that can be deployed by sports administrators involved in the management of the Paralympic Games and Paralympic sport more generally. The authors argue that the “STEEPLE” framework can be used in a variety of sport management settings to assist in decision-making and strategy development. The framework is based around seven key themes: social, technology, economic, ethical, political, legal and educational. Each of these themes is explored and discussed in the chapter.

In Chap. 8 by Peters, Frawley and Favaloro, the role of the Chef de Mission at the Paralympic Games is explored. Surprisingly, the position and place of the Chef de Mission at either the Paralympic Games (or the Olympic Games for that matter) has rarely been examined. Drawing on the leadership academic literature, the chapter explores the management practices of this important role. By drawing on the first author’s personal experience as a Chef de Mission, the chapter discusses the critical work that this role entails in managing various complex stakeholder relations.

In Chap. 9 by Dickson, Terwiel and Buick, the management of the volunteer programme at the Paralympic Games is explored. The chapter examines the role and contribution of Paralympic volunteers at the Games and the various motivations that drive this involvement. Drawing on strategic human resource management theory the chapter explains the steps involved for the efficient management of Paralympic volunteers for the delivery of the event as well as for post-event legacy.

Chapter 10 by Goggin and Hutchins examines the emergence, role and function of Paralympic media management with special emphasis on the rise of the new media. Drawing on critical disability studies, sport sociology, sport media studies and cultural studies theory the chapter explores the development of Paralympic media coverage from the early days of the movement through to Rio 2016. The analysis contained within the chapter is supported by a variety of data sources, including in-depth interviews with leading sport disability media operatives.

In Chap. 11 by Brittain, the traditional media and its coverage of the Paralympic Games is discussed and debated. The media can decide to cover a Paralympic Games for a range of reasons, whether that be financial, the importance for a particular target market, or due to its newsworthiness. Understanding why (or why not) the media decides to cover the

Paralympic Games is critical for the longer-term prosperity of the event and indeed the Movement.

In Chap. 12 by Legg and Dottori, the marketing of the Paralympic Games is examined. The marketing of the Paralympics has developed significantly over the past three decades. From the record ticket sales at Sydney 2000 to the quality consumer experience at London 2012, the marketing and promotion of the Games is reaching the same levels of sophistication as the Olympics (Frawley and Adair 2013).

In Chap. 13 by Darcy, Frawley and Adair, a brief synopsis of the book's contribution to knowledge is followed by recommendations for research that either complements or adds to what has been produced here. The editors make no claim of having produced a definitive guide on managing the Paralympics; rather, a stepping stone towards further research and improved understandings.

Summary

This first chapter provided a background discussion around the core features of the Paralympic Games. The chapter outlined a synopsis of Paralympic history and development including a discussion of the growth of the Games over the past half century. One of the key elements of the Game that makes its management challenging and fundamentally unique was explored—that being the system of athlete classification. Finally, we discussed and debated where Paralympic scholarship stands today.

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2

Stakeholders and the Paralympic Games

Mathew Dowling and David Legg

Introduction

This chapter adopts stakeholder theory as a heuristic approach to explore the stakeholders of the Paralympic Games and Movement. Any attempt to understand and manage the complex array of stakeholders that collectively make up the Paralympic Movement is a challenging task for a number of reasons. First, the term stakeholder is often used without a clear understanding of the term. For example, in the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games Final Report (IOC [2013](#)), the word “stakeholder” was used 57 times, making reference to government, commercial partners, transportation, and security agencies among others. But nowhere in the document was the full list of actual stakeholders

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provided. Furthermore, many organizations either influence or are influenced by the Paralympic Games and Movement and can therefore claim to have a “stake” within the Paralympic Games, but does that necessarily make them a stakeholder per se? Hence, the term stakeholder is one that is used so often that we rarely stop to reflect on its actual meaning.

Second, any attempt to define Paralympic Movement stakeholders is further complicated by the Paralympic Movement’s own definitional ambiguities and complexities. The International Paralympic Committee’s (IPC) Strategic Plan (2015–2018), for example, defines the Paralympic Movement as “a global network of individuals and organizations brought together through their commitment to provide sporting opportunities for all para-athletes – from grassroots to elite – and through the belief to contribute to a better world with equal opportunities for all” (9). The Movement itself can thus be defined based upon a multitude of perspectives from its various member organizations, such as National Paralympic Committees (NPCs) and International Federations (IFs), with this umbrella entity attempting to transcend and represent the different backgrounds of the organizations (IPC 2015; Legg and Steadward 2011).

Third, the difficulty of comprehending the complexity of stakeholder relationships is, in part, due to the rapid evolution of the Games themselves. The Paralympics have steadily but inconsistently grown since their inauguration in Rome 1960 whereby 328 athletes from 21 countries competed across nine sports, in contrast to 4237 athletes from 164 countries competing across 20 sports in London 2012 (Brittain 2014; Legg and Steadward 2011). The Paralympic Games and Movement therefore is a far more embryonic organizational landscape and therefore has less well-established inter-organizational relationships in comparison to the Olympic Games (Beacom and Brittain 2016; Brittain 2014).

Fourth, and linked to the above discussion, the Paralympic Games and Movement and its stakeholders are constantly changing and evolving. What was originally a focus on rehabilitation has now morphed into one focusing on high-performance or elite sport significantly greater in bureaucratic complexity. Furthermore, continued growth of the modern Paralympic Games in terms of its size and scale make the identification of key stakeholders very difficult. Today the Games are the second largest multi-sport event held in the world with multiple international corporate sponsors and increasing media coverage.

With the above caveats in mind, and in acknowledging the extent of the challenge that lies ahead, it is not our intention here to empirically or even systemically classify all Paralympic Movement stakeholders. As the above discussion intimates, any attempt to map the entire Movement would be problematic, if not impossible; although it should be acknowledged that a handful of scholars have attempted to do this specifically for “one-off” mega-events such as the Formula 1 Shanghai Grand Prix (Xue and Mason 2011) and the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games (Parent et al. 2011). Rather, our intention with this chapter is far more modest in that we specifically focus on, and deliberately delimit our discussion to helping readers to understand key stakeholders involved in the organization of a Paralympic Games that might not otherwise be addressed in other manuscripts that focus on stakeholders of Major Games.

To assist with that process, this chapter draws upon stakeholder theory (Freeman 1984) as a useful approach to examine the groups and individuals (i.e. stakeholders) that affect or can potentially be affected by a focal organizational entity (Friedman et al. 2004)—which in this case are the organizers of a Paralympic Games. More specifically, Mitchell et al.’s (1997) *Theory of Stakeholder Salience* is utilized as a useful heuristic and organizing framework in which to explore the increasingly complex and evolving organizational landscape of the Paralympic Games and to discuss the challenges, conflicts, and tensions faced by Paralympic Games’ organizers in the planning and management of the event itself. To that end, the purpose of this chapter is twofold: (i) to outline the roles and responsibilities of the key stakeholders involved in the organization of the Paralympic Games and (ii) to highlight stakeholder-related management issues faced by the Paralympic Games’ organizers when bidding for and hosting a Paralympic Games.

What Is a Paralympic Stakeholder?

Perhaps a useful starting point in understanding the role of key stakeholders in a Paralympic Games context is to briefly consider stakeholder definitions (see Mitchell et al. (1997) and Friedman et al. (2004) for more a comprehensive discussions of stakeholder definitions). Neoclassical economist definitions of stakeholders tended to focus on those entities that

have immediate or direct (often financial) influence over an organization, a focus that has become known as the traditional shareholder model of governance (Johnson et al. 2008). The Stanford Research Institute (1963, p. 91), for example, defines stakeholders as groups “on which the organization is dependent for survival”. Similarly, Alkhafaji (1989, p. 36) identifies stakeholders as “groups of whom the corporation is responsible”. By contrast, other scholars have emphasized a much broader set of organizational entities to define stakeholders that have gone beyond the normative core organizational relationships. Thompson et al. (1991, p. 209), for example, define stakeholders as groups “in relationship with an organization”. Freeman (1984, p. 46), however, defines a stakeholder more broadly “as any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization’s objectives”. This broader and more encompassing approach, which would later become known as the stakeholder approach, emphasizes the importance of a business in creating value in order to ensure long-term survival with no one set of interests dominating over another (Freeman 1984). Hence, any attempt to define a Paralympic stakeholder finds itself at a conceptual impasse and conundrum in deciding whether to adopt a narrow definition of stakeholders that identifies a small set of organizations “based on the practical reality of limited resources, limited time and attention, and limited patience of managers for dealing with external constraints” on the one hand, versus a broader more encompassing definition formulated “on the empirical reality that companies can indeed be vitally affected by, or they can vitally affect, almost anyone” on the other hand (Mitchell et al. 1997, p. 857).

Prioritizing Paralympic Stakeholders

One potential solution to overcoming this definitional quandary is to focus instead on stakeholder salience that is, the degree to which managers give priority to competing stakeholder claims. Mitchell et al. (1997) proposed a normative theory of stakeholder identification in response to a lack of definitional agreement as to “who and what really counts” in stakeholder management (Mitchell et al. 1997). This theory will now be outlined in brief (see Mitchell et al. (1997) and Friedman et al. (2004)

for more comprehensive overviews). Mitchell et al.'s (1997) typology of stakeholder salience is based upon three attributes: *power*, *legitimacy*, and *urgency*. *Power* is the ability of a stakeholder to gain access to coercive (physical), utilitarian (material), and normative (symbolic) means to influence other actors (Etzioni 1964). *Legitimacy* is the desirability and appropriateness of actions within a socially constructed system of norms, values, and beliefs (Suchman 1995). *Urgency* is the ability of an actor to call for immediate action based on time sensitivity and degree of likely impact upon stakeholder interests. For Mitchell et al. (1997, p. 868), "each attribute is a variable, not a steady state, and can change for any particular entity or stakeholder-manager relationship". Furthermore, "the existence (or degree present) of each attribute is a matter of multiple perceptions and is a constructed reality rather than an objective one", and "an individual or entity may not be conscious of possessing the attribute or, if conscious of possession, may not choose to enact any implied behaviors" (1997, p. 868).

Based upon the above three broad attributes (i.e. power, legitimacy, and urgency), Mitchell et al. (1997) developed a typology in order to classify the stakeholder environment into four groups: *Non-Stakeholders* (no attributes), *Latent Stakeholders* (one attribute, low importance), *Expectant Stakeholders* (two or more attributes, medium importance), and *Definitive Stakeholders* (three attributes, high important). From the identification of these classes Mitchell et al. (1997) propose seven stakeholder types (Table 2.1):

According to Mitchell et al.'s (1997) stakeholder salience model, then, Paralympic stakeholders vary in their degree of power, legitimacy, and urgency and may possess none, few, or all of these attributes. Furthermore, as with any other collective group of stakeholders, Mitchell et al.'s (1997) typology would suggest that Paralympic Games stakeholders should be more generally understood as dynamic and constantly changing, socially constructed based upon multiple perceptions, and organizational entities that are able to exercise their will either consciously or unconsciously. Based on the above, it is argued that Mitchell et al.'s (1997) typology of stakeholder salience provides a useful approach to conceptualizing Paralympic stakeholders by moving one's understanding of the Paralympic landscape beyond simply identifying and listing the organizations that directly

Table 2.1 Mitchell et al.'s (1997) types of stakeholder*Latent Stakeholders*

1. *Dormant Stakeholders*: Possess power to impose their will but have little or no interaction/involvement as they lack legitimacy or urgency
2. *Discretionary Stakeholders*: Possess legitimacy but no power. No pressure on managers to engage with this group
3. *Demanding Stakeholders*: Those with urgent claims, but no legitimacy or power. Demanding and irritating for management

Expectant Stakeholders

4. *Dominant Stakeholders*: Viewed by many as the only stakeholders of an organization or project. These stakeholders should matter to management
5. *Dependent Stakeholders*: Stakeholders who are dependent on others to carry out their will, because they lack the power to enforce
6. *Dangerous Stakeholders*: Those with powerful and urgent claims will be coercive and possibly violent

Definitive Stakeholders

7. *Definitive Stakeholders*: An expectant stakeholder who gains the relevant missing attribute

Adapted from Mitchell et al. (1997)

influence, or are connected to, the bidding, planning, and delivery of a Paralympic Games. We therefore adopt a similar rationale to Friedman et al. (2004) in that stakeholder theory generally and Mitchell et al.'s (1997) typology in particular, "provides a framework through which to understand managerial decision-making by focusing on the groups and individuals (i.e. stakeholders) who can affect or are affected by an organization's actions", (Friedman et al. 2004, p. 170) and therefore "allows for the comprehensive and systematic identification of constituents, claims, and expectations of those involved in different issues, and recognizes those groups with which an organization must effectively interact in order to be successful" (Friedman et al. 2004, p. 170).

In adopting a stakeholder theory perspective, what follows is an assessment of the roles and responsibilities of nine stakeholder groups that are unique to a Paralympic Games. These stakeholders include the IPC, IOC, NPC's, Organizing Committees for the Olympic Games (OCOGs), IFs, Regional Paralympic Committees, International Independent Disabled Federations/Groups, Able-Bodied Sport Organizations, and other Disability Sport Organizations (DSOs). By delimiting our discussion to these nine stakeholders, we are not suggesting that other stakehold-

ers such as the media, athletes, sponsors, and government (local and national) among others are not salient, nor are we even suggesting that they are any less important. Rather, they are not included in the discussion below because they are either dealt with in greater detail in other chapters or are discussed more comprehensively in the able-bodied/Olympic sport literature. To reiterate, our intention is not to provide an empirical examination of the organizations operating in organizational landscape of the Paralympic Games; we make no such claim—although we certainly encourage such attempts in the future. Rather, Mitchell et al.'s (1997) taxonomy is adopted below as a useful heuristic and organizing framework in order to develop a more dynamic conceptualization of the organizational landscape surrounding the Paralympic Games and therefore move the discussion beyond simply describing Paralympic stakeholders. This will then enable the reader to have a better understanding of how Paralympic Games are organized and perhaps how they can be better run in the future.

Key Stakeholders of the Paralympic Games

Before delving into the stakeholders under focus, it is necessary to caveat the discussion below by acknowledging that the Paralympic Games does not represent all disability sport. For example, the International Committee of Sports for the Deaf was at one time under the Paralympic umbrella but chose to go its own way, in part, because deaf people see themselves not as having a disability but as a linguistically separate group. Their choice to refer to themselves as “deaf people” rather than “persons who are deaf” reflecting person-first terminology often espoused in the disability sport literature (e.g. Perrier et al. (2014); Smith (2014)) is purposeful, because they are proud of their language and culture and thus compete at the Deaflympics (Legg et al. 2004).¹ Similarly, athletes with an intellectual disability are also predominantly served by an event

¹ Interestingly, in a similar manner to the Deaflympics, the British Paralympic Association language guide for media covering the Paralympics asks that “disabled athletes” are used in reporting, rather than “athletes with a disability”.

called the Special Olympics (see <http://www.special-olympics.org/>), but in a few instances, athletes with intellectual disability have competed at the Paralympic Games. The first time that athletes with intellectual disability were included into the Paralympic Games was 1992 when a separate Paralympic Games for athletes with intellectual disability was held in Madrid while athletes with physical disabilities competed in the Paralympic Games in Barcelona. A cheating scandal at the Sydney 2000 Paralympic Games resulted in athletes with intellectual disability being banned from the Paralympic Movement with the suspension ending in 2012 when a limited number of events (swimming, table tennis, and athletics) for athletes with intellectual disability were held at the London 2012 Paralympic Games (Tomlinson 2013). These examples serve to illustrate the broader disability landscape in which the Paralympic Games is situated. It should therefore be acknowledged from the outset that disability sport is a much broader organizational field in which the Paralympic Games and its various stakeholders operate.

A discussion of nine Paralympic Movement stakeholders that influence the bidding, hosting, and legacy of the Paralympic Games will now follow (Fig. 2.1).

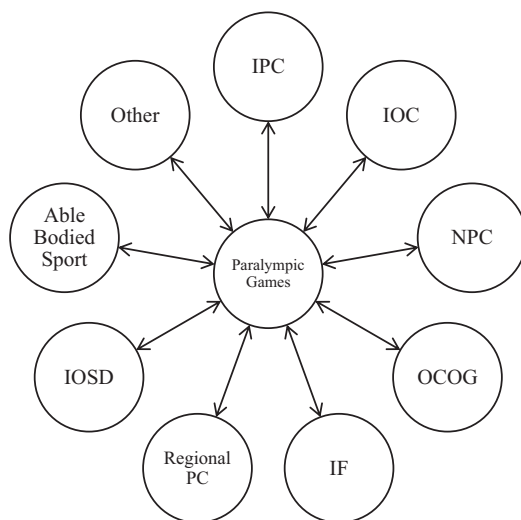


Fig. 2.1 Stakeholders of the Paralympic Games (adapted from Freeman 1984)

The International Paralympic Committee

The IPC is the international not-for-profit governing body of the Paralympic Movement and is thus responsible for the organization of the Paralympic Games and also functions as the IFs for nine Paralympic sports (IPC 2015). As an amalgamation of the four international DSOs, the IPC was officially founded in 1989 with a mission to “enable para-athletes to achieve sporting excellence and inspire and excite the world” with a shared Paralympic Movement vision “To make for a more inclusive society for people with an impairment through para-sport” (IPC 2015, p. 13). The IPC therefore serves a dual function of developing elite international sport while simultaneously acting as an advocate for disability rights. In relation to the former (i.e. developing elite international sport), the IPC can be viewed as a dominant (if not definitive) stakeholder in that it has both power and legitimacy in relation to the Paralympic Games themselves. According to Mitchell et al. (1997), this type of stakeholder often has formal mechanisms that acknowledge their importance to the relationship. These formal mechanisms are evident, for example, by the composition of the IPC that includes: a General Assembly, Governing Board, Management Team, and various Committees and Councils. As members of the IPC, IFs, NPCs, International Organizations of Sports for the Disabled (IOSDs), and regional organizations have the right to submit motions, vote at meetings, nominate candidates for appropriate IPC bodies, and participate in IPC activities with the most important and well known of these being the Paralympic Games.

The IPC’s power as a stakeholder primarily stems from it being the rights holder to the Games and its ability to govern them. In the system by which organizations are directed and managed, governance relates to defining expectations, delegating authority, verifying performance, and adhering to legal requirements (Girginov 2011; Hoye and Cuskelly 2007; Leopkey and Parent 2012). The issue of governance, therefore, is central to understand the stakeholder relationships within the Paralympic Games. The first reason for this is that the Paralympic Games are held in a complex organizational environment, thus managerial protocols based on principles of “good governance” are critical to effective project management and event delivery. Second, the Games’ demands and expectations from stakeholders are fundamental to organizational success. Third, the Games typi-

cally receive significant public funding, and therefore strong governance and accountability mechanisms are necessary requirements to justify public investment (Hoye and Cuskelly 2007). Difficulties sometimes emerge when stakeholders do not follow “good governance” principles, such as transparent policies, fiduciary checks and balance, ethical behavior, as well as leadership, vision, and a culture of integrity (SIRC n.d.).

In turning to the IPC’s role as an advocacy body for disability rights, Beacom and Brittain (2016) discuss the role of the IPC in international diplomacy. The authors (Beacom and Brittain 2016) suggest that the IPC is an embryonic actor in the international sporting and political arena and they identify that one of the major challenges faced by the IPC is its perceived legitimacy as an international advocate for disability due to the asymmetries that exist between high- and low-resourced regions. In particular, the Beacom and Brittain (2016) detail the asymmetries that exist in relation to nation representation (dominated by Europe, Asia, and Americas) and medal success whereby countries of European background won 82 % of medals at the Sochi 2014 Paralympic Games. Furthermore, the authors also highlight the inter-dependencies that exist between the IPC its various stakeholders such as NPCs, regional committees and governments; most apparently the tensions that arise in promoting their own advocacy interests. This perceived lack of legitimacy and interdependency would suggest that the IPC is not a definitive stakeholder in relation to its role as an advocacy body. One of the inherent challenges for the IPC is therefore balancing its dual role of developing high-performance disability sport on the one hand versus advocating for disability rights and inclusion on the other.

International Olympic Committee

It is here that the introduction of the IOC as a stakeholder of the Games is pertinent as the creation of the International Coordinating Committee (ICC) which was the precursor to the IPC came about, in part, because of the IOC’s request to correspond and collaborate with one umbrella organization as opposed to the four Independent Disability Organizations (see stakeholder group (7) for more detail). In 1984, Dr. Robert Steadward, on behalf of the Canadian Federation of Sports for the

Disabled (which would become the Canadian Paralympic Committee), circulated a proposal to every member nation in the ICC recommending a new organizational structure for disability sport with democratically elected governance. Steadward also requested that other nations and DSOs consider submitting alternative proposals from their national perspective. The ICC Secretariat, which was situated in Arnhem, the Netherlands, as a result of funds remaining there from the 1980 Summer Paralympic Games, organized a seminar in 1987 where representatives could debate and discuss the various proposals. Disability sport leaders spent the first day presenting their proposals, with the following two days dedicated discussing the various ideas. From these 23 resolutions emerged, the following being most essential:

- to change the structure of the existing organization;
- to include national representation as well as regional and athlete representation
- to reduce the number of classifications
- to implement a functional classification system
- to develop a structure by sport and not by disability
- to work toward integration with the IOC and other International Sport Federations. (Steadward and Foster 2003)

At the end of the meetings in Arnhem, an Ad Hoc Committee was elected with a mandate to take the 23 resolutions and develop a new constitution and bylaws for a global organization. Steadward, following the Arnhem Seminar, then met with IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch in Calgary, Canada, during IOC meetings pertaining to the 1988 Olympic Winter Games. Samaranch was presented with the results from the Arnhem Seminar and a request to develop a formal working relationship between the two organizations resulted in a memorandum of understanding regarding an integration policy (Legg and Steadward 2011).

A year later at the Summer Paralympic Games in 1988 in Seoul, Korea, the results of the Arnhem Seminars were further debated but no final decision made regarding the creation of a new global organization by which to govern over Paralympic sport. The Task Force instead presented its recommendations a year following to the member nations in Dusseldorf,

Germany, where some of the ideas were accepted in principle resulting in the creation of the IPC. On 22 September 1989, Dr. Steadward was elected as the IPC's founding president (Legg and Steadward 2011). For the next several years, the IPC operated without a formal headquarters and was managed principally by volunteers. In 1997, Bonn, Germany, was selected as the host city for the IPC Headquarters, which was officially opened in 1999. Understanding this history then allows a better understanding of how and why the various stakeholders continue to play roles and perhaps why conflict occurs among them.

The role of the IOC is impacted by this history and as a result it is one of the most important stakeholders for the Paralympic Games. Based on Mitchell et al.'s (1997) notion of dynamic stakeholder relationships, however, what might change is whether the IOC will continue to be such a significant stakeholder. At the 2010 Winter Paralympic Games in Vancouver, a debate (re-)emerged between the present and past presidents of the IPC over the "right place" for the Paralympic Games. Steadward, the former IPC president was interviewed in the Vancouver Sun regarding his view of the future of the Paralympic Games (Lee 2010a) where he suggested that it might be time for the Olympic and Paralympic Games to consider a further step along their evolution, whereby the two Games would be held at the same time and using the same venues, thereby creating efficiencies and letting the Paralympics take advantage of public support for the Olympics. "I wouldn't mind seeing the 100-metre men's final, the 100-metre women's final, the 100-metre wheelchair final and the 100-metre final for blind runners." Pointing to the intense national pride in Canada that emerged in Vancouver during the Olympics, he said it was a shame for the Paralympics to have to "re-energize" the city 10 days later (Lee 2010a).

Meanwhile, Sir Philip Craven, the current president for the IPC, rejected the idea of combining the Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games into one sport mega-event, asserting that the Paralympic Movement was doing just fine. Craven, who replaced Steadward in 2001, said that the Paralympics had become a force of their own over the past decade and would be diminished if melded with the Olympic Games:

Any coming together would, I think, by its very nature, be restrictive from a logistics point of view. We have it as we like it at the moment, and we

don't see any need to change. We believe by having the Paralympics and the Olympics separate, we're able to have our own identity while coming together in a festival of sport that gives a wonderful face to the world of what sport can do (Lee 2010b).

Gilbert Felli, the executive director of Olympic Games for the IOC in 2010, concurred saying that putting the two events together would only hamstring the Paralympic Games, resulting in fewer Paralympic athletes competing. Craven also dismissed the idea that the Paralympics should be held in advance of the Olympic Games to take advantage of the 10,000 media and broadcasters who descend on an Olympic host city. He said that the Paralympics want to stand on their own merit. "I believe the Paralympic Games have to attract the media in their own right" (Lee 2010b).

This conversation continues to reflect the aforementioned ongoing evolution of the Games and its relationship to the IOC. Since its advent, the Paralympic Games have been at a crossroads of sport and social change with multiple stakeholders—and key individuals in particular—trying to influence and steer (i.e. govern) the Games' evolution. Many (perhaps even those intimately involved in the movement) may still see the Paralympic Games as a glorified form of rehabilitation with a narrative of pity rather than performance (Perrier et al. 2014).

National Paralympic Committees

The third stakeholder is the NPCs recognized by the IPC as the legitimate official representatives of athletes from their respective countries. The IPC currently has 177 registered NPCs responsible for their national team's management and preparations for the Paralympic Games and other IPC-sanctioned competitions. While the host organizing committees and IPC are the rights holders for the Games and thus have dominant stakeholder roles, they would be incapable of hosting the Games without the NPCs that send national teams to the Games. The NPCs, therefore, can be viewed as discretionary stakeholders in that they have legitimacy as the organization responsible for representing Paralympic interests in a given geographical region (International Paralympic Committee, 2016a).

It is, however, necessary at this juncture to acknowledge that not all NPCs are created equal and it is important not to paint all NPCs with too broad of a brush in regard to their salience (i.e. power, legitimacy, and urgency) in respect of the Paralympic Games. To a large extent, presenting NPCs as a uniform group of stakeholders (as we have done here) runs the inherent risk of not fully encapsulating the massive asymmetry that exists between NPCs—especially that which exist between those NPCs located in the global north and those of the global south. Beacom and Brittain (2016) refer to this as the “gulf in resourcing for para-sport”. While each NPC may have formal rights and responsibilities within the Movement, many NPCs are completely under-resourced even to provide the most basic of services to high-performance para-athletes (i.e. transporting athletes to and from Paralympic Games) and most are very limited in their capacity in which to exercise any meaningful influence either on or within the Paralympic Games and Movement.

A related but distinct issue among stakeholders is the role of the able-bodied sport system versus the disability centric entities that founded the Paralympic Movement. Here the question is not so much about the Games themselves, but which stakeholders are responsible for preparing the athletes, coaches, officials, and other leaders competing and participating in the Games. Each NPC that attends the Paralympic Games is represented by a mission staff, a core leadership group responsible for the oversight and management of the team competing at the Games (Legg 2015). The leader is often given the title “Chef de Mission” and the mission administration she/he leads is an integral part of the Games as they provide the link between the host organizing committee, nations and their teams. They are the conduit between the host organizing committee, athletes, coaches, national governments, and media, among others. They are problem solvers, symbolic figureheads, and administrators with latent coercive, utilitarian, and normative power within their own networks (Legg 2015).

The mission administration then includes among them multiple stakeholders from each team. By their nature, every coach and athlete thinks they are the most important person—and it is often this self-driven attitude that got them to this position in the first place. Balancing demands from multiple and perhaps competing demands can thus be very diffi-

cult. Added to this tension is the importance for missions to host national sponsors, board members, media, dignitaries, and government officials, which at multi-sport Games can be significant in size and scope (Legg 2015). Governments and increasingly sponsors (Gold and Gold, 2007) pay a large portion of the bill for Paralympic teams' attendance and thus can use coercive power on the respective mission and team.

Organizing Committees for the Olympic Games

OCOGs are the fourth stakeholder and certainly have many roles and responsibilities in bidding, hosting, and trying to ensure the legacy of a Paralympic Games. One particularly unique role throughout this process is dealing with marketing and domestic sponsorship. An important part of an OCOG's ability to stage the Games is the support it receives from the private sector in the form of national corporate sponsorship. This support may be either cash to assist with covering costs or "in-kind" donations to help offset or eliminate expenses. Whatever the support, the OCOG must protect the integrity of the Games while recognizing the legitimate concerns of definitive stakeholders such as IOC and IPC sponsors and the inherent business interests they maintain. The IOC has longstanding financial arrangements with a few select corporations known as TOP sponsors, and the IOC is primarily the beneficiary of that arrangement (Giannoulakis et al. 2008). The capacity for OCOGs to have their own sponsors is therefore compromised by the broader interests of these Olympic stakeholders. There is also a host agreement that the OCOG signs with the IOC for both the Olympic and Paralympic Games that constrains what local organizing committees can do when putting on Games. The reality is that the host city takes on a great deal of the risk for hosting the Games while the IOC receives a great deal of the revenue. Nonetheless, as the Paralympic Games' draws closer, the OCOG's degree of urgency (i.e. time sensitivity and criticality) increases. Consequently, the IPC and IOC become increasingly dependent on OCOGs in order to deliver the Games.

Specific to the Paralympic Games, Parent (2013) argues that the rights to the Paralympic Games and all "things" Paralympic are owned by the IPC but this is somewhat misleading by current standards. The IOC,

through its 2003 agreement with the IPC and those that have followed, has now gained considerable influence over how the Paralympic Games are managed. As one example of this influence, because of the interdependent relationship between the IOC and IPC as it relates to Games the IPC must protect IOC sponsors (see Chapter X by Legg and Dottori for further elaboration on these issues). This issue becomes further complicated by the variety of sponsorships associated with specific athletes and national teams. Examples of what is now referred to as “ambush marketing” also occur, with OCOGs and national teams needing to protect their sponsors’ expectations and rights (Legg et al. 2012). Despite the amalgamation of the strategic and managerial processes surrounding the Olympics and Paralympic Games, the word “Paralympic” still does not feature in the OCOG title (i.e. the Organizing Committees for the Olympic and Paralympic Games). This symbolism reflects the subordinate stakeholder relationship that the IPC has with the IOC.

International Federations

The fifth collective group of stakeholders is the International Sport Federations recognized by the IPC as the sole representative of a Paralympic sport. Their responsibilities include technical jurisdiction and guidance over the competition and training venues of the respective sports during the Paralympic Games. Currently, the IPC recognizes 17 IFs (see Table 2.2 for an overview).

The IPC also recognizes a number of IFs that represent both able-bodied sport and Para sports that are not on the Paralympic Games schedule but nonetheless contribute to the development of sporting opportunities for athletes associated with the Paralympic Games and Movement. They may also have organizational goals that are compatible with the IPC’s broader mission and vision. Some, if not all, endeavor to become Paralympic sports at some point in the future, so their role in bidding for and hosting a Paralympic Games is noteworthy as they observe, lobby and attempt to consider how to become more involved (Table 2.3) (International Paralympic Committee 2016b, 2016c).

Table 2.2 International Federations (IFs)

Boccia International Sports Federation (BISFed)	Badminton World Federation (BWF)	International Equestrian Federation (FEI)
World Rowing Federation (FISA)	International Canoe Federation (ICF)	International Federation for CP Football (IFCPF)
International Tennis Federation (ITF)	International Table Tennis Federation (ITTF)	International Triathlon Union (ITU)
International Wheelchair Basketball Federation (IWBF)	International Wheelchair Rugby Federation (IWRF)	International Cycling Union (UCI)
World Archery (WA)	World Curling Federation (WCF)	World ParaVolley (WPV)
World Sailing	World Taekwondo Federation (WTF)	

Table 2.3 International co-federations

International Bobsleigh & Skeleton Federation (IBSF)	International Federation of Powerchair Football (FIPFA)
International Golf Federation (IGF)	International Handball Federation (IHF)
International Hockey Federation (FIH)	World Flying Disc Federation (WFDF)
Union Internationale de Pentathlon Moderne (UIPM)	World Armwrestling Federation (WAF)
World Squash Federation	World Karate Federation

Regional Paralympic Committees

Regional organizations are the sixth group of stakeholders that are less significant within the Paralympic Games context but still have a unique role. The Regional Paralympic Committees are independent of the IPC and recognized as the legitimate and sole representatives of IPC members within a specific part of the world. They act as liaisons of the IPC, organize regional sporting events, coordinate development activities, and provide support to the IPC membership department in the respective regions. They also have the right to participate in IPC activities (International Paralympic Committee 2016d). The IPC currently recognizes four regional organizations:

- African Paralympic Committee
- Asian Paralympic Committee
- European Paralympic Committee
- Oceania Paralympic Committee

Until an independent regional organization is created in the Americas, the IPC has established the Americas Paralympic Committee; thus, when the Pan Am and Parapan American Games are held in this region, such as the 2015 Games held in Toronto, Canada, and the 2019 Games to be staged in Lima, Peru, the responsibilities for such Games are officially with the IPC.

Independent Disability Federations/Groups

The seventh group of organizational stakeholders is independent disability groups known as IOSDs. These became the founding members of the (International Paralympic Committee [2016e](#)):

- International Blind Sport Association (IBSA) (1981)
- International Stoke Mandeville Games Federation (ISMGF) (1952)
- International Sport Organization for the Disabled (ISOD) (1964)
- Cerebral Palsy—International Sport and Recreation Association (CP-ISRA) (1978)

These founding members of the IPC have slowly ceded control of their various sports to what was previously the able-bodied only sport system, or, to other disability sport-specific federations. For instance, CP-ISRA no longer governs boccia and football since these sports have their own governing bodies (e.g. Boccia International Sport Federation and International Federation of Cerebral Palsy Football). IWAS, which came about as the result of a merger between ISMGF and ISOD, currently only governs wheelchair fencing with wheelchair rugby being the most recent sport to become independent with the creation of the International Wheelchair Rugby Federation. It is anticipated that the role of the IOSDs in the future will be to help recruit athletes and expand on athlete development pathways, including investing in young Para athletes

and thus will have less direct influence as a stakeholder on the Paralympic Games.

This was not always the case, however, as the four disability groups were the founders of the Paralympic Movement, deciding in 1982 that “there was a need for coordinating the games in the Olympic year and so the International Coordinating Committee (ICC) was formed by representatives from the four groups” (Steadward 1996, p. 31). For that reason, the IOSDs still hold some coercive power as stakeholders through tradition and longstanding connections.

Able-Bodied Sport Organizations

The eighth group of stakeholders for the Paralympic Games is Able-Bodied Sport Organizations that over time have become responsible for managing Paralympic sport and Para athletes. The second author of this chapter, David Legg, is the former president of the Canadian Paralympic Committee (CPC) and was a board member for 12 years. In his personal experience, Legg observed that in Canada, and in many other nations prior to the mid-1990s, sport for persons with a disability was predominantly run and organized by DSOs. These groups had access to persons with a disability, and were outstanding at identifying potential participants, and acculturating them into sport. What they sometimes lacked was the physiological and psychological knowledge required to optimally train athletes at the highest level. In the mid-1990s, a major shift occurred with National Sport Organizations (NSOs) made responsible for ALL athletes engaged in their sport, both traditional and adapted, and this included athletes with a disability. This change brought to the high-performance training environment for Para athletes the full coaching knowledge and expertise of the able-bodied sport system. In Canada, Swimming Canada and the Canadian Federation of Archers were the first two NSOs to fully embrace this new philosophy. Ultimately, many other NSOs took on the responsibility of providing leadership for programs and services for athletes with a disability, while disability-focused organizations, such as the Canadian Blind Sport Association, continued to provide guidance to “able-bodied” NSOs, also managing “orphan”

sports such as goalball where no obvious able-bodied sport partner existed (Legg and Higgs 2016).

Thus there was a transition from a focus on disability to sport, which while positive for the most part was not without its challenges. Previously, the disability focus meant that sport was often introduced via a disability-based organization, which allowed for a relatively safe, nonthreatening, supportive, and welcoming point of entry for participants. The challenge was that this system did not necessarily promote elite athlete development due to lack of capacity or interest. Coaches were typically parents or friends who had little background in elite sport. With the shift to an alignment with mainstream or able-bodied sport, this limitation was supposed to change. Grassroots and high-performance coaches were expected to be trained in order to accommodate both able-bodied athletes and those with a disability, while sport administrators were anticipated to support both groups. The reality, though, was that this did not happen systematically or consistently. Another issue was that the entry points were more foreboding to athletes with a disability by requiring the individual to advocate on their own behalf. A hypothetical scenario was having an individual with a spinal injury needing to approach a local, traditionally able-bodied tennis club to ask for coaching and support versus joining a wheelchair sport club and having tennis presented as an option. Another challenge was that while there was considerable change at the National (NSO) level in many, if not most sports, this change did not readily filter down to the provincial/territorial or community level. This inconsistency fractured the entire system and resulted in a disjointed pathway for Para athletes.

According to Canadian Paralympian Jason Dunkerley, this transition has resulted in elite athletes with a disability today enjoying unprecedented support and opportunities, but the system has placed a premium on its aging cohort of best performers without effectively mobilizing a next generation capable of taking their place (Dunkerley 2010). In lieu of programs previously extended to prospective athletes by disability sport groups, the Canadian Paralympic Committee and NSOs have tried to fill the void with information or talent identification events. More often than not, though, attendees do not continue on within a competitive program (Dunkerley 2010).

While the above example is specific to a Canadian context, it is symptomatic of what happened in many other nations and thus the Paralympic Movement as a whole. The Paralympic Games are thus at a confluence of the old traditional disability focus and the newer able-bodied high-performance models at the NPC and international levels. The nations competing at the Paralympic Games represent the entire continuum of this transition and at times there is conflict between the stakeholders.

Other Disability-Based Organizations

The final group of stakeholders that further complicates a complete understanding of Paralympic Games are emergent or as yet unknown actors. Sport for persons with disability is rapidly evolving, as seen through inclusion into the university-based amateur sport system in the United States (Crain 2015), the creation of disability-specific events in the increasingly popular X Games (Baron 2015), and the development of extreme recreation through advances in technology and equipment (Rothbart 2016; Schwartz 2014; Young 2015). According to Mitchell et al. (1997), however, if newly emerging actors intend to become Paralympic stakeholders it is likely that they will attempt to gain power, legitimacy, and urgency within a given organizational field. We can therefore view new organizations and individual personalities (i.e. agents) as latent stakeholders that potentially may wield significant influence on the Paralympic Games in the future. In particular, one other “Games” that could become a significant stakeholder is the Cybathlon. This is being held for the first time in Switzerland (Kiernan 2016). Another is the recently created Invictus Games (<https://invictusgamesfoundation.org/>) patronized by the British royal Prince Harry, which was hosted for the first time in London, England, in 2014, and most recently in Orlando, USA, in 2016. These Games are specifically for military service and ex-service personnel who have acquired a disability through injury or illness as a consequence of their vocation. These Games, which will be held again in 2017 in Toronto, Canada, and Sydney in 2018, have received significant support from political leaders such as the prime minister of Canada, the president and first lady of the United States, and the royal family of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and

Northern Ireland. According to Mitchell et al. (1997), this suggests that the Invictus Games already has attained symbolic power in the media as a newly emerging stakeholder within the organizational field of disability sport. Nonetheless, the impact of these newly emerging stakeholders on Paralympic Games still remains to be seen.

Future research in this area could apply Mitchell et al.'s (1997) theory presented earlier in relation to specific Paralympic stakeholders. This could then be further expanded to consider other organizations not reviewed here. An example could be able-bodied international sport federations and how they might interact with emerging Paraspport IFs.

Summary

The Paralympic Games are growing and so too is their complexity, this owing, in many respects, to the volume and variety of stakeholders. This chapter has sketched the organizational landscape of the Paralympic Games through the adoption of a stakeholder perspective. In particular, the chapter adopted Mitchell et al.'s (1997) *model of stakeholder salience* as a heuristic device by which to conceptualize the dynamic and constantly changing Paralympic domain, thereby outlining the roles and responsibilities of the key stakeholders involved in the bidding, planning, and delivery of the Paralympic Games. This included several stakeholders that are unique to the Paralympic context, including the IPC, NPCs, Regional Paralympic Committees, IOSDs, and other new disability-based entities such as the X Games and Invictus Games. As Mitchell et al. (1997, p. 857) note, “the idea of comprehensively identifying stakeholder types is to equip managers with the ability to recognize and respond effectively to a disparate, yet systematically comprehensible, set of entities”. It is only through the systematic identification of these stakeholders that the Paralympic Games can be better managed. The chapter also highlighted a number of unique stakeholder-related management issues faced by the Paralympic Games organizers when bidding for and hosting a Paralympic Games, such as the ongoing tensions between the IPC and IOC which continue to characterize the Paralympic domain.

The organization of Paralympic sport is complex and fragmented, and faces some important challenges, such as integration within mainstream

sports, the lack of disability-specific knowledge (e.g. inclusion strategies in schools, recruiting and developing disability athletes), limited coaching expertise and coach education pathway, higher cost equipment, and the level of awareness and recognition in society (Doll-Tepper and Radtke 2014). These elements, when combined, contribute further to complexity with the hosting of the Paralympic Games. The dynamic interaction of these elements is also influenced by the prevailing culture, the political system, geography, cultural and historical context that all seem to play an important role in how each host country runs a Paralympic Games.

Parent (2013) identified 13 types of issues that could affect OCOG-stakeholder relationships including finances, human resources, infrastructure, interdependence, legacy, media, operations, organizing, participation, politics, relationships, sport, and visibility. Parent (2013) then identified 11 different types of issues associated only with the relationship between government and the OCOG that change in priority as the Games lifespan evolves. All of these can then be applied to the nine stakeholders we have identified that impact the hosting of Paralympic Games. This chapter has hopefully provided an important first step in better organizing the Paralympic Games by better understanding the stakeholders.

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3

Accessibility as a Key Management Component of the Paralympics

Simon Darcy

Introduction

The Paralympics are undoubtedly the pinnacle sporting event for people with disability where accessibility is both a facilitator and a potential legacy of the event. Accessibility is so ubiquitous to contributing to legacy yet the operationalisation of accessibility has been so poorly understood globally that the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPWD) has placed it central to the preamble in “recognising the importance of accessibility to the physical, social, economic and cultural environment, to health and education and to information and communication” (United Nations 2006, p. np). In doing so, the CRPWD recognises accessibility as the enabler for people with disability enjoying citizenship. Similarly, accessibility at the Paralympic Games has had a history of being considered the best they could do rather than on the cutting edge of accessibility for most of its early years. The infor-

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mal convergence of the Olympic and Paralympic Games from Barcelona 1992 raised significant issues for disability access in host cities (Gold and Gold 2007). Although the requirement to run the two events together only really became binding with the 2008 Beijing Games, from 1992 potential hosts with an established record of upholding disability rights and legislation had a clear advantage in the bidding process that raised the expectations that the Paralympics would be incorporated with the highest level of accessibility.

Accessibility goes well beyond the magnificent and at times overly costly sport venues that are the stage upon which the athletes perform at Olympic and Paralympic Games to the mundane engineering and building codes and standards that must be seamlessly integrated within all levels of planning, infrastructure and operational logistics for both the Olympics and Paralympics to be a success (Darcy and Harris 2003). For, the Paralympics accessibility is essential for the 5000 athletes and unknown number of employees, subcontractors, volunteers and spectators with disability to arrive, engage and depart from the games. From the host city perspective the end of the games is the beginning of what should be considered the legacy phase as thoroughly examined by Laura Misener in Chap. 4 (Misener 2016). The legacy phase and the leveraging of community inclusion, disability events, more broadly, and accessible tourism offer the potential for ongoing benefits economically, socially and from a destination image perspective (Dickson et al. *in press*). Yet, that potential arising from the “accessibility of the games” to keep on giving after the games are long forgotten requires a considered approach to the urban environment, facilitating transport infrastructure, creativity amongst those in power to encourage commercial opportunities, not-for-profit social enterprises and visionary marketing of place and space (Gold and Gold 2010).

For Gold and Gold’s (2010) vision for a sustainable legacy to occur, policy makers and other stakeholders need to be convinced of the wider benefits of accessibility as it contributes to sustainability for groups other than those with disabilities. As Darcy and Dickson (2009) suggest, 31 % of the population benefit from inclusive planning for tourism and events. The 31 % includes those who may have a temporary disability, those families with young children who use strollers, older people who don’t

identify as having a disability, and those who travel with a companion. With games planning including universal design criteria, further beneficiaries are anyone working on a site who will benefit from a safer working environment (e.g. anyone delivering goods and emergency personnel), travellers who have heavy luggage and those who are from language groups other than the dominant language discourse (e.g. wayfinding signage including universal iconography). In explicitly identifying universal design as a core component of the guidelines, the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) has effectively moved beyond just providing access for participating athletes, as the main definition of universal design states:

“Universal design is the design of products and environments to be usable by all people, to the greatest extent possible, without the need for adaptation or specialized design. The intent of the universal design concept is to simplify life for everyone by making products, communications, and the built environment more usable by more people at little or no extra cost. The universal design concept targets all people of all ages, sizes and abilities’. The Universal Design approach goes beyond traditional design, which tends to focus on the “average” user. Universal Design is a design approach, reflecting a way of understanding people’s needs. It is not a list of particular solutions, measurements, or products. – Universal Design is the way to reach the solution, contributing to social inclusion”. (cited in Center for Universal Design 2009; and first articulated by Mace 1985)

The guidelines reinforce this by including wheelchair users, people who have other mobility impairments, those with vision impairments or who are blind, those who are hard of hearing or who are deaf, those with intellectual impairments and those with psychological impairment. While wheelchair users, people with other mobility impairments, vision and intellectual impairments are specifically identified as “eligible impairments”, the guidelines are far broader in their inclusion spectrum to cover all groups defined in the CRPWD to “include those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others” (United Nations 2006, p. np). This definition also recognises social construction of “disability” as the

product of barriers that hinder people with impairment's participation in society. As such, the guidelines promote the importance of equity, dignity and functionality as the fundamental principles for an accessible and inclusive games (International Paralympic Committee 2015a, p. 19).

While Barcelona and Sydney provided positive, but ad hoc, cases for how this could be achieved (Domínguez et al. 2014; Legg and Gilbert 2011), there is an inefficiency in hoping that bidding and host cities would individually understand the importance of the opportunities that hosting a Paralympics offer due to the differences in approach to both access and disability as well as differences in facilitating legalisation in each country. To move from an ad hoc to a strategic approach to accessibility, in the lead up to Beijing 2008 the IPC realised that together with the Candidature Acceptance Procedure document (International Olympic Committee 2011) for bidding cities, they needed to develop an accessibility guide to developing an inclusive approach to accessibility for the Olympic and Paralympic Games (International Paralympic Committee 2009a, 2013a). The IPC rationale was that the recognition and development of the accessibility guide would elevate accessibility from a consideration to an integrated opportunity for host cities to build upon the knowledge transfer of those cities who have hosted the games previously and the global knowledge base of contemporary accessibility practice. Of course, whether this occurs is another matter for researchers to investigate. The knowledge base of the accessibility guide then needs to be contextualised through each host city developing a detailed accessibility technical guidelines for their cultural context as shown by the Sochi 2014 Winter, Rio 2016 Summer and Pyeong Chang 2018 Winter games (e.g. International Paralympic Committee 2015b; Rio 2016 Organising Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games 2014; Sochi 2014 Organizing Committee 2014).

Of course, accessibility needs to be seen in context to the history of the games that has been briefly outlined in the introduction to this book (Darcy et al. 2016). In understanding the historical context that regarded accessibility as a secondary consideration to establishing a major disability sport event, the chapter then focuses on the key contemporary issues in managing accessibility issues of the Paralympics. In doing so, the accessibility considerations for bidding and host cities are outlined

as per the IPC Accessibility Guide (2013a, b) but with a value-added understanding that the increased accessibility of the host city becomes an infrastructural legacy post-games. Historical documents from host cities, academic and social critiques of accessibility and other source documentation provide the basis for these discussions. The policy process, role of accessibility within sport venues, the village, transportation, the host city experience, attitudes to disability are discussed before presenting a short case study on London 2012.

Policy Framework and Processes

The IPC have identified a number of clear objectives for the legacy of the Paralympics movement. Within these official objectives it is clearly stated that IPC “*aims to use the Paralympics Games as a vehicle to stimulate social development and leave a long-term sporting and social legacy with the host country*” (International Paralympic Committee 2013a, p. 7). Without access it is difficult for people with disabilities to feel they are fully involved with their community. Consequently, the IPC’s strategy for accessibility goes beyond simply games-related infrastructures. The principles, solutions and practices used to make the Host City and all games-related infrastructure and services accessible and inclusive *will create a culture of inclusion, which will then influence and change in the long-term the way public facilities and services are designed, operated and delivered* (International Paralympic Committee 2013a, p. 7).

For this reason the accessibility to venues and transport throughout the period of the Olympics and Paralympics Games is a key component of the planning of the games. The IPC initially found that there was a lack of internationally accepted standards for accessibility in public venues that had caused inconsistency in the way games’ facilities were built and operated. Frequently, national minimum standards or local building codes were used; but, as is usually the case all over the world, minimum standards usually provide for minimum access (International Paralympic Committee 2013a). In 2006, the IPC established an “Accessibility Working Group”, bringing together experts from different parts of the world, to develop an accessibility guide, which would have the dual role:

Respond to the need of the host cities' of Olympic and Paralympic Games (thereafter "The Games") to have a comprehensive set of standards to follow when designing venue and services. In addition, the Guide should respond to the enhanced requirements created by the scope of the Paralympic Games, an event with excessive demand on accessibility than any other event in the world.

Create a benchmark on accessibility for a global audience. Today, many parts of the world have insufficient legislation, building codes and established practices in this field (International Paralympic Committee 2009a, p. 7).

Within the broader context of the IPC seeking to stimulate social development, create legacy opportunities in sport and the social context of the host country, there was a very practical consideration for the development and inclusions within the accessibility guide as outlined in Table 3.1. Generally there is a lack of an international standard for accessibility globally. When this is seen in context of the IPC and accessibility, there is also been a lack of knowledge transfer that has produced an inconsistency in access at Olympic and Paralympic Games (Blackman et al. 2016). Further, the IPC wanted to move beyond "minimum standards". With the work of the IPC accessibility working group in 2006 they brought together a Delphi group to set aspirational accessibility standards for venues and services as the Paralympics as an event had the potential to test the boundaries of inclusion more so than any other event in the world. This was due to the ten types of impairment included, the multisport nature of the event and the global media focus (Brittain 2010). By having benchmark accessibility standards and an international media focus, it was hoped to lead those parts of the world who currently have insufficient leadership, legislation, codes and standards in the field. By creating a consensus document that is "internationally accepted", the IPC are seeking universal best practice in design and service provision that seeks to promote the equity, dignity and functionality of people with disability (International Paralympic Committee 2013a, p. 18). The guide recognises the importance of the technical approach but identifies that the local organising committee, the cultural context and a commitment to ongoing consultation is essential for a commitment to universally design for all. It is with this background

Table 3.1 IPC accessibility guide overview

Chapters	Key components
Chapter 1 Introduction	<p>Mission, Objectives and the Role of the guide</p> <p>UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with a Disability</p> <p>Fundamental Principles of Accessibility and Inclusion</p> <p>Requirements for Creating an Accessible and Inclusive Olympic and Paralympic Games</p> <p>Beneficiaries of an Accessible and Inclusive Environment</p> <p>Equitable Games' Experience for All Constituent Groups</p>
Chapter 2 Technical Specifications	<p>Access and Circulation (pathways and circulation areas, ramps, stairways, surfaces paving and finishes, furniture counters & service areas, entrances & exits, doors & always, elevated & escalators, emergency provisions)</p> <p>Amenities (venue seating, washrooms, showers bars & changing rooms)</p> <p>Hotels and Other Accommodations (accessible guestrooms, wheelchair friendly guestrooms, other services within accommodations sites)</p> <p>Publications and Communications (publications, websites standards, telecommunications, signage, assistive hearing aids)</p> <p>Transportation Means (road, rail, air, maritime)</p>
Chapter 3 Training for Accessibility	<p>Disability Etiquette/Awareness Training</p> <p>Games/Job-Specific Training on Accessibility</p> <p>Venue Specific Training on Accessibility</p>
Chapter 4 Games Requirements	<p>Coordination Structures and Timeline for Accessibility (consultation for venue construction, consultation for accessible operations, coordination with public agencies for accessibility)</p> <p>Games Infrastructure (competition venues, Olympic and Paralympic villages, noncompetition venues)</p> <p>Functional Areas Considerations on Operations (accommodation, accreditation, airport operations, broadcasting, opening and closing ceremony, city operations, classification, cleaning and waste, communications, catering, human resources, image and identity, doping control, event Services, medical services, medal ceremonies & sports presentation, licensing-merchandising-retail operations, NAC/NBC relations, Olympic and Paralympic family Services, overlays & site management, press operations, rate card, risk management, security, sport, technology, ticketing, transport, venue operations, village operations, torch relay, mobility services (games mobility))</p>

(continued)

Table 3.1 (continued)

Chapters	Key components
Chapter 5 The Journey to an Accessible and Inclusive Host City and Games	<p>Transport (definition and scope of accessible transport, types of accessible transport, operations for accessible transport)</p> <p>Public Services and Facilities (pathway/sidewalks and connecting routes, city parks and outdoor recreation areas, retail and small goods & beverage outlets, signage and wayfinding, emergency systems & response, information provision)</p> <p>Tourism (accommodation & hotel services, restaurant access, tourist information, sightseeing tours & tourist points of interest, attractions & interior spaces)</p> <p>Culture, Entertainment and Leisure (definitions & scope, types of accessible culture, entertainment and leisure)</p> <p>Sport (principles and types of access to sport, considerations for integration in mainstream sport activities)</p> <p>Education (accessibility of educational facilities, adapted curriculums, assessment methods and teaching materials)</p> <p>Employment (definition and scope of accessible employment)</p>
Appendix	<p>Key measurement reference table</p> <p>Event accessibility checklist"</p>

Source: IPC Accessibility Guide (International Paralympic Committee 2009b, 2013b)

that we will examine the core components to design and service provision for venues, the village, transport and destination approaches to accessibility by the IPC, host city, Olympic City Organising Group (OCOG) and their stakeholders (Dowling and Legg 2016; Peters and Frawley 2016). As discussed, in many parts of the world there are no internationally accepted guidelines but Standards Australia's access and mobility guidelines (Standards Australia 2009) have been internationally recognised as leading the world in disability and accessibility with an Australian access consultant appointed to the IPC to lead the development of the guidelines and undertake liaison with bidding and host cities (see Darcy and Appleby 2011). For the purposes of illustration, the Australian Standards¹ diagrams

¹ For copyright purposes diagrams representing the Australian Standards have been used with notation in the text identifying any variation from the IPC Accessibility Guidelines.

are used and where appropriate form the basis of critique areas of deficiency within the IPC guidelines (Standards Australia 2009).

The guide aims to influence the development of both games venues and also the transport infrastructure of the host city to ensure that disability access extends beyond simply the venues themselves. Unfortunately the document is simply a “guide” and while much work is often done for the Olympic infrastructure it does not always extend beyond the venues as required for full participation. What value is access to the venues if there is limited disability access throughout the host city itself? This question has been raised with particular reference to Rio 2016 (Fox 2015). Each Olympic host city does now develop their own “Accessibility Manual” in the early stages of planning for the games, using the IPC Guide for development. The Sochi 2014 Organizing Committee produced for the Winter games “barrier-free” guide (Sochi 2014 Organizing Committee 2014), Rio 2016 Olympic Committee produced their accessibility guide (Rio 2016 Organising Committee 2014) and the Pyeong Chang 2018 Organising Committee released their guide for the Winter Olympics and Paralympics early in 2015 (International Paralympic Committee 2015b).

Brazil generally and Rio de Janeiro, have particular challenges when it comes to the socio-economic gap between rich and poor, general accessibility of the urban environment and lack of an inclusive public transport system (Motte-Baumvol and Nassi 2012; Santos and Ribeiro 2013; Szwarcwald et al. 2002). Media commentary on access in Rio appears quite positive, with the Mayor of Rio launching a project to improve accessibility throughout the city of Rio in the year before the games (Rio 2016 Organising Committee 2015). This *Accessible Routes Project* has been praised by the IPC President, Sir Phillip Craven, where works will focus on key tourist locations throughout the city and will involve improvements to pavements and resurfacing (International Paralympic Committee 2015a) although many remain cynical (Fox 2015). The IPC “family” also get to experience any host city as VIPs whereas those visiting outside of games time or as spectators during the games have a very different experience. A cautionary note about Rio is that at the time of writing this chapter the President of Brazil has been impeached, and it is unclear how the changing political and social context may impact the delivery of an accessible event or legacy.

Outside of the IPC Accessibility Guide (International Paralympic Committee 2009b; International Paralympic Committee), the Candidate Acceptance Procedure document lists some 39 supplementary documents to assist bid cities in preparing their bid (International Olympic Committee 2011). Many of the technical documents have direct and indirect relevance for venue planning and management. However, not all technical manuals are publicly available due to International Olympic Committee commercial-in-confidence agreements. These include the *Technical Manual on Design Standards for Competition Venues*, the *Technical Manual on Venues*, and the *Guide on Environmental Management*. The remainder of the chapter uses the available documents and other pertinent sources to guide the discussion.

With the advent of the first version of the IPC Accessibility Guidelines (2009a, 2009b), there was a conscious effort to integrate IPC approaches with the UN *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* (United Nations 2006) that had been established in 2006. Since that time, the CRPWD has been signed by over 160 nations and provides a foundation for nation states to document and report on their inclusion of people with disability across all areas of disability citizenship. Article 30 specifically identifies sport as part of a rich cultural life. However, Article 30 needs to be seen in context to the underlying principles and other articles that are interdependent and overlapping in their support of human rights approaches to people with disability (Darcy and Taylor 2009). Human rights considerations with Paralympic Games predate the CRPWD with Ozdowski (2004) explaining with respect to the Sydney 2000 Olympic and Paralympic Games, that international human rights conventions provide a strong case for people with disabilities to be provided with access and inclusion in society as part of their existing human rights. He also indicates that while in many countries substantial measures have been taken to protect and promote equal rights there is still much work that can be done. Although *legislation at the national and also the state level requires equal treatment and non-discriminatory access in a range of areas including employment, education, access to buildings, public transport and access to government services and information* (Ozdowski 2004) this is not always reflected in practical terms at all locations. In many countries where similar strong legislation does not exist there can be real issues

with access and inclusion for people with disability and their capacity to make significant improvements must be taken into consideration during the Olympic bid process. As the history of the Paralympics has shown, the nature of understanding disability and accessibility has changed over time place and culture.

The Accessibility Guide (International Paralympic Committee 2013a, p. 23) identifies a narrower focus of potential beneficiaries of planning for an accessible and inclusive environment than Darcy and Dickson (2009). These include people who use wheelchairs; people who have a mobility impairment; people who have a visual impairment; people who are hard of hearing; people with an intellectual impairment; people who have a psychological impairment; and other groups. When these considerations are seen in context to the group dynamics visiting venues, events or the games cities this constitutes a considerable number of people identified as the constituents of the games and includes host city residents, tourists, games participants; Olympic/Paralympics families, VIPs, officials; employees; media; volunteers; subcontractors; and spectators. Figure 3.1 identifies the seven phases of what the IPC have identified as the equitable games experiences for all constituents (International Paralympic Committee 2013a, p. 25). This approach to the stages of recreation or travel has a reflective dimension (Clawson and Knetsch 1966) and others have referred to this as the whole of journey experience (Zuniga et al. 2013). The journey activities begin with the information search on websites or through other official sources for the constituents involved. Once the requisite games information has been obtained, then trip planning begins through bookings, reservations and (where appropriate) these/customs. For those participating, purchasing tickets or accreditation procedures must be finalised before undertaking travel that may have a local, regional, national or international dimension. This process has been underexplored in the literature with recent studies beginning to incorporate a more nuanced understanding of whole of journey experience (Dickson, Darcy, et al. *in press*; Dickson, Misener, et al. *in press*). While attending the games may be the “main course” for most, experiencing the ambience of the host city through the five senses of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch creates memorable experiences for all those attending (Small and Darcy 2011; Small et al. 2012). When

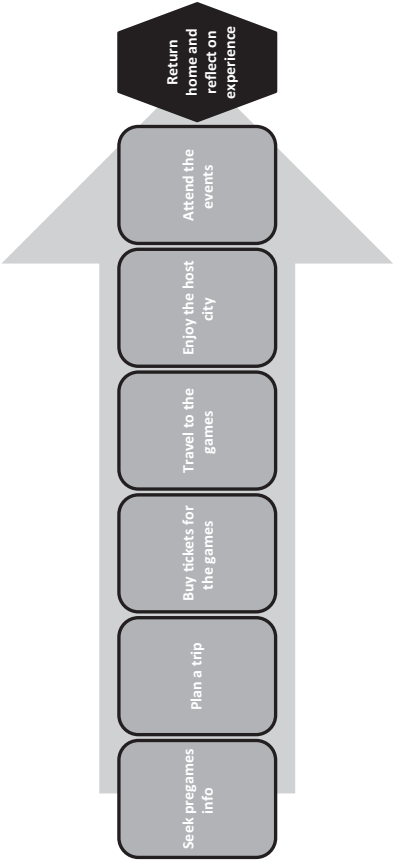


Fig. 3.1 Games constituents' activities and experiences (Source: Adapted from International Paralympic Committee Accessibility Guide 2013a, b)

a games is truly memorable for the constituents involved, the whole host city experiences “psychic benefits” (Davis 2012; Humphreys and Prokopowicz 2007). The psychic benefit effect is said to be even more powerful with the Paralympics (Cashman and Darcy 2008). Figure 3.1 has been adapted to include the journey home and reflecting on the experience (Clawson and Knetsch 1966), where from the Paralympic perspective people without disability experience engaging with disability sport has been anecdotally described as a transformative experience by the IPC and others. However, the empirical evidence required to support these assertions has not been adequately addressed (Cashman and Darcy 2008).

Venues and the Village

Venue accessibility requires a coherent understanding of the accessibility guidelines that are underpinned by “adaptable and universal design” (International Paralympic Committee 2009a, 2009b, 2013a). While definitions are provided, the underlying philosophy is that the guidelines should be guided by universal design and internationally accepted best practice seeking to achieve outcomes used by people of all functional abilities. Applying the principles of universal design can be seen as a way of developing Olympic and Paralympic environments, transportation, services and offers, underpinning sustainable communities and businesses (Fleck 2015). See the following references for detailed considerations of developing an accessible Paralympic Village (Beasley 1996; Laski 2009; Paterson 2012; Sainsbury 1997, 2008) and sports facilities (Beasley 1998; Beasley and Davies 2001; Kung and Taylor 2014; Mahoney and McMillen 2014; Paramio-Salcines and Kitchin 2013; Paramio and Buraimo 2013). A key binding element is an accessible path of travel for people with mobility, vision, hearing and cognitive disabilities that should not contain impediments to be negotiated by the group. The key considerations for an accessible path of travel include:

- access and circulation
- amenities
- publication and communication

Access and Circulation

Framed predominantly around mobility and vision considerations, access and circulation involve nine key areas: pathways and circulation areas; ramps; stairways; surfaces, paving and finishes; furniture and other services; entrances and exits; doors and entrances; lifts and elevators; and emergency provisions. For there to be equitable, dignified and functional accessible paths of travel there needs to be key understanding of pathways and circulation areas for the dimensions for wheelchair and pedestrian access widths. While it is not possible to go into the detail for all venues, amenity, communications and hotel considerations, the building blocks for mobility and vision circulation spaces are now briefly discussed.

Figure 3.2 presents the circulation requirements on pathways for individual wheelchair users, a pedestrian and a wheelchair user and to wheelchair users. For the lowest level of compliance, a minimum accessible path of travel needs to be 1000 mm for a single wheelchair user, 1500 mm for an ambulant pedestrian and a wheelchair user, or 1800 mm (AS1428.1-2009 for a minimum length of 2M—Standards Australia 2009) for two wheelchairs to comfortably pass each other. Further, for a wheelchair to pivot and turn in its own circumference requires a circulation space of 1500 mm (AS1428.1-2009 requires 1540 mm—Standards Australia 2009). This basic building block needs to be incorporated into Olympic and Paralympic venues, the village and transport interfaces so that all routes can be regarded as providing accessible paths of travel. Of course, this building block needs to then take into account the technical information for wheelchair turning circles, requirements for ramps,

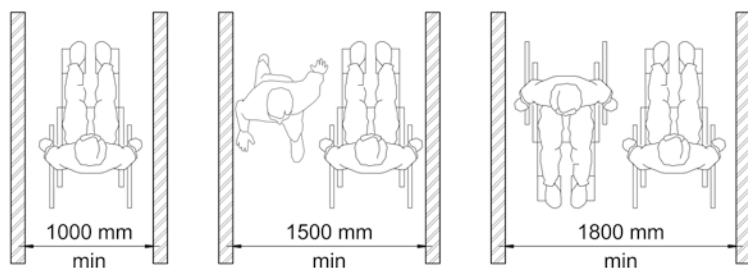


Fig. 3.2 Access widths (Source: Farah Madon, Vista Access Architects © 2016)

surfaces, furniture and other services, entrance and exits and emergency provisions (see pp. 31–60).

Similarly for those with vision impairment the emphasis moves from circulation to understanding elimination of trip hazards and protruding objects. As Fig. 3.3 shows for people who are blind or are vision impaired, clear pathways of travel include headway of a height from 700 to 2100 mm, and 400 mm (AS1428.1-2009 requires a clear space of 1000×2000 ; see Standards Australia 2009) into the pedestrian pathways including corridors, aisles and passageways. This includes all landscaping materials, signage and other fixtures, which all must be of high contrast. Further, once the infrastructure is in place, operational managers must also be aware not to put temporary signage or portable furniture within these spaces.

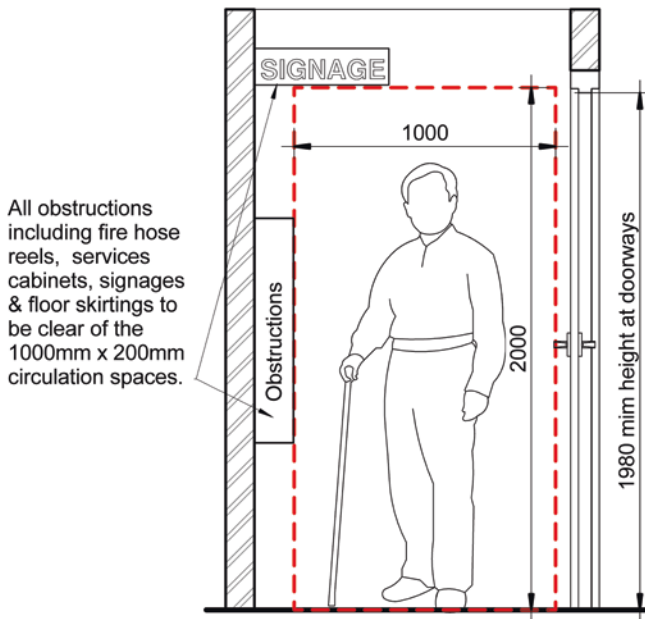


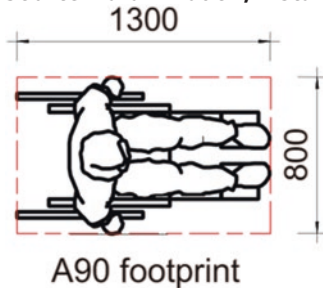
Fig. 3.3 Limits of protruding objects for people with vision impairment (Source: Farah Madon, Vista Access Architects © 2016)

Amenities

Amenities include venue seating, washrooms, and baths, showers and change rooms. Venue seating of any Sport event requires 0.50 % of seating to be accessible whereas for the Olympic context a higher 0.75 % and Paralympic 1.20 % of gross venue seating capacity is required to accommodate increased number of spectators with access requirements. Of this seating there should be availability across different areas, viewing ranges and ticket types. As outlined in Fig. 3.4 the mobility seating should include a space of:

- 800 mm by 1300 mm for wheelchair users;

Source: Farah Madon, Vista Access Architects © 2016



- 500 mm by 1300 mm for companion or enhanced amenity seating; and
- 1000 mm of circulation space behind the seating for easy access and egress. (See diagram below that demonstrates the requirements as per AS1428.1-2009—Standards Australia 2009)

Images 3.1 and 3.2 provide an example of integrated seating at the Sydney Olympic Stadium Australia that was based on the Olympic Coordination Authority access guidelines (Olympic Co-ordination Authority 1999). As the photo shows, when mobility access is considered from the beginning the seating is not only well integrated but provides excellent sightlines and anonymity for mobility spectators. However, for people with vision or hearing impairments, other forms

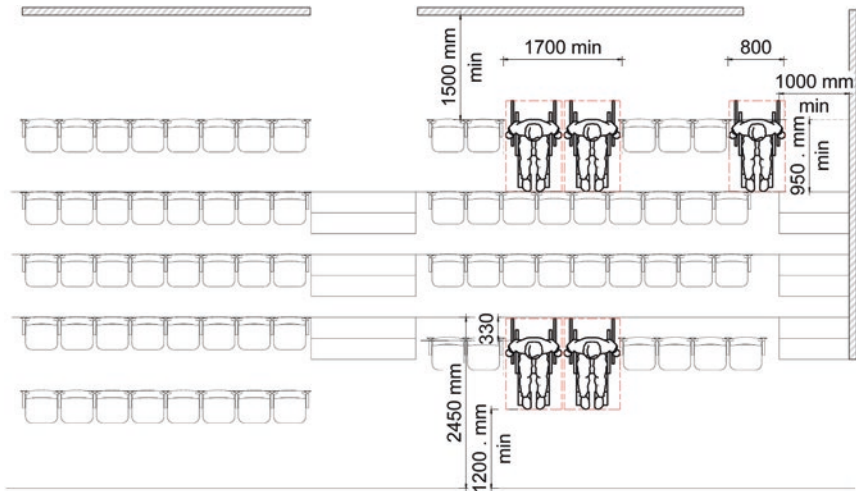


Fig. 3.4 Stadium seating diagram (Source: Farah Madon, Vista Access Architects © 2016)

of information and communication augmentation need to be considered. For people who are vision impaired or are blind, wayfinding through the provision of tactile ground surface indicators, Braille or a raised letter signage and audio-described spectators' services creates a more equitable, dignified and functional experience. In particular, audio-described sport spectating services have become main stream through the provision of "sports ears" (<http://www.sportsears.com.au/shop/>) and other services that literally describe field of play action for the general public and people who are blind or vision impaired becoming beneficiaries of mainstream enhance sport description services. Similarly people who are deaf or hearing impaired benefit from hearing augmentation services that provide systems (e.g. t-switches) that connect to those with hearing aids or enhanced visual signage or live captioning of sport commentating. Of course, for major speeches sign language interpretation services are also provided. The performing arts have been leading the field when it comes to inclusive audience experiences and the following references provide examples (Sydney Opera House 2015, 2016; Whitfield and Fels 2013)



Image 3.1 Integrated wheelchair seating and tactile ground surface indicators at Stadium Australia, the main stadium for the Sydney 2000 Olympic Stadium (Source: © Fiona Darcy 2000)

As one would expect, for participants and spectators alike the provision of accessible bathrooms, showers and change rooms is essential for an accessible games experience. The gold standard for accessible bathrooms, showers and change rooms is to be unisex to allow for carer or attendant support from people of the opposite sex if required. The location and provision of such facility should be in the same general location of the standard public access washroom and identified by universal iconography and wayfinding signage. The ratio should be the same as gender-specific toilets with one per bank of gender-specific toilets in public areas. Figure 3.5 shows the configurations for a left-hand transfer accessible toilet and shower.

As for all other ticket, merchandising and concession outlets there should be provision for independent wayfinding, signage and access to counters (see Fig. 3.6). For example, any concession stand for food and beverages should have provisions for wheelchair users with a lowered height counter consisting of 750 mm underside clearance to a depth of



Image 3.2 Integrated seating at Sydney Olympic and Paralympic Games (Source: Fiona Darcy © 2000)

500 mm and between 850 and 900 mm in height (see Standards Australia 2009). Further, all staff should be provided with disability awareness training for customer service provision for people with mobility, vision, hearing and cognitive disabilities. This should be part of a considered customer service programme to be inclusive of paid employees, subcontractors and volunteers. The outcome will be a better informed workforce who are confident in the correct etiquette of offering assistance across these access groups (Dept for Public Works and Pensions and Dept of Media and Culture 2015).

Publications, Alternative Formats, Communication and Wayfinding

Of course, no games can be truly accessible without providing clear communication through OCOG publications, websites and wayfinding systems for all those involved in attending the games. For many, their only

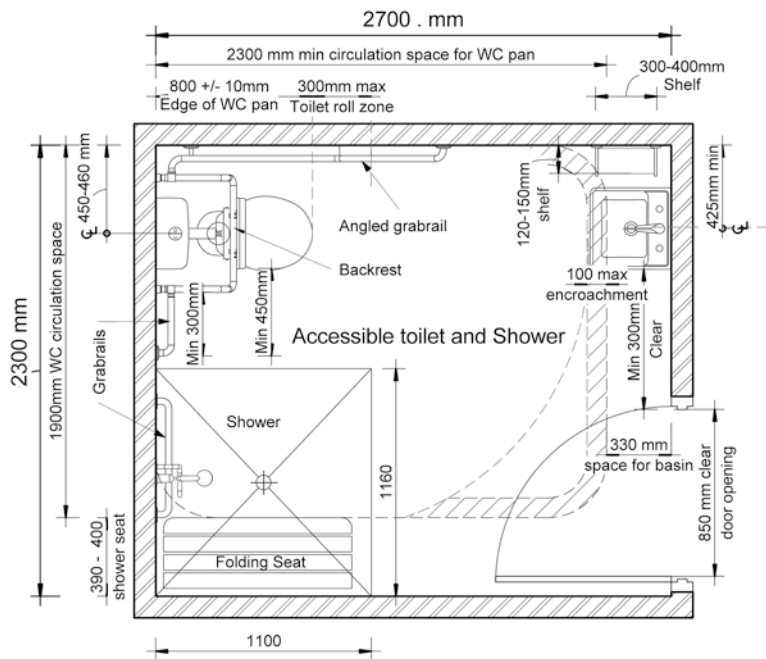


Fig. 3.5 Unisex left-hand transfer accessible toilet and shower (Source: Farah Madon, Vista Access Architects © 2016)

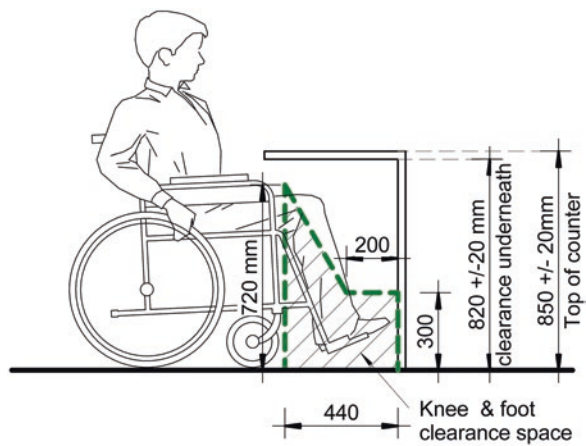


Fig. 3.6 Accessible service counter (Source: Farah Madon, Vista Access Architects © 2016)

experience of the games will be through watching on television but even for this group the provision of games information through the publications and websites is critical. This is particularly so for those who are vision impaired or blind, those with hearing impairments or deaf, or those with intellectual or cognitive disability. With print publications considerations of contrast, type colour, point size, other formatting, number of columns and design simplicity can improve accessibility for people with disability. The provision of accessible websites to W3C compliance (Chisholm and Vanderheiden 1999) has been well-established since the Sydney 2000 Olympic and Paralympic Games where Bruce McGuire, a blind man, took two federal court actions against the SOCOG because of the lack of accessibility of its ticket book (no Braille alternative format) and its website not being accessible to screen readers, used by people who are blind (“Maguire v SOCOG [HREOCA H 99/115]” 2000a, 2000b). Other alternative formats in Braille, plain or easy English, audio recordings, electronic documents or captioned video or live captioning are but some of the alternative forms of communication to provide accessibility for people with disability (for more information see Media Access Australia 2015).

As with all major events, telecommunication plays a major role in internal and external communication processes. With respect to people with disability, the availability of public telephones that have inclusions for wheelchair access and also the availability of telephone typewriters (TTY) for people who are deaf or hearing impaired is essential. Further, the provision of FM hearing loops, passive infrared emitters, captioning and sign language interpretation are all provisions that will assist those with hearing impairment or who are deaf. As the nature of communication has changed, access to wireless Internet and Internet cafes is essential. As per the requirements of continuous pathways discussed earlier in the chapter, Internet cafe should have provisions for mobility access and also all computer terminal should be equipped with screen readers for people who are blind, magnifying windows for those who have vision impairments, speech-to-text for people with dexterity issues, and adapted keyboards/mice again for those with dexterity issues. The area of telecommunications accessibility has been described as an area of “digital divide” for some people with disability not just because of the disabling nature of

the technology but also because of limited access due to social economic disadvantage (Alper et al. 2015; Goggin and Newell 2003).

The environment of the host city, together with the Olympic and Paralympic precincts also needs to consider broader wayfinding considerations for people who have mobility, vision or hearing disability (Darcy 2012b; Gill 2009). The IPC outline the importance of signage that makes use of clearly marked pictograms, directional indicators and other devices that not only point out the important features for people with disability but also those without the language of the host city. Accessible signage additionally adds an understanding of where people with mobility disability can find accessible pathways. This becomes critical in crowded environments during major games events. While the international symbols of accessibility for mobility, hearing and vision are well-known there are also a host of other iconography they can be effectively used for more efficient wayfinding. The IPC Accessibility Guide specifies the major elements of signage including the location, symbol sizes, letter sizes and provide specific examples. As Image 3.3 identifies, signage is not only functional but also forms part of the branding of any event through being able to dress disparate venues with a common overlay.

Transport

It is said that any city that wins the Olympic bid will succeed or fail on the success of its transport systems (Kassens-Noor 2012). The IPC recognised that for all stakeholders with access needs, an integrated transport system is the “single most important aspect for creating an inclusive urban environment” (IPC Accessibility Guide 2013a, 2013b p. 90). Quite simply if the transport system fails, all stakeholders including athletes, officials, employees, volunteers and spectators will be unable to have any games experience. In context of the Paralympic Games the overlay of accessibility on the transportation systems and processes requires all those with access needs to travel from different countries from around the world participating via air transport, road, rail and maritime using public and private providers. Yet, very few papers have examined the success of Paralympic transport systems (Darcy 2003; Hendy 2013). The UN and



Images 3.3 & 3.4 Signage at Sydney 2000 Olympic and Paralympic Games
(Source: © Fiona Darcy 2000; Source: © Fiona Darcy 2000)

the World Bank examine the importance of such frameworks to citizenship and while not overtly making the connection or extending the concept of an “accessible Path of travel” or the “whole of journey experience”, the “travel chain” as a concept (World Health Organization and World Bank 2011) is immensely simple yet operationally difficult to achieve in urban environments where the infrastructure and systems are not in place to achieve what is defined as

all elements that make up a journey, from starting point to destination — including the pedestrian access, the vehicles, and the transfer points. If any link is inaccessible, the entire trip becomes difficult. (World Health Organization and World Bank 2011, p. 179)

The IPC Accessibility Guidelines go on to identify specific inclusive practice across the following transportation means: roads, rail, air and maritime. As with all aspects of accessibility, transport accessibility must be considered with respect to predominantly mobility, vision and intellectual impairments, and it must also be inclusive of those who are deaf or hearing impaired as many people with disability have multiple disabilities. The individual transportation means each have technical and performance measures outlined. Each of these will briefly be discussed in context to servicing people with disability in getting to Olympic and Paralympic Games host cities, and participating, working/volunteering or spectating at the games.

Road Transport

Road transport incorporates the cars and taxis, coaches, public buses, transport stops, parking areas and signage for accessible parking. While the predominance of transport for all stakeholder groups with disabilities is provided by public or chartered buses, the Paralympic Games make use of cars, minivans and taxis that are wheelchair-accessible. While many wheelchair users are able to independently transfer from their wheelchair into a car or bus seat, many are unable to due to their impairment. For cars, minivans and taxis use for point-to-point transfer of people with

mobility disability, they recommend vehicles with side or rear access to allow wheelchair users to remain in their mobility aids, have a passenger seat that provides ease of access, and provide integrated seating for companions, teammates or officials travelling with wheelchair users. Vehicles may be equipped with external hoists, rear loading ramp or side loading ramps to allow access and egress. The IPC have specified main technical measurements for accessible vehicles as outlined in Table 3.2:

Similarly any coaches used for the Paralympics should provide loading ramps for wheelchair users to independently access and stay in their wheelchairs. Loading ramps should take people directly to the position on the coach where wheelchair seating and lockdowns are provided. Public buses should be provided or contracted, that provide a low floor chassis together with a “kneeling” function to reduce the gradient of the access and egress ramp, and provide wheelchair spaces for those who prefer to stay in their wheelchairs. Within the Olympic and Paralympic village, contracted public buses in the low floor area should remove all seating to facilitate multiple wheelchair loading.

Within car parks used for the Olympics and Paralympics, a minimum of 2 % and best practice of 3 % of car spaces should be set aside for accessible parking and clearly signposted. Accessible parking bays should be at least 1.5 times the size of the standard parking space with a minimum of 3.2 m and best practice of 3.6 m. Accessible parking bay should be level or not more than 1:50 (2 % gradient) with underground parking providing

Table 3.2 Key technical requirements for accessible vehicles

Component	Measurement
Internal clearance height	1500 mm
Doorway width	800 mm
Loading platform length	1300 mm
Loading platform width	800 mm
Weight operation	200 kg
Loading time	<60 seconds
Active and passive restraint systems	recommended

Source: Adapted from IPC Accessibility Guidelines (2013a, p. 92)

a minimum of 2.3 m or best practice of 2.5 m to ensure roof-mounted wheelchair vehicles can operate without hindrance. The location of accessible parking should be within proximity to pedestrian entries and exits, lifts and ramps, accessible toilets and pay stations. For all road transport, infrastructure to access the urban environment such as shade/shelter, curb height of 150 mm, curb ramps of no more than 1:8 gradient, tactile ground surface indicators indicating hazards and directions 300 mm from the curb edge, curbs linking vehicle drop-off areas to accessible pathways, lighting, signposting and rest seating should be provided.

Rail

Rail considerations include both heavy and light rail or tram provisions. While cities like Sydney and Rio de Janeiro provided extensions to heavy rail lines, most Olympic and Paralympic transport operates within the provisions of currently constructed systems. The Paralympics provides an opportunity for upgrading rail network provisions. When Sydney was awarded the Olympic Games, only 8 % of rail stations were easily accessible. The extension to the rail network to Sydney Olympic Park provided the opportunity to construct a network of best practice from a mobility, vision and hearing perspective. Some 16 years later, while all rolling stock have provision for accessibility, approximately 20 % of rail stations are easily accessible showing the lead time required to upgrade rail stations not built with access considerations. With respect to people who are blind or vision impaired, the importance of tactile ground surface indicators for independent access cannot be understated. These indicators provide notice of danger and also provide direction for an accessible path of travel. When used in conjunction with clear audio announcements on stations and in carriages, people with vision impairment can be provided with an equality of rail travel experience. For people who are deaf or hearing impaired, clear signage indicators and scrolling text are essential for the provision of information. A series of technical inclusions is provided for accessible stations, accessible carriages and other provisions (IPC [2013a](#), 2013b, p. 9–96).

Air Transport

Air transport has been one of those areas where the Paralympics has pushed innovation in order to achieve transport success first and foremost for athletes and officials. Tokyo 1964 became the first Olympic and Paralympic city to benefit from innovation in transport where in order to get UK competitors to Tokyo, the Stoke Mandeville GOC negotiated with airlines on transporting athletes to the game, leading to a technological breakthrough in an “aisle chair” (International Paralympic Committee 2015c). Ever since this breakthrough the aisle chair has become synonymous with regional and international travel for people with mobility disability and has led to a safer work environment for thousands of airline employees.

The travel planning, access, on-board experience and egress, have challenged people with disability and their service providers alike (Darcy 2012a; Van Horn and Isola 2014). Many National Paralympic Committees broker special chartered services for transporting Paralympic athletes to and from Paralympic competition. For example, Qantas have a special chartered jet to take the Australian Paralympic team to Rio in 2016. Qantas engineers and the Australian Paralympic Committee have been working on customised seating for athletes with specific mobility disability to ensure the most comfortable flight so athletes arrive in as good a shape as possible to participate (Shalala 2015). Further as Qantas states, “the Australian Paralympic committee works with Qantas to deliver best practice systems to ensure our customers along with their equipment arrived safely and ready to achieve their best” (Qantas 2016).

The Olympics and Paralympics offer an opportunity for destinations to upgrade their airports and airport procedures to be more accommodating of people with disability. The IPC guidelines identify the following areas at airports and with airlines as areas to work on for Paralympic preparation: parking areas; parking ticket validation machine; drop-off zones; ticket checking counters; terminal energy; information/communication systems; security screening; embarking/disembarking; airport gate; aisle chair; staff awareness; storage of aids; seating; access of guide dogs; and hoists. The other area of consideration for disability is with

respect to safety provisions and the need to provide passenger briefing cards in alternative formats for people who are blind or vision impaired, deaf or hearing impaired or have cognitive disabilities that require easy English or other communication approaches.

While the IPC Accessibility Guidelines outline important considerations for airports and airlines, a great deal of these responsibilities lie with individual airlines and the way that airport servicing of people with disability is dealt with in destination areas. To achieve better outcomes across these areas, the IPC and the OGOs work in conjunction with organisations like Open Doors to deliver airport and airline training to improve services for people with disability (Lipp 2015). The importance of these provisions cannot be understated as anyone with higher mobility support needs may have two hours longer in an airport and an hour longer on aeroplanes than any other travellers simply because they are required to be at the airport earlier, board the plane first and disembark the plane last. Even when airline processes are working perfectly this is a significant extra burden on the athlete or spectator with disability.

Maritime

Depending upon the location of the Olympics and Paralympics, maritime access may play a significant or strategic role in transport systems. In the same way as road, rail and air transport, there is a series of considerations for a seamless accessible path of travel. These include parking, ticket sales, terminal access, information/communication, infrastructure required, access to vessels, alternative format provisions, vessel amenities, and passenger seating. While there are a great deal of similarities with previous means of transportation discussed, some types of vessel, infrastructure provisions and access to vessels require a brief discussion. Public ferries in most large cities have some form of access for people with mobility needs. However, smaller charter vessels that are used in some Paralympic context for transporting VIPs and others to maritime-based events or special events may prove problematic from a mobility access perspective. Cruise ships have become more accommodating of people with disability (depending upon the geographic market area they serve and the rela-

tive effectiveness of disabilities discrimination) but some ports can only be accessed by “tenders” that are generally not accessible for wheelchair users. Depending upon the part of the world that the Paralympics are in, there is a great deal of variation in tides that create issues for access to vessels and access to ports for people with mobility access requirements. Engineering solutions include floating pontoon wharves that vary with tidal movements, gangway and ramp systems for ferries that provide easy access embarking and disembarking; larger cruise ships employing “air bridge” system is similar to airlines to allow an accessible path of travel without steps. Depending upon the size of the vessel, once on board all standard access requirements discussed in this chapter apply.

Whole of Destination Approaches to Accessibility

The IPC Accessibility Guidelines (2009a, 2009b, 2013a) sought to boundary cross from the confines of the Olympic and Paralympic venues and precincts, to bring a whole of destination approach to accessibility. In doing so, the IPC sought to leverage a greater understanding of the businesses, destinations and networks that are required to create liveable communities and provide opportunities for future business development through accessible tourism for people with mobility, vision, hearing, cognitive and sensitivity disability. The games are said to bring forward urban development by 30 years in a truncated planning, development and operations of the games precincts into a 9-year period (Darcy and Taylor 2013; Gold and Gold 2010). Understanding markets with access needs also fits with the recent developments of the UN World Tourism Organisation’s push to see the development of accessible destinations and experiences. The UNWTO has moved from encouraging change to delivering frameworks and resources through its Global Code for Ethics in Tourism (1999) and the five volume *Manuals on Accessible Tourism* (European Network for Accessible Tourism 2015; United Nations World Tourism Organization 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2015d, 2015e, 2015f). As suggested by the UNWTO publications and other contemporary research, destinations are

at a competitive advantage by being inclusive of the 31 % of the population that benefit from disability and accessibility inclusions (Dickson, Misener, et al. Dickson et al. [in press-b](#); Domínguez et al. [2015](#)).

Hotels

As early as Sydney 2000, the IPC recognised significant issues with the accessibility of hotel accommodation in host cities (Darcy [2001](#), [2003](#)). As late as one month before the Sydney 2000 Paralympic Games, the Sydney Paralympic Organising Committee through the Olympic Coordination Authority had to audit the contracted Paralympic hotel, provide recommendations about those members of the Paralympic family requiring accessible accommodation and the shortfall in supply that the hotel offered (Darcy [2000](#)). To accommodate those members of the Paralympic family requiring accessible accommodation, three further hotels had to be contracted to bolster the supply of accessible rooms. To prevent this type of situation occurring again, the IPC has invested in educating the local hotel community on the requirements for Paralympic family and visitors with disability generally. For Rio 2016 for example, the IPC Academy ran a one-day workshop for Rio de Janeiro hoteliers outlining global research in the area, best practice in knowledge management for hotel room accessibility, and the business case for preparing for the accessible tourism market visiting Rio for the games (Darcy [2010](#), [2011](#), [2013](#); International Paralympic Committee Academy [2013](#)).

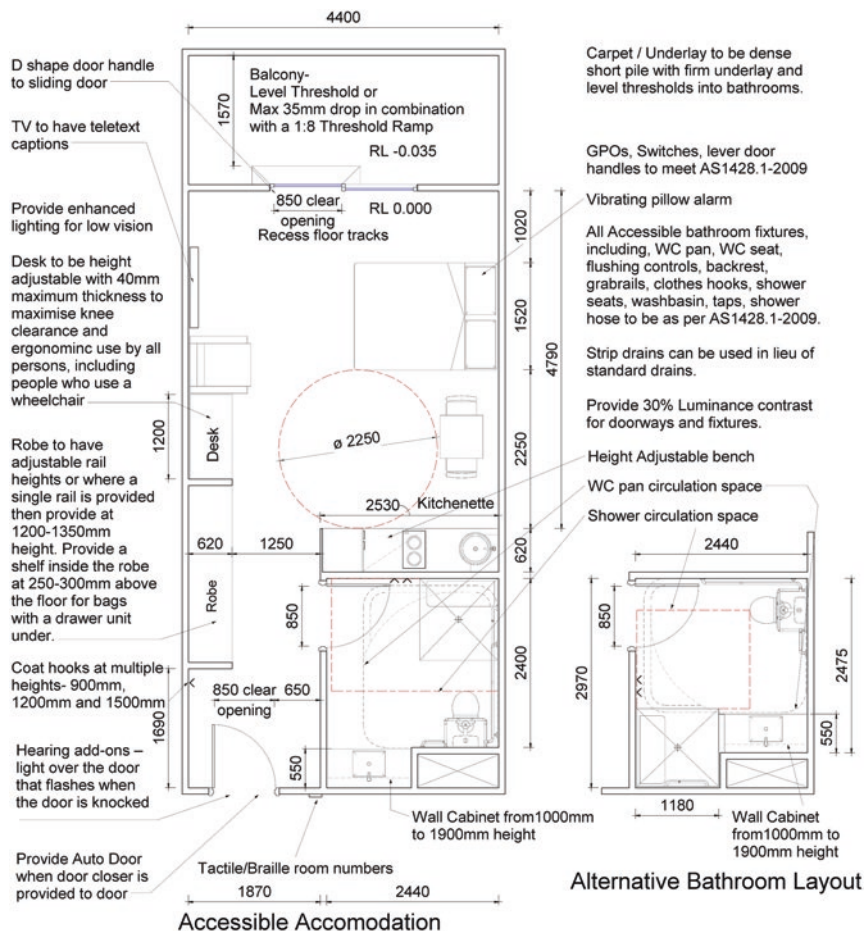
The Accessibility Guidelines explicitly set out the requirements for “wheelchair friendly” accessible guestrooms. Apart from the standard mobility access provisions already outlined, as Fig. [3.6](#) shows the importance of circulation space in both the bedroom and bathroom is critical. The other key requirement for an accessible guestroom for people with mobility disability is the provisions for bathrooms. As there are different cultural contexts for the preference of bathtubs or roll in showers, the guidelines stipulate that even numbers of bathtubs and roll in showers should be provided in each establishment. While a great deal of the provisions in accessible guestrooms has to do with mobility, there are some important considerations for people who are blind/vision impaired or

deaf/hearing impaired. For people with vision impairment overall lighting should be maintained at a minimum of 30 lux, with lighting at counters and sinks being 70 lux. Further, clocks are required to have a large, high contrast display. For people with hearing impairments, telephones need to be compatible with hearing aids, have a message light that flashes and rooms need to have both visual and audible alarms. While the guidelines for “wheelchair friendly” and accessible guestrooms are a major step forward for many parts of the world, best practice would suggest a much wider turning circle for power wheelchairs (2250 mm as opposed to the 1550 mm in the IPC guidelines) and a host of other inclusions for other impairment groups as shown in Fig. 3.7 (Madon and Relf 2016).

Training for Accessibility and Disability Awareness

A chapter of the accessibility guide is devoted to training for accessibility. It focuses on disability awareness training, games/job-specific training on accessibility and venue-specific training on accessibility. The focus of the training is for the games workforce including volunteers to be prepared to provide a first-class experience for athletes and spectators with disability. The programme seeks to enhance customer service training “to demystify issue of disability for all customer facing staff” and “must furnish participants with the tools and confidence to transfer basic disability awareness and etiquette knowledge to their roles” (IPC 2013a, 2013b, p. 105). Importantly, the manual notes that the training must also take into account cultural appropriateness. In a refreshingly inclusive approach, the scope of the training recognises that all staff will have some contact with members of the public, elite athletes or co-workers with disability. A review of disability awareness training literature (Lindsay and Edwards 2013) identifies aspects of best practice that the guidelines have adopted and cover the following areas:

- Person first approaches to disability
- Attitudes to disability beyond pity and inspiration



The dimensions shown above are minimums and the footprint should increase the area wherever possible

Fig. 3.7 Accessible guest room floorplan (Source: Farah Madon, Vista Access Architects © 2016)

- Disability types and support needs
- Communication
- Interpersonal interactions
- Active listening
- Etiquette for assisting people with disability

One of the most vaunted claims by the IPC is that the Paralympic Games have brought about major changes of attitude by the general public towards people with disability. However, while anecdotal accounts of attitude change exist there still has not been a systematic approach to testing the attitudes of the general public towards people with disability within a host city. In fact, some early work suggested that disability sport awareness programme interventions in schools had no lasting impact on attitude change (Wilhite et al. 1997). Although more recent programmes examining the attitudes of nondisabled students towards students with disabilities in integrated physical education classes after watching Paralympic intervention videos showed a positive change in attitude (McKay et al. 2015). There have been some more recent studies that suggest there may be short-term attitude change but these studies tend to rely on single intervention and are based on student or University cohorts as the test subjects rather than the general public (Ferrara et al. 2015). Similarly, while still relying on single interventions, a German experimental design study sought to examine the effects of different levels of empathy on audience interests, attitudes and behavioural intentions. The differing levels of empathy were “elevation and reflective thoughts” and “feeling of closeness, elevation and pity” (Bartsch et al. 2016). The area of attitude change and the Paralympics is ripe for work within future host cities particularly when considering the effect of the cultural context on attitudes towards people with disability.

Case Study—Evidence from London 2012

Misener et al. (2013) provides empirical research evidence of improving disability infrastructure in the host city. However, they acknowledge that while it is possible to plan for access in new Olympic infrastructure—including venues, transport and public spaces around venues—the wider city environment often poses challenges. While the legacy from London 2012 is beginning to emerge (legacy requires time!), access to both venues and transport can benefit greatly, with the London Games said to have “set the standard” for future Paralympics Games and made the host city significantly more accessible (Bamford 2016; Bamford and

Dehe 2016; McNevin 2014; Naish and Mason 2014; Sumner 2012a, 2012b; Waboso 2014). Yet, there are cautionary notes about the extent beyond the games precincts, volunteer experiences of sport participation generally, and removing transport barriers, where the soft legacy considerations of the material improvement of people with disabilities' independence remain largely unchanged (Ahmed 2013; Bamford and Dehe 2016; Brittain 2016; Bush et al. 2013; Christiansen 2013; Darcy et al. 2014; Evans 2015, p. 32; Grey-Thompson 2013). Bamford (2016) raises concerns that *the momentum toward further improvements is waning*. This Olympic and Paralympic Games accessibility experience of international attention where both the OCOGs and government have the short-term political will to be lauded for their efforts dissipates soon after the games ends and was similar to Sydney 2000 (Darcy 2001, 2003, 2016; Darcy and Appleby 2011). The IPC (2009a, 2013a, 2013b) have been visionary in wanting the Paralympic Games to be a change maker for the disability community in host destinations and those visiting. Yet, as Baroness Grey-Thompson, a former Paralympian and a cross-bench peer in the House of Lords, suggests that the London 2012 Paralympic legacy is “slipping away” because the social care support system is losing funding. She also states that it is difficult for society to change its attitude to social inclusion and access when people with disabilities are not able to access the support they need to undertake day-to-day activities. *But if you can't get out of bed or get washed in the morning, then you can't change the way people think, you can't take part in sport and you are not going to be involved in the community* (Grey-Thompson 2013).

Conclusion

One of the most significant differences between the Olympics and the Paralympics is the importance of accessibility. This chapter has reviewed the major considerations from the IPC Accessibility Guide (2009a, 2013a) together with contemporary research practice and reviews. Given the lack of consistent standards for accessibility across the world, the IPC initiative has provided leadership for bidding cities and subsequently awarded host cities as to a common language of what is to be expected

from one games to the next. Disability and accessibility is an ongoing dynamic development of expectations across impairment types and levels of support needs. As time progresses, so do the expectations of people with disability and the IPC need to ensure that the accessibility guidelines are constantly updated as world best practice moves forward. While guidelines do not guarantee implementation, the evidence from London 2012, and the guidelines from Rio 2016 suggest that efforts being made by the IPC are paying dividends. Yet, as noted in the London 2012 case study, legacy is always determined by the ongoing impact and the change in the material position of people with disability in the host city and country, that require an ongoing commitment to improving the human rights position of people with disability as stipulated by the UN CRPWD.

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4

Managing Legacy and the Paralympic Games

Laura Misener

Introduction

“We aim to build on the legacy of the Rio 2016 Paralympic Games and encourage more youngsters in the continent to try and compete in para-sport” (Andrew Parsons, Head of Brazilian Paralympic Committee 2006, p. 3). In recent years, cities hosting the Olympic and Paralympic Games have used the rhetoric of legacy for the host community as a way to demonstrate the broader value of hosting such a mega-event (Horne 2015; Grix 2013). While much of the legacy literature has focused on the Olympic Games, there is an emergence of research centred on the Paralympic Games and the potential value offered from hosting the Games. Unfortunately, legacy has become a “catch-all” term that seems to apply to anything intended or unintended leftover from hosting the event. This idea holds little value for host communities seeking to support broader social outcomes through event hosting. In the context of

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the Paralympic Games, however, the relative infancy of such a movement and the discussions about impacts offers a unique place to consider the role of the Games in influencing specific legacy and related effects. In this chapter, I will offer a perspective of managing Paralympic legacy based on the International Paralympic Committee's (IPC) approach to creating broad social legacies for people with disabilities, examine how this area has been explored in the scholarly literature, and offer some direction on evaluating and considering the role of legacy planning in Paralympic movement.

Legacy Discourses

The concept of legacy is not new to the realm of mega-events as it has been something embedded in the process from the beginning of times of event hosting, albeit not termed or addressed in the way or to the extent it is today. For some time, host cities have used post hoc evaluations of the event and developments to justify the value of the expenditures for the host city, and recently have begun to use a priori economic assessments to demonstrate the potential value of event hosting. In reality, the discourse of legacy grew out of political turmoil for the Olympic Games following disgraces such as the 2002 Salt Lake City Scandal involving allegations of bribes to International Olympic Committee (IOC) members to secure the 2002 Games (Andranovich et al. 2001). The resulting rule changes and expulsion of several IOC members did little to redress the lack of confidence and failures to address host city needs. Despite the concerns, under the auspices of the former president Juan Antonio Samaranch, the IOC did not acknowledge their role in the development and impact that Games had on host cities. For the most part, this idea was understood to be a state matter that offered host cities potential economic and infrastructural rewards. What host cities did with the enormous venues and capital expenditures was of no significance to the IOC and remains the case. However, under pressure from host nations and media criticism, the IOC began to acknowledge the need to address in some way the broader impact for a city/region of hosting the Olympic Games. In fact, the IOC amended the Olympic Charter to include a particular reference

to the creation of positive legacies from the Games and the promotion of sports for all in the host country. This came directly alongside the signing of Agenda 21 to encourage the members of the Olympic Movement to integrate sustainability principles into their operations (IOC 1999; Ritchie and Jay 1999).

In November 2002, the Olympic Studies Centre of the Autonomous University of Barcelona and the IOC Olympic Studies Centre in Lausanne jointly hosted a Symposium on the Legacy of the Olympic Games from 1984 to 2000 (Cashman 2002). The aim was to examine the different aspects of the legacy of the Olympic Games and thus set forth the first real focus on understanding and measuring legacy. The results of the 2002 conference were the identification of six tangible and intangible legacies to hosting the Games: economic impact, cultural considerations, social debate, sporting legacy, political legacy and value of Olympic education. At the same time, the IOC created the Olympic Games Impact (OGI) study forcing host cities to attempt measure the overall impact of the Olympic Games, assist in the transfer of knowledge between Games, and “to identify potential legacies, thereby maximising the benefits of their Olympic Games” (IOC 2006, p. 1).

From the growing literature on legacies, the one reported on most frequently is economic benefits, which can be attained through improved tourism, external investment and infrastructure (e.g. Alekseyeva 2014; Barget and Gougnet 2004; Dansero and Puttilli 2010; Preuss 2015). Political legacy tends to be a driving force behind hosting a mega-event such as the Olympic and Paralympic Games as it represents the desire to showcase the city from an international branding perspective with the intent to attract new investment, referred to by Veal (2002) as Hallmark decision-making. Ultimately, these political ideas are linked back to economic legacies just noted and the further advancement of related infrastructure such as telecommunications, transportation and housing. More recently there has been a growing interest in social legacies of events that relate to impacts such as community development, sport participation, emotional and social connectedness and culture (Hiller and Wanner 2014; Smith 2010; Taks et al. 2013). However, these are infamously difficult to define and even harder to measure, thus remain on the periphery for many host communities.

As a means to address the vagueness in the definition and evaluation of legacy, some scholars have offered up ways to define the legacy concept. For example, Preuss (2007) first conceptualised the notion of hard and soft legacies. Hard legacies are considered those more tangible such as infrastructure, whereas soft legacies are less tangible such as knowledge and cultural goods. He further advanced the idea that events offer up both tangible and intangible legacies that are a result of direct planning and others that result as an outcome of the event. This is demonstrated in the Legacy Cube (see Fig. 4.1 with examples of the areas under discussion). This concept did little to acknowledge how these legacies are to be produced or evaluated. Thus, Dickson et al. (2013) advanced the evaluation agenda through the legacy radar diagram which emphasises the interaction between the various elements of time and space in monitoring of outcomes. This was also the first model to acknowledge the Paralympic legacies as potentially distinct warranting evaluation.

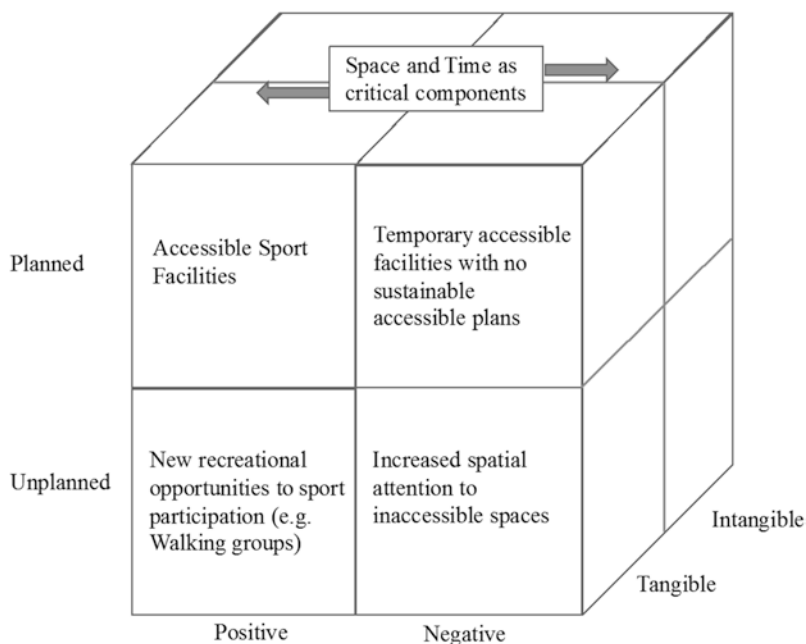


Fig. 4.1 Legacy Definitions Cube adapted from Preuss (2007)

Paralympic Legacy Discourses

Unlike Olympic legacy discourses that are more developed and have had substantial scholarly work addressing impacts, the same cannot be said for Paralympic Legacies. Given the relative infancy of the Paralympic movement in comparison to the Olympic movement, it is not surprising that this has yet to receive the same academic rigour. Nonetheless, the impact of the Paralympic Games on host communities is a critical piece to understand the development and the management of the Games themselves. Unlike the IOC, which has taken a very minimalist approach to requiring any sort of social impacts accrue to host communities, the IPC has forefronted these ideas in Section 5.2 of the IPC Handbook (2013). The IPC endeavours to work with the host Olympic Games Organising Committee to support and promote four principle legacy outcomes (IPC 2013, p. 37):

- Accessible infrastructure in sport facilities and in the overall urban development.
- Development of sport structures/organisations for people with an impairment, from grassroots to elite level.
- Attitudinal changes in the perception of the position and the capabilities of persons with an impairment as well as in the self-esteem of the people with a disability.
- Opportunities for people with an impairment to become fully integrated in social living and to reach their full potential in aspects of life beyond sports.

As part of this mandate the IPC, the host National Paralympic Committee (NPC) and the OCOG are responsible for promoting these impact opportunities. The IPC handbook also suggests that IPC will use its resources, expertise and networks to assist host cities in maximising the potential of the Games to create a lasting legacy. Host cities are obliged to set specific legacy objectives and coordinate activities to achieve these outcomes working closely with the NPC. While these objectives are laudable, particularly in comparison to the vagueness of Olympic legacy discussions, little research has addressed whether host cities are managing

and achieving these particular outcomes. This despite that in Section 5.2 of the IPC Handbook it goes on to indicate that host cities should measure the impact of the implementation of particular legacy programming. Yet there is no guidance on how OCOGs are to achieve these aims.

In addition to the operational discourse of legacy for the Paralympic Games, the IPC further acknowledges that the hosting of the Games has the potential to influence awareness about Paralympic sport and understanding of disability issues more broadly. This has been particularly important over time in the development of the Games themselves where at one time the Paralympic Games were run as a “sideshow” to the Olympic Games, but in recent years through the efforts of the IPC and host cities, the Paralympic Games have come into full force as a large-scale event in and of themselves. In fact, as discussed by Legg and Gilbert (2013) in their book about Paralympic Legacies, one of the most important legacy developments for the IPC has been in terms of Paralympic governance and sport development in nations around the world. This has been particularly important for NPCs seeking to develop disability sport in countries where the context of disability is poorly understood or all but absent from the public discourse. This is critical for persons with disability to participate in society. The notion of contributing to society is a fundamental concept to human rights, and yet these opportunities are differently understood across the globe.

Clearly, there is a particular cultural context that also requires consideration when discussing legacy regarding disability and Paralympic sport. This is important for all host cities, as for example, in many cultures the entire concept of volunteerism required to make the Games happen is irrelevant. For example, in China, there is no word for volunteer in any of the spoken languages, and the concept of unpaid “employment” was not understood; therefore, the Beijing Olympic Organizing Committee undertook public awareness campaigns about volunteering and partnered with academic institutions to have students placed in mandatory “voluntary” service of the Games (Zhuang and Girginov 2012). The issue of cultural and political context is likely even more potent in the discussion of Paralympic legacy as disability is highly contextual, with some cultures not acknowledging disability at all, let alone considerate of the context of

disability in terms of social inclusion more broadly (e.g. Meekosha and Soldatic 2011; Miles 2000).

Delivering Paralympic Legacy

As a means to offer a more nuanced consideration of legacy, the IPC has operationalised four areas where legacy can be addressed and instil the principles of accessibility and inclusion: (1) strategic and operational; (2) technical; (3) organisational; and (4) educational. I highlight how these are implemented in the context of previous host cities as a way to demonstrate how they are being addressed by OCOGs to create particular outcomes. See Table 4.1 for a summary of these principles and applications as described below.

Table 4.1 Delivering Paralympic legacy

	IPC context	Contextual examples
Strategic and operational area	Establishment of guiding principles, choices and operational approach in the direction of an environment without barriers, accessible by all	Integrated Organising Committee with accessible principles incorporated in all aspects of Games and distinct marks such as logos
Technical	Implementation of internationally accepted design standards and adoption of inclusive practices in all areas of construction	Kerb cuts and audible signals put in place in traffic flow areas of Olympic venues
Organisational	Establishment of co-ordination structures assigned with the responsibility to ensure accessibility and inclusion in the Host City and the venues of the Games, including expert consultation and a well-defined sign-off/approval process	Accessibility advisory councils and Paralympic personnel involved in all decision-making processes
Educational	Ensuring that appropriate education programmes are in place for the general public and especially for youth to foster understanding about inclusion and equal opportunities	Paralympic schools week programming

Strategic and Operational

Since the advent of the One Bid, One City agenda where cities are currently forced to host both the Olympic and Paralympic Games essentially creating one massive event, the need for policies and procedures on issues of accessibility is critical. The manner in which an OC sets about the strategic and operational decisions regarding the event sets the tone for how the overall event will be managed. It was the Sydney 2000 OC that began this movement with having functionally distinct OCs, effectively used a twinned structure to manage the Olympic and Paralympic Games demonstrating the efficiencies and logic of a combined OC. As Misener and Molloy (forthcoming) have discussed, the push and pull between integration for the purpose of efficiency of resources, and separation (of roles, of logos, etc.) for the purpose of distinction and recognition, is a challenge that every OC faces when developing the overall structure and defining the Olympic and Paralympic brand.

An example of the challenge and opportunity from the strategic perspective is the way in which the Vancouver 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games Organizing Committee (VANOC) adopted distinct marks for each game. VANOC's objective was "to create a distinctive and powerful visual identity for the Paralympic Games that also reflected the unique spirit and values of the Paralympic Movement" (VANOC 2010, p. 10). The concept of having two separate logos for the Games is one of the best visual representations of the distinction of the Paralympic Games creating a strategic legacy opportunity. However, this does present some operational challenges of ensuring that both logos were represented. For example, volunteer uniforms, an integration compromise was necessary to ensure appropriate representation of the Games without having to an entirely new uniform for each game. Thus in this case, all items of the uniform other than the jacket included just the "Vancouver 2010" word-mark (applying to both Games), and the outer jacket (and knapsack) had a removable patch on the front and back to change over from the Olympic rings to the Paralympic Agitos. The distinct marks piece is critical for the opportunity to brand the Paralympic Games and offer media and merchandising opportunities, such as Canadian company *The Bay*

producing distinct merchandise with the Paralympic logos for the 2010 Games. However, there is also the risk that one OC misses the strategic and operational necessity of distinction. Thus, it is a challenge to ensure that principles, choices and operational approach create an environment without barriers, accessible by all, but also presents distinction for the Paralympic legacy (Dickson et al. 2013).

Technical

In hosting a large-scale event, it is inevitable that there will be numerous infrastructure developments in the host city including new sports arenas, changes to existing sporting infrastructure and upgrades to the urban landscape. In the context of these developments, host cities are required to implement internationally accepted design standards that focus on a barrier-free environment and accessibility for all. This has meant that many host cities have been required to consider how they address broader issues of infrastructure accessibility that had not previously considered.

For the Beijing 2008 Paralympic Games where the environment of disability had been highly problematic, the Chinese Government bulldozed 28,000 kerbs in central Beijing to create kerb cuts allowing more barrier-free travel throughout the core of the city. These Games also enjoyed the luxury of numerous newly built sporting venues for the event that were constructed using Universal Design principles. These principles emphasise a design and composition of an environment that can be accessed, understood and used to the greatest extent possible by all people regardless of age, size or ability thus meeting the needs of all who wish to use it. This means that the sporting infrastructure is highly accessible and areas around the sporting venues have greater levels of accessibility. However, given the cultural invisibility of disability in the country, much still remains to be done beyond the technical realm to create a culture of acceptance and inclusion of disability in this society. Infrastructure developments alone cannot create the kind of social legacy needed to have a more inclusive society that supports human rights of people with disabilities. Further, in some instances where infrastructure may have been an opportunity for broader social change, the developments can be fleeting.

In the case of everyday mobility, the low-floor buses developed as part of the Games all but disappeared six months post Games; thus, not all changes implemented from Games remain for local improvements.

Organisational

In order for the Games to offer more inclusive and tangible outcomes, there needs to be the establishment of co-ordination structures within the host city to facilitate the broad base of opportunities presented. This means that there should be an organisation assigned with the responsibility to ensure accessibility and inclusion in the host city and the venues of the Games. This has also meant engaging expert consultation and a clearly defined sign-off and approval process to ensure that opportunities are not held up by the everyday management features of delivering the Games. Consider the enormity of such a task in a host city such as London, England where the foundations of city infrastructure are built upon centuries of developments that took no account of accessibility or universal design needs. In the bid for the London 2012 Games, the Government said that “the London 2012 Games would help to drive forward the cause of disability equality by changing attitudes, improving access and opening up new opportunities across sport, culture and business” (DCMS, 2013, p.25). Governance of the broader legacy in London 2012 was the responsibility of the Olympic Park Legacy Company established in 2009, only three years before the 2012 Games. However, there is much evidence to suggest that legacy planning overall was a much-delayed process.

To meet some of the needs of developing a legacy of accessibility, London 2012 had to work closely with disability groups such as Equality 2025, an advisory group of persons with disability tasked with determining the central legacy goals for accessibility: (1) opportunities for participation in sport and physical activity; (2) community engagement; and (3) transform the perception of persons with disabilities’ economic contribution to society. To achieve these lofty goals, a number of initiatives were set in place around the organisational management of legacy. The Olympic Delivery Authority worked closely with the regional and

local authorities to develop an accessibility policy that required all venues and services to adhere to high universal access standards. This then resulted in the development of the Built Environment Access Panel post Games to manage accessibility issues in and around Olympic Park.

Some have argued that these developments alongside an extremely successful Paralympic Games have been influential in changing attitudes towards disability (UK Department of Work & Pensions 2014). Yet others question the impact of these developments on improving the lives of persons with disabilities in and around the city of London (Scope 2013). Developments of this sort need to be carefully managed and developed to fit the sociocultural context if there are to be lasting legacies for organisational accessibility (Ahmed 2013; Darcy et al. 2014; Misener 2015).

Educational

Part of the value of hosting such a large-scale event which highlights disability as a centrepiece is the opportunity to open up broader conversations about accessibility and disability-related issues. Thus, the IPC mandates that in order to offer a legacy of greater understanding and awareness and to increase positive attitude towards disability, educational programmes should be in place for the general public and particularly youth to foster inclusion and equal opportunities. The Vancouver 2010 Paralympic Games provides a good example of how the Games offered the opportunity to present an educational legacy occasion stemming from the event. In the case of Vancouver 2010, the responsibility for creating a legacy was held by a distinct organisation working alongside the Organizing Committee. This model presents a unique means in and of itself to consider how legacies, in particular social legacies, can be secured by host cities.

In this case, *2010 Legacies Now* used a social innovation model to focus on creating partnership opportunities, be a highly engaged funding organisation, and use innovative methods to broaden the reach of legacy. As part of their extensive legacy strategy, a key pillar of the approach was Accessibility and Inclusion for people with disabilities. Measuring Up was the central legacy strategy for this pillar that brought together

representatives from local governments, businesses and community organisations to explore ways to improve access in community life. It was a unique educational opportunity to enhance community accessibility across the province of British Columbia, well beyond the scope of the Games. Measuring Up was based on a grassroots community development philosophy where communities sought funding for accessible recreation, employment and community participation opportunities. In total, 88 communities were funded for programmes such as community recreation facilities upgrades (e.g. wheelchair ramps, automatic doors and elevators), increased employment opportunities and development of accessible outdoor trails and parks (Weiler 2011).

Further to this programme, 2010 Legacies Now also partnered with a local technology company, the Province of British Columbia and 3M to develop an educational programme for elementary and secondary school students with disabilities. The accessible website *Virtual Voices Village* enables students to develop journalistic communication skills through reporting on local events. It is a digital educational platform for individuals to be a voice in the community that remains as a legacy of these Games (Weiler 2011). These examples demonstrate the opportunity presented by hosting the Paralympic Games to create social legacy outcomes. But also, there is a further acknowledgement in these examples that social impacts is often beyond the purview of the organising committee, and is thus likely better served to have an external agency working alongside the organising committee to produce Paralympic legacies.

Understanding Paralympic Legacy Impacts

Despite the discourses about legacy and the desired result of hosting Games being more clearly on the agenda of the IPC, little is actually known about how to deliver these outcomes or the actual impact of the strategies in place. Legg and Gilbert (2010) were the first to produce a detailed account of legacies from previous host cities in their book *Paralympic Legacies*. However, much of the accounts in the book are anecdotal and fail to offer empirical evidence of the outcomes of hosting or legacy programmes that have been implemented. Misener et al. (2013)

sought to synthesise the past research on Paralympic Legacies noting that there had only been 13 studies examining Paralympic legacies, and these primarily focused on issues related to volunteers, infrastructure and transport and international governance. Thus, while the potential to create a sustainable legacy outcome from hosting the event would seem promising from the examples noted above, there is still very little evidence to support the success of these initiatives. Since the London 2012 Games, there has been an increase in attention paid to research on Paralympic sport, but for the most part these are part of a greater synthesis of research and not the primary focus (see e.g. Girginov 2012; Dickson et al. 2014).

There are two critical issues that arise in the discussion of managing Paralympic legacies. Firstly, who is responsible for developing and managing these strategies (governance) and secondly, how will success be measured and by whom (accountability). From the perspective of governance, it would seem that the model put forth by Vancouver with having a separate organisation responsible for delivering legacy would be logical. The OC has the enormous task of developing and delivering the Games, and as such is not really the appropriate group to be responsible for delivering on legacy, and further to this, the OC is disbanded shortly after the end of the Games when the real legacy work begins. It is interesting that this concept has been argued elsewhere for smaller scale para-sport events (see Misener 2015) yet has not taken hold at the level of the Olympic or Paralympic Games.

Vancouver's model of 2010 Legacies Now is certainly a laudable way to consider how legacies can be delivered for the host city that maps onto the desires of the host region and the bid commitments made in the initial phases. Legacies Now evolved post Games into a non-profit venture philanthropy, LIFT Partners, which "invests in building the capacity, sustainability and impact of charities, non-profits and social enterprises working to remove barriers to health, education, skills development and employment for vulnerable and at-risk Canadians" (LIFT, 2016). However, it is also a classic example of where the Paralympic objectives of accessibility and inclusion for people with disabilities get left behind. There were some excellent examples of creating new programmes and community infrastructure to support accessibility and inclusion pre and during Games, and these initiatives have all but vanished post Games. Thus, the question remains, who should be responsible for the legacy

post-Paralympic Games and how can we ensure an enduring legacy around the IPC objectives.

This leads to the second managerial conundrum for delivering a legacy of Paralympic Games. As Cashman and Horne (2013) articulated in their chapter on managing Olympic legacy, the assessment of legacy is a difficult task due to issues of geographic reach, timescale and overall accountability. Certainly, it seems an admirable outcome for a host city to become more accessible and offer greater opportunities for people with disability to fully participate in society, and there are significant challenges of implementation and sustainability. In each host country, the context of disability differs significantly where in some locales policies and programmes advancing human rights agendas for disability are prominent, and in others disability is almost completely unrecognised. The advent of the *One Bid One City* agenda has brought about some incredible advances in disability sport and great recognition for the Paralympic movement, while at the same time highlight the importance of distinction in creating legacy outcomes (Misener and Molloy [in press](#)).

However, it has also come at a cost where host organising committees are so focused on the Olympic Games that the Paralympic components and related legacy opportunities can be missed. As there is no accountability to either the IOC or the IPC for creating these outcomes, little can be done to regulate the potential opportunity. Even with the guidelines for the bid and delivery of the Games, ultimately host cities are not held accountable for these commitments as there are no repercussions or sanctions imposed for not achieving the desired legacy outcomes. The IOC has implemented the OGI assessment as a means to try to redress some of the inadequacies in its accountability for legacy in host cities. The original measures created for the OGI had no indicators specifically addressing Paralympic social impacts. In the most recent version of the OGI, there no specific indicators, but rather broad areas meant to acknowledge cultural, social, political and geographical variations of host cities. In this, there are a number of areas that relate to the desired Paralympic outcomes, but again no accountability for the development and impacts these potentially offer (IOC 2013), and no means of comparing across host cities. The development of Paralympic legacy becomes so diffuse that it is almost impossible to measure and assess whether there has been a positive impact on host regions.

Towards a Future of Paralympic Legacy

Part of the discord about the value of hosting the Olympic and Paralympic Games for a host city/region is the enormous debt load and infrastructure that can often go into disrepair after the Games. This is in part why the legacy discourse has become so prominent in an attempt to showcase the value of hosting events for broader outcomes. However, I would argue that the Paralympic Games have a much greater opportunity for points of leverage and offer legacy potentials that enhance the lives of local population—yet these opportunities remain underexploited, undervalued and substantially under-resourced. Given the context of disability differs significantly from one host city to the next, it is certainly a complex issue in terms of being able to showcase opportunities and open up the space for social change. Too many host cities continue to rely on the philosophy that the event by itself will bring about the desired outcomes. This goes back to the central concern of legacy which is the management of the legacy, as has been previously noted by Cashman and Horne (2013). A key issue for Paralympic legacy is to ensure that those responsible for legacy planning and development have the knowledge and skills set to produce appreciable, resourced and measurable outcomes. Misener and Molloy (*in press*) discussed the tensions in organising a Games with the advent of the singular organising committee, where all too often the Paralympic components are an afterthought in the wake of staging such a large-scale initiative. This too can be problematic for Paralympic legacy developments. Thus, key partnerships across sectors including partners such as disability rights groups, accessibility advisors, urban planners and event organisers are critical if Paralympic legacies are to be realised.

A critical theoretical issue in legacy is the passive nature of the concept as mentioned above. In recent years, there has been a shift from the concept of legacy to a leveraging approach where the event is the seed capital to develop and produce strategic outcomes. Chalip's (2004) original conceptualisation of leverage forefronts the event as a way to develop new products that fit within the overall marketing mix of the Games. Given this context and the lack of past work on disability sport, the Paralympic Games offer an enormous opportunity for creating new programmes and products to enhance social inclusion. However, this potential for legacy

can only occur when there is good integration of the event and existing resources in the community. In the case of the Paralympic Games, there is great opportunity to highlight disability issues and increase accessibility. Accessibility is an issue of human rights and a business case for increasing the potential of global capital investment related to tourism and business opportunities. For example, in terms of tourism development, which is a key part of the Olympic and Paralympic legacy, accessible tourism products are critical. As Darcy and Dickson (2009) have noted, “environments designed to be inclusive of mobility would be of assistance for people using wheelchairs, those with mobility challenges, families with prams, travelers with heavy luggage, shoppers with trolleys and workers safely going about their duties” (p. 34). Thus, the event becomes a catalyst for broader accessible opportunities in the community.

In moving forward, there is a great need to ensure that the legacy of the Paralympic Games becomes a central part of the hosting agenda. This can be achieved by realising the potential of distinct Paralympic products such as mascots, logos, equipment, human resources and so on, which all offer points of leverage for the local community. Host cities need to be held accountable for the creation of these legacies, with a level responsibility tied into the reporting structure. This also means that legacies need to be evaluated pre, during and post Games, with resources specifically set aside to do so. The resourcing of legacy evaluation has been a part of the Bid agenda for many years, and yet no OC has specifically set aside the necessary resources to create and evaluate legacies of Paralympic Games. The resulting information also needs to be part of the knowledge mobilisation agenda for future host cities so that they can learn how to capitalise on the opportunity of the event. This is particularly critical for host cities where disability is poorly understood and cultural contexts preclude desired levels of inclusion.

Conclusion

There is still some work to be done to truly understand the legacies associated with the Paralympic Games. Since the time of early Stoke Mandeville Games, the disability sport movement has grown exponentially and achieved a managerial legacy to support the breadth and reach of opportunity presented by hosting the Games. It is up to host communities to

embrace the power of the event to create new opportunities for participation and accessible societies. Past Games have demonstrated ways in which the event can offer strategies for social change through infrastructural developments, policy advances and communications (i.e. media).

In short, the Paralympic Games present a tremendous opportunity to create social change. Barriers to full participation in community life faced every day by persons with disabilities such as inaccessible infrastructures, poor attitudes towards disability, social stigmas, lack of necessary equipment, inadequate transport and so on can all be addressed to some extent by the Paralympic movement. This is not to suggest that the Games offer a solution to these issues, but rather the large-scale event presents the platform and potentially resources to highlight inequities and offer some modes of redress. As with other areas of developments associated with the Games, they offer the opportunity to accelerate the rate of social change that might not otherwise occur. It is not an automatic social change resulting from the event itself, but that rather a congruence of mechanisms such as infrastructure, policy, planning and evaluation that offer the opportunity for accelerating this agenda. But the key in moving the Paralympic Legacy agenda forward will be to ensure adequate representation of the Paralympic movement in all aspects of the Games. This would require full recognition of inclusion and accessibility as a human right and forefronting the Paralympic Games in all aspects of the event. Until this occurs, it is unlikely that the vast social change potential of the Paralympic Games will be fully realised and legacies are maximised for host cities.

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5

Managing Paralympic Bodies: The Technology of Classification and Its Impact on (Dis)abled Athletes

P. David Howe and Paul J. Kitchin

Introduction

In this chapter, we explore the significance given to the management of (dis)abled bodies within the field of Paralympic Sport. At the outset it is important to state that we use the prefix “(dis)” connected to the words “abled” and “ability” to make it clear that we celebrate that the practice of high-performance sport is about embodied physical capital, and, while the public and policy maker alike often fail to see the sport because of the disability (see DePauw [1997](#)), we see the pursuit of physical betterment as a product of ability. It is our aim to undertake a critical examination of the International Paralympic Committee’s (IPC) management of (dis)abled bodies. We are particularly interested in the IPC’s classifica-

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tion process that impacts upon the athletes and shapes their participation within the Paralympics. The Paralympic classification process has three stages¹:

1. Does the athlete have an eligible impairment for this sport?
2. Does the athlete's eligible impairment meet the minimum disability criteria of the sport?
3. Which sport class describes the athlete's activity limitation most accurately?

We will argue in this chapter that athletes with (dis)abled bodies should have a central role to play in the classification process outlined above. In order to do so, we draw on Morgan's (1994) notion of "practice community" to characterise elite (dis)abled athletes as actors central to the Paralympic movement. The main aim of the practice community in this context is the empowerment of athletes with a disability. This, however, does not sit easily with the IPC because the modification of the system for classifying (dis)abled athletes is subject to the pressure of commercialisation (Howe 2008a; Jones and Howe 2006; Howe and Silva 2015). An outcome of that pecuniary process is athlete marginalisation from decisions about classification.

In order achieve the aim of unpacking the management of Paralympic bodies, we begin this chapter by briefly outlining the historical context in which the (dis)abled bodies are situated. This will be followed by a discussion of the primary management tool at the IPCs disposal—classification, whereby (dis)abled athletes are either included or excluded from IPC managed events. After this, we offer by way of critique an alternative approach based on an exploration of the Paralympic practice community as understood through a Foucauldian lens. Ultimately, we hope to encourage scholars, (dis)ability activists and athletes to regularly examine the practices they are exploring and/or living, and to be mindful of how things might be organised differently.

¹ <https://www.paralympic.org/classification> – Accessed 15 May 16.

The Organisation of Paralympic Sport

Before the establishment of the IPC, (dis)ability sport was organised internationally by a number of (dis)ability-specific sport federations. Each of these federations had a responsibility to a constituent body of member nations, and they structured a sporting calendar for impairment-specific groups, from grassroots to international level (see Howe 2008a). The federations, namely the Cerebral Palsy International Sport and Recreation Association, International Blind Sport Association, International Sports Federation for Persons with Intellectual Disability, and the International Wheelchair and Amputee Sport Association (IWAS), were established with the explicit intention of creating opportunities for people with (dis)abilities to engage in sport and to use it as a vehicle for their empowerment. Collectively these federations are known as the International Organisations for Sport for the Disabled (IOSDs). It was the IOSDs and their predecessors that helped to organise the Paralympic Games from 1960 to 1988. Early Games were organised and run on a much smaller scale than those under the influence of the IPC. The rapid growth of the IPC in the last few years has enabled it to establish an extensive network of 177 national affiliates that in some cases either replicate or replace the national governing bodies of the federations.

The IPC currently organises and administers both the Paralympic Games and the quadrennial World Championships for individual Paralympic sports, such as swimming and athletics. Using the resources of the four federations listed above (including athletes, volunteer administrators and some of their classification systems), the IPC has turned the Paralympic Games into the most recognisable and influential vehicle for the promotion of sport for the disabled. The Paralympics is well organised: it now has a relatively high profile that attracts significant media coverage and commercial revenue from sponsorship, like many other modern sport spectacles (Howe 2008b). Almost 4300 athletes from every corner of the globe will compete in the 2016 Paralympic Games in Rio, Brazil making the Paralympic Games unquestionably the main international sporting forum for athletes with varying degrees of (dis)ability.

Since the establishment of the IPC in 1989, those involved with this institution have worked tirelessly to heighten the public profile of elite (dis)ability sport. A year prior to the establishment of the IPC, the Paralympic Games in Seoul began a pattern of following directly on from the Olympic Games, in the sporting calendar, making use of the same venues and state of the art facilities. In many respects, this use of Olympic facilities helped to legitimise elite (dis)ability sport. The IPC first became the international partner of the local Paralympic Games organising committee in 1992. Under the supervision of the IPC, there has been a move towards the commercialisation of sport for the disabled, managed in partnership with increased media coverage of flagship events (Schell and Rodriguez 2001; Smith and Thomas 2005; Howe 2008a, 2008b).

In 2001, the IPC and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) signed an agreement that benefited the IPC by providing it with long-term financial support, access to high-quality facilities in which to hold the Paralympics, and countless other commercial opportunities. For the IOC, the positive publicity garnered praise for the charitable support of the IPC at a time when the organisation's core values were being publicly scrutinised in light of scandals associated with the 2002 Salt Lake City Winter Olympic Games. In 2003, this agreement was amended to transfer "broadcasting and marketing responsibilities of the 2008, 2010, and 2012 Paralympic Games to the Organizing Committee of these Olympic and Paralympic Games" (IPC 2003, p. 1). Subsequently, this agreement has been amended further to run up until after the 2020 Tokyo Games (IPC 2012). While agreements such as this will ease financial concerns for the IPC, it may force a restructure of Paralympic sport. The IOC demands that the Paralympic Games are restricted in size to 4300 athletes. In the eyes of the IOC, limiting the size of future Paralympic Games makes it a more manageable product to promote. However, the marketing of the Olympics and Paralympics as a single entity has undermined the IPC's autonomy to use the Paralympic Games to educate the public about athletes with a (dis)ability. The erosion of this educational imperative is problematic because one of the IPC's explicit aims is the effective and efficient promotion of elite (dis)ability sport. Moreover, the IPC's dictum "empower, inspire and achieve"² suggests that the Paralympic

²www.paralympic.org

movement is concerned with empowering its athletes in the hope that their performances will inspire others to great achievements. We believe it is champion athletic (dis)abled bodies that are the key to the successful commercial development of the Paralympic movement, and therefore they should have a significant role in how they and their peers are managed. There are, indeed, problems when primary stakeholders like athletes are not included in policy processes. A key example, to which we now turn, is the management of elite (dis)abled bodies through the process of Paralympic classification.

An Overview of IPC Classification

The (dis)abled sporting bodies that are categorised for Paralympic sporting events including the Paralympic Games go through a classification process that determined whether they are eligible to compete. Impairment groups involved in Paralympic sport are people with amputations, cerebral palsy, intellectual impairment, spinal cord injury and visual impairment. There is another group of athletes called *les autres*. *Les autres* is a French phrase used within (dis)ability sport circles meaning “the others”. Originally, the term refers to athletes with a disability who did not directly fit into the classification system established for athletes with a spinal cord injury that are now represented by the IOSD and IWAS. Today *les autres* is used to highlight any athlete who is not specifically referred to in the classification systems of any of the IOSDs and who can be slotted into an existing classification system. For example, athletes with spinal bifida who use wheelchairs would be considered *les autres* and would be able to be slotted into the IWAS classification system.

The process of determining whether a (dis)abled body is eligible to compete in Paralympic sport that can be stressful and time consuming for the athlete (Howe 2008b). Depending on the impairment and the sport the exact protocol for classification process varies³. Within the sport of track and field athletics, for example, athletes with physical impairments such as amputations, cerebral palsy and spinal cord injury are classified by a classification team that comprise a medical doctor, a physiotherapist and

³<https://www.paralympic.org/classification> – Accessed 15 May 16.

a sport technical expert. For athletes with sensor impairments such as a visual impairment they must be assessed by an ophthalmologist. Athletes with intellectual impairments are assessed by a clinical psychologist.

Classifiers determine whether or not the impairment of the (dis)abled body is eligible for Paralympic competition. One point that the classification team needs to consider is whether the (dis)abled athlete's eligible impairment meet the minimum disability criteria of the sport. This is determined by whether or not the impairment involved negative impacts upon training and competition. For example, the amputation of fingers or more than 10 % usable vision would rule out runners in amputee or visual impaired classes in the sport of track and field athletics. It is important to note here that there are 28 Paralympic Sports⁴ that are contested at the summer or winter games. Many of these have distinctive classifications systems that are designed to determine whether or not certain (dis)abled bodies are eligible for competition. Getting eligible bodies into the correct classification is the ultimate goal of the classification process that the teams of classifiers are actioned to facilitate. As such classification is a fundamental component of Paralympic culture (Howe 2008a, 2008b), but we need to be aware that classification systems and the processes that develop out of them are not social neutral (Dupré 2006) and can control the (dis)abled bodies that can compete in Paralympic sport. It is the element of control within the classification process to which we now turn.

Classification as a Technology of Control

Classification is contested terrain in Paralympic sport; it is another element of the organisational structure within sport for the disabled that contributes to its distinctive habitus (Howe and Jones 2006). On the face of it, classification is simply a structure for competition similar to the systems used in the sport of judo where combatants perform in distinctive weight categories. A cumbersome and complex classification system, central to Paralympic sport, is the result of the historical development of sport for the disabled (DePauw and Gavron 1995; Steadward

⁴<https://www.paralympic.org/sports> – Accessed 25 May 16.

1996; Vanlandewijck and Chappel 1996). As far as the IOC and IPC are concerned, this system detracts from the Paralympic Games as a sporting spectacle because it confuses spectators (Smith and Thomas 2005). Sports such as swimming have been at the forefront of establishing an integrated functional classification system, albeit with limited success (Richter et al. 1992; Richter 1994; Daly and Vanlandewijck 1999). There has also been some preliminary discussion related to an evidence-based system of classification (Beckman and Tweedy 2009) but to date only a disability-specific classification system has been used. Ultimately, though, the IPC is attempting to modify the classification system to suit aims and objectives that appear to be at odds with the ethos of the Paralympic Movement.

Within (dis)ability sport, competitors are classified by their body's degree of functional capacity. It is therefore important that the classification process achieves equity in Paralympic sporting practice, enabling athletes to compete on what is, in principle, a "level playing field" (Sherrill 1999). Classification in (dis)ability sport needs to continually evolve to allow for the pursuit of equitable and fair competition. As Beckman and Tweedy suggest,

[C]lassification systems aim to ensure that athletes who succeed in Paralympic sport do so because they have the most favourable anthropometric, physiological and psychological attributes and have enhanced them to best effect through training and diet; athletes should not succeed simply because their impairment is less severe than that of their competitors. (Beckman and Tweedy 2009, p. 1067)

We believe in the sentiment in the statement above; we are not arguing for a status quo, but contend that athletes should be consulted regularly in the development and implementation of classification systems. The practice community of Paralympic sport reflected in the IOSD established a system where athletes with a disability were able to enjoy equitable sporting competition (Howe and Jones 2006). Many of the first officials of the IPC had previously held posts within these founding federations. Consequently, there was initially carte blanche acceptance of the IOSD's classification systems in the early days of the IPC.

A complex disability-specific classification system made it initially difficult for the IPC to attract the desired media attention; it was difficult for them to grasp that complexity, let alone report on it. Since the establishment of the IPC, there has been constant pressure placed upon the IOSDs to find alternatives to the disability-specific classification systems in order to facilitate the streamlining of Paralympic programme. According to Steadward, “the potential benefit of decreasing classes by using a functional integrated classification system is that it may simplify the integration into the rest of the sports world” (Steadward 1996, p. 36). Such a functional integrated classification system was developed in a few sports, such as swimming and both downhill and cross-country skiing. In this system, athletes are classified according to what they can and cannot achieve physically rather than by the severity of their disability, as is the case with the disability-specific classification system. The use of the functional integrated classification system reduces the number of classes for a group of athletes by focusing upon functional ability rather than disability, and ultimately leads to an increase in the number of viable events at major championships (Vanlandewijck and Chappel 1996, p. 70–1). Currently the IPC champions Evidenced-Based Models of classification (Tweedy and Vanlandewijck 2011).

In 2006, the IPC implemented a uniform code of practice in classification. The IPC reported that “the classification code will aim to synchronise all sport specific classification processes and procedures, in much the same way that the world Anti-Doping Code has done for international anti-doping rules and regulations” (IPC 2004, p. 11). However, the implementation of a classification code has further distanced the practice community from the organisation of the Paralympic Games. At present, there is a lack of agreement between the IPC and the IOSDs as to what is best for the athletes involved in various sports. Issues and debates surrounding classification continue to be of concern. As Wu and Williams (1999) have suggested, a tension existed in altering the classification system in swimming.

One of the major difficulties in developing any classification system ... is handling the assumption that all individuals in the same category demonstrate a similar performance standard. Decreasing the number of classes in

a system increases the number of swimmers in each class. This is desirable when the goal is to increase the credibility of the whole swimming competition, but it is extremely problematic in single events because it increases the potential for differences between swimmers. (p. 264)

Numerous challenges are involved in establishing an equitable classification system. The sport of swimming was one of the first to adopt the IPC's mandated integrated functional classification system⁵. It can be contrasted with the sport of athletics, where the IPC is in continual conflict with the IOSDs about the most equitable system to employ in the classification process.

The Paralympic Practice Community

Morgan's concept of practice community has been used to good effect when looking at Paralympic sporting culture (Howe and Jones 2006). For the purpose of this chapter, we want to run this analysis through a Foucauldian lens to highlight how the (dis)abled bodies that are central to the practice community are managed through the Paralympic classification process that both disciplines and makes them docile (Foucault 1975). As such, the concepts of discipline and the technology run like a spine along the practice community to mandate the process of classification.

The conceptualisation of the practice community, as articulated by Morgan (1994, 2002), provides the theoretical framework for a culturally focused ethical exploration of the role of classification within Paralympic sport. Morgan's (1994) definition of the practice community includes not only primary agents (the athletes) but also secondary agents such as coaches, sporting officials, spectators and the media, all of whom benefit from the sustainable pursuit of the sport. Unlike Howe and Jones (2006), and with the benefit of a decade of hindsight, we assert that it is the primary agents (the athletes) should *always* be the central focus of a sporting practice, regardless of how commercially developed it is or

⁵The integrated functional classification system was first adopted at the 1992 Paralympic Games in Barcelona, Spain.

desires to be. The institutional power of the IPC through its control of the classification process is a paradigmatic example of Morgan's central point about—in this case—the marginalisation of the practice community. Second, Morgan (1994) offers a clear and instructive remedy for institutional intrusion by insisting that deliberative authority ought to lie squarely on the shoulders of the practice community. He argues that the institutional grip on practices should be loosened. Morgan believes that scholars should help “wrest control of such practices from bureaucratic types and turn them over to the practice community where they belong” (Morgan 1994, p. 208). This act of “revolution” is key if individuals with disabilities are to be empowered through sport. In fact, Morgan goes further by issuing the following edict: “I propose that all substantive policy matters regarding the conduct and reform of sport be turned over to practice communities” (Morgan 1994, p. 237). In other words, the rational deliberations of the members of the practice community, primarily but not exclusively the athletes, ought to drive policy and the proper conduct of the practice.

Morgan's concept of a practice community facilitates a way of determining whether or not participants in Paralympic sport have the ability to control their own practice. The concept of practice community provides a means to examine the relationship between the IPC and the athletes in order to determine whether or not the process of classification, which is central to (dis)ability sport, has been used in the athletes' best interests. It is worth mentioning here that there are many (dis)abled bodies that are unclassifiable within the Paralympic system. The IPC controls who is eligible—acting in many respects like a panopticon (Foucault 1975)—for competition; therefore, the Paralympic community is a limited segment of the (dis)ability sports community, yet there might be a time where the variety of (dis)abilities presented might increase or decrease (Howe and Silva *in press*). Morgan (1994) argues that scholars are able to incisively and critically explore where the power lies when social practices and institutional concerns are separated from each other. The focus of our argument, therefore, is not that athletes with a (dis)ability ought to be emancipated from the shackles of the bourgeois controllers and administrators because of inequality, alienation or exploitation, but rather that the powerful influence of institutions (in this case the IPC) over sporting practice ought to be examined more closely.

Sporting institutions, according to Morgan (1994), are ostensibly bureaucratic organisations that, among other things, undertake a crucial role in sustaining practices by standardising rules, arranging fixtures and generally organising, funding and regulating the practice. The IPC, for example, is explicitly committed to guarantee and supervise successful Paralympic Games. It must be noted that the IPC has a wide variety of intentions, not all of which are explicitly market driven. Indeed, the crucial role of institutions in sustaining and nurturing community practices is often overlooked (McNamee 1995). Institutions have another crucial and definitive role, however, namely the distribution of rewards, otherwise known as the “external goods”. The IPC is a paradigmatic example of an institution procuring such external goods as sponsorship, endorsements, TV contracts and so forth. External goods are primarily financial. As a result, the IPC is following the example of the IOC, which, according to Morgan, were “supposed to be about ethics rather than pocket-books, to be dedicated to the moral welfare of others and the cause of international peace rather than enriching Olympic officials, sponsors, and athletes” (Morgan 2002, p. 282). In pursuing these financial goals, institutions such as the IPC comply with the capitalist logic of the free market. It is not the case that every official of the IPC is concerned with the economic viability of the Paralympic Games ahead of the welfare of the practice community’s primary agents (the classifiable (dis)abled athletes), but the institution as a whole leans in this direction. In this respect, the main concern of institutions such as the IPC is the efficient procurement and distribution of external rewards by making more money and packaging the most attractive and commercially viable viewing product that will be sold to the highest bidder. As Morgan puts it:

So when, for example, athletic institutions seek patrons to subsidise their programs, and when they package athletic events to suit the tastes of consumers willing to pay for their “product,” they are quite deliberately and self consciously functioning as markets. (Morgan 1994, p. 138)

The only evaluative criteria relevant to such logic are supply, demand and profit. Good games are profitable ones, good sports are marketable ones, and good athletes are endorsable ones. The IPC are conspiring with the IOC to repack, remarket, refresh, modernise and essentially sell the

Paralympics. The product, however, needs revising to increase demand. As a result, athletes become controlled in the bureaucratic panopticon (Foucault 1975) that is the IPC classification process (Howe 2008b). The Paralympics need to be quicker, slicker, shorter, with fewer events, with a small number of higher profile champions and recognisable household names.

Yet according to Morgan (1994), the logic of sporting practices is very different from their institutions. Understanding this logic is important in the development of a robust critique of the power of the IPC and its ability—through the technology of classification—to control the bodies that engage in Paralympic sport. Sports are uniquely characterised by a gratuitous logic. They are activities that are essentially pursued for their own sake; they provide a challenge and a test (Kretchmar 1995). As such, they have their own “internal goods” that are inextricably linked to this logic, an irrational character that can be seen clearly when looking at the constitutive rules. While necessary for sport competition, rules can create unnecessary obstacles—notably by making sport even more challenging and goals more difficult to achieve than they otherwise need to be. The gratuitous logic of sport is, according to Morgan (1994, p. 215), a contingent universal condition of its practice. It is this logic that is definitive of the practices we call sport. While rules may be social constructions that reflect or are influenced by the prevailing social conditions, the gratuitous logic is a permanent feature of sporting practice that provides the foundation for evaluation. Some of the rules are those associated with classification technologies that control the bodies that are eligible to pursue a Paralympic *dream*. Reasons for exclusion might be that their bodies might not be appropriately (dis)abled or they may lack the physical talent to make the physically demanding “cut” for Paralympic selection.

The concept of “internal goods” is crucial in our analysis as they are distinctive to the practice in question. They are partly definitive of the practice and their achievement provides the motivation for participating in “this” practice rather than “that” one. Internal goods are peculiar to a particular practice and cannot be achieved in any other way save participation in that practice. As MacIntyre has put it: “They can only be identified and recognized by the experience of participating in the practice in question” (MacIntyre 1985, p. 189). The skills required, for example, dif-

fer between sports; yet we are drawn to sports, or persist with sports, that allow us to express, demonstrate, practice and exhibit very specific moral, technical and tactical attributes. The internal goods of wheelchair tennis, for example, are different to those of wheelchair rugby or athletics. Although endurance, agility, tenacity and determination are required in all of these disciplines, performance qualities are understood differently in the distinctive cultural contexts in which each sport is played. A practice is made by its internal goods. Therefore, significant changes in the rules of a particular sport may change the practice to such an extent that it is no longer the same practice. A good example of this is the acceptance of Para-triathlon into the Paralympic Games before the classification system had been fully designed and validated. Therefore, the athletes were aware that there would be a triathlon competition, but the International Triathlon Union and the IPC were able to more explicitly control the type of bodies eligible than they have been able to in classification systems developed by the IOSDs, and with no input from current athletes.

Another feature of the internal goods that distinguishes them from the external goods is their social quality. The embodiment of internal goods, through display and exercise, as well as high levels of excellence in performance, enriches the entire practice community. External goods, however, belong to the minority who obtain them as rewards. Trophies, money and sponsorship are the most obvious examples of external goods. Internal goods, on the other hand, are definitive of the practice and as such they should play the central role when decisions are made about what is appropriate for the practice. A clear and committed understanding of the practice, in terms of its traditions, history and importantly its internal goods, is essential in order to determine what is best for the community. Financial factors ought not to determine what is appropriate from the perspective of the practice. The logic of sport, the non-instrumental motives for participating (such as displaying skills and virtues, testing our ludic capacities against ourselves and others), is what should play a crucial role in the decision about whether or not the Paralympic Games will benefit from a reduction in competitive classes and homogenisation of competitors. According to Morgan, it is the members of the practice community itself that are in the most appropriate position to make such judgments.

It is clear that the athletes as practitioners are the “primary agents” of the practice community. Classifiers, in Morgan’s (1994) terms, could be understood as secondary agents, but we suggest that many classifiers lack a culturally rich understanding of the sporting practice, and are therefore are not suitable to be secondary agents. As Morgan states:

[T]he chief criterion of membership in a sporting community in this second order sense is fidelity to the goods internal to its practice, which of course, presupposes more than a passing knowledge and appreciation of the intricacies of its practice, and which means further that even certain athletic administrators, managers and agents would qualify as members, it is always difficult to get a precise empirical handle on just who belongs and doesn’t (sic) belong. (1994, p. 236)

The act of identifying bona fide secondary agents of any given practice community is problematic in part because of the subjective nature of the process. Both authors have spent considerable time engaged in the collection of ethnographic data in and around the practice of (dis)ability sport. Insights into the specifics of classification (Howe 2008b) suggest that those in charge of implementing the technology of dominance—to borrow from Foucault (1975)—for the most part lack in-depth cultural understandings of the sporting practice that they oversee. Implementation is where variation and abuse of power have been observed in the technology of classification. It is the classifiers rather than those who develop the systems that for the most part lack the cultural capital to be part of the practice community.

Membership of a practice community is something that is realised and experienced. It is characterised by a strong commitment to engage in the practice rather than a weak, voluntary or contractually obligated, motive. Community, therefore, is an internal good of a sporting practice and as a result must be achieved and not bestowed. Another feature of the practice community is its shared aims. The most important shared goal is the realisation of the internal goods of the practice. We argue, therefore, that an understanding of the nature of sporting practices and (dis)ability sport can provide ethically sound reasons for classification, but this needs to be done with more input from the primary agents—the athletes. Consequently, the practice community’s athletes ought to be primarily responsible for classifi-

cation because *ceteris paribus* they are most likely to have the best interests of the practice at heart. There may, of course, be individuals within the practice community that are more concerned with external rather than internal goods. Involvement of (dis)abled athletes does not guarantee that an individual will place the needs of fellow competitors with a (dis)ability as their first concern. However, as primary agents, one would expect that they have internal goods as their primary concern.

Discussion

The questions we are concerned with are (1) whether the IPC and specifically their classification teams should transform its competitive system, and (2) the utility of input into this from those who are being classified. Some would suggest reaching a decision about classification that is appropriate for the practice community requires impartial and detached reflection on the current situation (Habermas 1985). Acting impartially is, however, problematic. Morgan (2002) is critical of notions of impartiality, particularly as this relates to the deliberative role of practice members in making decisions about practices. Detachment is not welcomed since it requires ignoring local, rational and internal understanding of the goods of practices. In relation to universality, detachment and impartiality, Morgan (2002, p. 294) argues:

That in cutting us off from the social and normative background of practices such as sport, they deprive us of the orienting sense of what is important and valuable that such a background can provide.

Detachment would be particularly problematic for (dis)ability sport given the unique features and issues that are involved, in terms of both the aims and ethos of the Paralympic practice community. Morgan (1994, 2002) therefore advocates a certain kind of partiality, rather than impartiality and detachment. In particular, the judgments and arguments of those “bona fide members of the practice-communities of sport ought to carry most weight, for these are its most competent and sympathetic judges” (Morgan 1994, p. 237). For us these are first and foremost the athletes.

We opened our critique by examining the principles behind the classification system and its modifications to explore the effect of the IPC's power over the practice community. As the Paralympic movement continues to enjoy increased media exposure and commercial success, the consequences of the increased profile is that the growth of the Paralympic Games, in terms of athlete numbers, must be curtailed to meet organisational and media demands. This ultimately impacts upon the classification systems and the (dis)abled bodies that these technologies were developed to control. The impact of reducing classification is well established in sports through different methods of categorisation of bodies as either eligible or ineligible for the Paralympic Games. But this is conducted without the input of athletes, the primary agents of the practice community, which we argue is problematic. Removing and replacing sports or changing classification systems will be most dramatic among the severely (dis)abled because the uptake of sport is small within this group (Howe and Silva 2015). Moreover, as new sports enter the Paralympic Games the opportunities for these most disabled of athletic bodies is dwindling.

Evidence-based classification systems may be the way forward—but the history of classification in Paralympic Sport has seen several false dawns. The sport scientists, who are working tirelessly, often with great enthusiasm to develop robust classification systems, should be celebrated. We argue that these individuals have the requisite cultural understanding to be secondary agents in the Paralympic community, but they need to be more open minded. In particular, they ought to be actively encouraged to involve current athletes and/or retired athletes (who are still actively engaged within the Paralympic movement) within their research teams—at least in a consultative capacity. Importantly, the recruitment of the classifiers needs to be actively monitored, as implementation of classification technologies must be better managed.

Far too often classifiers do not qualify as secondary agents simply because they are only after the extrinsic rewards associated with being part of Paralympic practice. Classifiers without intrinsic motivation may become overzealous, believing that as volunteer “employees” they are the professional essence of the Paralympic movement. They have control of the classification technologies and free travel on behalf of “a good cause”. However, more often than not that relative power goes to their heads

and they stop working in the best interests of Paralympic sport (Howe 2008b). By mandating ex-athletes to serve on classification teams, the IPC would go some way towards helping to address the lack of influence of primary agents—those with (dis)abled bodies—by putting them both at the heart of the classification technology and at the centre of the Paralympic sporting stage.

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6

Anti-doping for Paralympians

Daryl Adair

Introduction

Doping in sport, as with cheating in other realms of life, is disappointing but not surprising. For high-performance athletes, there is arguably a stronger impetus to break the rules than in other domains: this is because some believe that their competitors are doping and—perverse as it might sound—a decision not to dope would put them at a performance disadvantage (Kräkel 2007).¹ This view is made all the more rational—even if ethically confronting—when, as will be explained, testing for banned substances and methods is too often incomplete, with current approaches incapable of exposing sophisticated cheating. All that said, among the body politic of athletes, doping is widely regarded as taboo; not only is it against the rules, but it is an affront to the integrity of sport (Bloodworth and McNamee 2010).

¹ For the uninitiated, there are now online resources that provide basic information about athletes who doped *and* were charged. For example, see the doping database for cycling, Dopeology <http://www.dopeology.org/>

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The Paralympics are about elite competition; for athletes, the stakes are as high here as for any other world championship in sport. Wayne Derman, a Chief Medical Officer with the International Paralympic Committee (IPC), has put it this way: ‘People think that the Paralympics is a more benign version of the Olympic Games and that it is not as pointed, as targeted and as fierce ... That is such a wrong misconception’ (Roelf 2015). Also like Olympians, some Paralympians have been found guilty of doping. As Collier has put it, ‘some [adaptive] athletes inspire, others cheat’ (Collier 2008, p. 524). There is, nonetheless, an important ideal of what is labelled ‘clean sport’, around which the Paralympic Games are a showcase.

This chapter provides an overview of anti-doping under the provisions of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) Code, then discusses nuances associated with adaptive sport and Paralympians. It is therefore a snapshot of the struggle for ‘clean sport’, as well as an insight into the management of anti-doping at the Paralympics. The objective is also to address a gap in the academic literature: other than the work of Van de Vliet (Van de Vliet 2012), there is a dearth of in-depth, wide-ranging studies into anti-doping policy and practice for Paralympians.

The World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA)

All sport organisations involved with the Olympic and Paralympic Games must be compliant with WADA’s Anti-Doping Code or they will not be able to participate.

The premise behind both drug testing and investigations about their use is that performance-enhancing substances and methods *do* provide athletes with a competitive advantage over those who are ‘clean’. However, what is deemed fair or unfair enhancement is outside of the purview of sportspeople; it is a decision made by WADA (James 2016). There are three pillars to the WADA Code: for a ban to be declared, a substance or technique must reflect at least two of them (WADA 2016a, pp. 30–31), as summarised here:

- (1) A drug or method is, or has the potential to be, performance enhancing.
- (2) A drug or method is, or has the potential to be, a risk to the health of athletes.
- (3) A drug or method is against the 'spirit of sport'.

There are robust debates about whether substances or methods belong on the banned list. For example, many athletes seek a cardiovascular edge by increasing their red blood cell volume: under the WADA Code, it is illegitimate to do this with a drug, but acceptable to achieve it by sleeping in a hypoxic chamber (Couvrette 2006). Decisions about banning substances and methods are, therefore, complex and subjective rather than simple and objective (M. J. McNamee and Moller 2011).

When considering the role of sport-governing bodies, testing for banned drugs and methods is just as complicated. WADA has a surprisingly small network of 34 labs around the world; at the time of writing four of them have recently lost accreditation (i.e. resource, operational and integrity failures) (WADA 2016b). In some cases, major sport events have proceeded in the absence of an accredited local drug testing body. At the FIFA World Cup in Brazil, for instance, WADA flew athlete biological samples to Lausanne for testing because the Rio lab was closed down owing to incompetency. Thankfully, the Rio lab was reaccredited by WADA in time for the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games (Ruiz 2016).

Athlete Responsibility: WADA's Prohibited List and Drug Testing Compliance

The WADA Code operates under the principal of strict liability. This means that athletes are directly responsible for whatever they consume by way of food, beverages and vitamin supplements, or any methods by which they are treated for injuries, such as injections, medicines and the like (WADA 2016a, p. 141). That can be challenging because athletes are sometimes confronted with ingredient listings that are imperfect, or

consume products that have been tainted during production and contain unlisted ingredients (Baylis et al. 2001; Brown 2016). WADA provides occasional warnings, such as avoiding eating steak in China—where cattle are routinely administered clenbuterol, a banned substance in sport (WADA 2016c). Athletes are also reliant on their entourage and physicians to prescribe WADA-approved painkillers and remedies for injury. When mistakes occur, the athlete has no robust defence and is made culpable for the errors of others (Amos 2007; Pluim 2008). They are deemed to be dopers and cheats.

WADA's Prohibited List contains a complex list of substances and methods that are banned at all times, or which are banned only during competition. It is vital that athletes and their entourage are not only familiar with this List, but also any changes introduced annually (WADA 2016d). If a sportsperson requires regular medication, or should they become ill, their entourage is encouraged to find treatments and remedies that do not compromise the athlete's status under the WADA Code. However, there is sometimes no practical alternative, in which case the sportsperson is required to seek a Therapeutic Use Exemption (TUE) signed by the medical doctor providing a medicine or treatment. Sometimes this means that an athlete is unable to compete while undergoing therapy. However, in the case of permanent ailments, sportspeople can be provided with ongoing medical permission to enable them to compete: the best example is asthmatics who use inhalers with nasal decongestants that, ordinarily, contain ingredients banned during sport (Thuyne and Delbeke 2008).

In order to track athletes' whereabouts, most notably for the purposes of drug testing out of competition, WADA has introduced an online Anti-Doping Administration & Management System (ADAMS), in which athletes must inform drug-testing authorities where they will be every day of the year. Failure to do so has serious consequences: if testers are unable to locate an athlete for a test, this goes down as a strike, with three such strikes liable to a four-year ban (which is similar to someone testing positive in competition to a banned drug) (WADA 2016e). The volume of testing tends to increase in the months leading up to world championships such as the Paralympics, so it is very important that athletes keep their ADAMS online diary up to date.

Paralympians are also subject to the Athlete Biological Passport (ABP). The idea behind this WADA initiative is that all sportspeople have a set of physiological markers that in concert make up an athlete's biological profile, and these are unique to each individual. As athletes are drug tested over time, authorities gather data that provides them with longitudinal biological parameters: this information is consolidated as 'representative' for an individual, thereby providing a personalised anti-doping passport. If the metrics around the ABP differ, an athlete is target tested for banned substances. The ABP is therefore an analytical tool intended to raise red flags around the possibility of doping, thereby serving as a deterrent to cheats (Vernec 2014; Zorzoli et al. 2014). Unfortunately, the ABP cannot detect micro-dosing of major banned substances, so dopers who rigorously adopt that strategy will almost certainly not be caught (Ashenden et al. 2011). This was aptly demonstrated by BBC journalist Mark Daly, who (as a competitive amateur cyclist) micro-dosed with a banned substance, which improved his performance, but his drug tests were all negative (Daly 2015).

The Paralympics and Anti-doping

The IPC, like other sport federations and associations around the world, has its own WADA-compliant Anti-Doping Policy (IPC 2015a). The liability and compliance measures confronted by athletes with disabilities are the same as those faced by able-bodied athletes. However, there used to be an operation and implementation gap. Testing at the Paralympics lagged behind that of the Olympics by about 20 years; it first appeared in the early 1980s but was little developed until the mid-1990s. Not until the launch of the WADA Code in 2003 and the subsequent Paralympics of 2004 can it really be said that anti-doping was a deterrent to cheating in adaptive sports (Hale 2016a). After that, progress was slow: the IPC did not introduce out-of-competition testing until 2006, and since then it has not come anywhere near the WADA expectation of a 60:40 ratio for in-competition and out-of-competition sample collection. In 2009, for example, the ratio of in-competition tests was nearly six times that for out-of-

competition tests. In part, that is a function of modest resources in the Paralympic movement: the average drug test is a prohibitive \$1000 (Van de Vliet 2012). As a consequence of all this, adaptive athletes are typically not under the same level of anti-doping surveillance as non-adaptive athletes.

According to idealists, though, there is less of a need to drug test Paralympians. Unlike the Olympic motto embodying the pinnacle of physical achievement, *Citius—Altius—Fortius* (Faster—Higher—Stronger), adaptive athletes are presumed to have a more modest *modus operandi*, which is reflected in the IPC's motto of 'courage, determination, inspiration and equality'. Paralympians are congratulated simply for participating—taking part 'against the odds', motivating their peers to be active, and claiming equal respect in the wider community (M. J. McNamee 2016; Blauwet and Willick 2012). The idea that Paralympians might cheat to achieve a reward for performance excellence is romantically assumed to be outside their moral compass (Collier 2008). Yet, if that were the case, there would be no need for drug testing of athletes at the Paralympics (Darcy 2012).

The procedure for collecting biological samples at the Paralympic Games is largely the same as for the Olympics (IPC 2013). Most often urine is sought, blood less so. Yet for athletes and Doping Control Agents (DCA), the process of providing and securing urine samples is no simple matter. A DCA watches over semi-naked athletes to be assured that the urine passing from genitals is what is being collected by a vial (IPC 2015b). This is unedifying for all, but deemed necessary in the wake of competitors trying to deceive by, for example, using a fake penis connected to a supply of 'clean' urine (Goodyear 2015).

For some Paralympians, logistical assistance when collecting urine samples and sealing containers may be helpful; this can be provided by either the athlete's representative or the appointed DCA. At other times, depending on the nature of an athlete's disability, the conventional urine testing procedure is impossible. Consequently, DCAs collect a urine sample by alternative means. Indeed, WADA makes provision in its testing protocols for the use of catheters by Paralympians (Vance 2015). Athletes have a particular responsibility here, as outlined by this excerpt from the IPC's Position Statement:

Athletes who use urinary catheters for urinary sample collection for anti-doping purposes should supply their own catheter. This is the responsibility of the athlete ... In some circumstances, e.g. at the Paralympic Games, the doping control stations may be equipped with a small number of different catheters as a service to the athletes (IPC 2015c).

There are, it must be said, concerns about the risk of unintentional positive tests associated with the widespread use of glycerol as an anti-septic and lubricant with catheters. This is because that substance can be used for nefarious purposes—as a masking agent for drugs or methods that increase red blood cell volume (which aids the oxygen-carrying capacity of an athlete). WADA has declared a glycerol threshold of 1.0 mg/mL, but an independent study by Japanese researchers has raised serious questions about the ‘Decision Limit’ reached by WADA in terms of declaring adverse analytical findings (Okano et al. 2014). WADA has since raised the Glycerol threshold, but that does not address the scientists’ key recommendation:

For doping control purposes, the detection of glycerol in blood or the detection of urinary metabolites of glycerol might be a useful analytical approach for differentiation between glycerol administration and contamination caused by the use of a catheter with glycerol (Okano et al. 2014, p. 1153)

While the IPC considers it ‘unlikely’ that the use of glycerol for self-catheterisation risks the prospect of inadvertent doping, it none the less recommends that Paralympians ‘consult with their physician on any alternatives that do not involve the use of glycerol’ (IPC 2015c, p. 2). In short, glycerol user, beware.

Cheri Blauwet, chair of the IPC Medical Committee, has detailed a range of medical challenges among Paralympians; this makes their participation in the Games complex from an anti-doping perspective should TUEs be needed. These vary considerably: from conditions that may be exacerbated by a disability, such as cardiac disease, through to the routine management of pain associated with a disability. Blauwet, in an online presentation, provides cautionary case studies:

TUEs sought, but denied, this compromising the participation of a Paralympian; or TUEs not sought, this resulting in an adverse analytical finding against an athlete (Blauwet 2015). With the 2015 WADA Code providing four-year disqualifications for athletes found guilty of doping, the management of risk for clean athletes is critical. This is where the Paralympian's entourage is crucial: support personnel, including physicians and scientists, have the knowledge and capacity to help athletes navigate compliance risks associated with medicines, painkillers, supplements and reporting obligations thereof. Moreover, at the Paralympics itself an array of support services are necessary in terms of illness, injury and equipment breakdown (Webborn and Van de Vliet 2012; Aspetar 2015; Stuart et al. 2013). The health and well-being of Paralympians is a prime concern of Games organisers, as it is perennially for the IPC (Van de Vliet 2012). Emergency, medical and pharmaceutical support services are therefore essential (File et al. 2015; Webborn and Van de Vliet 2012). Trying to win medals is important; competing safely, even more so.

Enhancement Games: Boosting

Seeking a performance edge is a routine part of being an elite sportsperson. Adaptive athletes therefore draw upon the best available sport science (Vanlandewijck 2006), coaching (Bush and Silk 2012; Burkett and Mellifont 2008), psychological support (Dieffenbach and Statler 2012), training facilities and technical equipment (Hambrick et al. 2015) in order to maximise their chances of being ultra-competitive. As with the Olympics, there is no level playing field in terms of the capacity to be world class: there are vast disparities of sport resources and high-performance expertise between developed nations and those with modest economies—some of which have little or no means by which to support adaptive athletes who seek to become Paralympians (Buts et al. 2011). It is nonetheless common for athletes from any background to seek an edge, or at least to recognise that their competitors have gained an edge on them—the strategy then is to match that gain, thereby eroding a disadvantage. Enhancement pushes performance boundaries: the challenge for sport authorities is to assess whether this sits comfortably with ethical

boundaries in competition, which are underpinned by rules that sometimes need to be modified for innovations to adaptive sport.

A type of enhancement that is unique to the Paralympics, and indeed to a particular type of adaptive competitor, is the tactic euphemistically called 'boosting'. As Darcy (2012) explains:

Due to the nature of spinal cord injuries, some athletes are unable to feel parts of their body. But if the body becomes injured in areas where they don't have any feeling, it triggers a physiological reaction that increases blood pressure – a response known as an autonomic dysreflexic [AD] reaction ... Common boosting practices have included breaking toes, having extremely tight-fitting clothing, overfilling the bladder or, in males, trapping the testicles.

For adaptive athletes with spinal cord injuries, this type of self-harm provides a strategic escalation of heart rate, blood pressure and adrenaline, which allows for heightened sport performance. Some researchers have concluded that AD can raise physical output 'by as much as 10 percent, especially in endurance events such as long-distance wheelchair races' (Roelf 2015). This methodology of self-harm may sound stomach churning, but for some athletes the damage to their body is worth it in the quest for victory.

It is difficult to know how widespread 'boosting' is among athletes with spinal cord injuries. In one study of this cohort, which deployed an anonymous survey, 17 per cent of respondents at the Beijing Games admitted to using the AD technique to enhance performance (Bhambhani et al. 2010). Dr Andrei Krassioukov, a specialist in spinal injuries and Professor of Medicine, postulated that the volume of boosters at the London Paralympics would have been 'more like 30 %' (Cook 2012). He acknowledges the uncertainty of knowing but was most concerned about the health dangers associated with the practice of boosting—and he was not referring to broken bones or bruised testicles. Krassioukov forecast: 'What's going to happen one day is that someone is going to have a stroke right on the [sport] court and then they are going to have to talk about it' (Cook 2012). In short, there are genuine and potentially very serious risks associated with an AD response. According to one review (Mazzeo et al. 2015, p. 95), symptoms may be:

cardiovascular (rise in systemic BP, cardiac arrhythmias, pulmonary edema, cardiac arrest and death); neurological (moderate or severe headache, cerebral haemorrhage, seizures and aphasia); ocular (blindness and retinal haemorrhage); pulmonary (apnea); and vegetative and metabolic (excessive sweating, hyperthermia and hyponatremia). Furthermore, many of the stimuli used to induce AD (such as bladder or bowel distention and skin trauma) can cause surgical diseases (e.g. hydronephrosis, pyelonephritis and skin infections).

It is no surprise, therefore, that the IPC has been concerned about boosting for some time. The practice has been banned by the IPC since 1994, even though it is not specified as a doping activity in WADA's Prohibited List of substances and methods (Mazzeo et al. 2015, p. 95). Indeed, the express rationale given by the IPC for disallowing boosting is its danger to athlete health. From a diagnostic perspective, AD syndrome among athletes in competition is considered active 'when the systolic BP [blood pressure] is 180 mmHg or higher' (Mazzeo et al. 2015, p. 96). At the Paralympics, medical officials will test for this symptom then re-examine ten minutes later if the reading is at or above this level. Should the BP remain elevated, the athlete will be disallowed from competing in their event. Importantly, the IPC 'explicitly prohibits any attempt to self-induce AD ... an athlete involved in such attempts will be excluded from the competition regardless of his/her systolic BP reading' (Mazzeo et al. 2015, p. 96). This means that non-analytical information is also part of the repertoire of medical authorities at the Paralympics. Should they, for example, observe evidence of self-harm (i.e. damage to the toes of a wheelchair athlete) medical personnel can recommend the disqualification of an athlete.

Enhancement Games: Augmenting

Although this chapter has focused on doping under the WADA Code, as well as the unique example of boosting to increase performance among athletes with spinal cord injury, it should be acknowledged that there has long been robust debate about what is appropriate or otherwise in terms

of ‘fair’ competition at the Paralympics. To illustrate this, three examples will be deployed with very different scenarios; the focus is with athletes augmenting their chances of victory.

First, as researchers have pointed out, it is very difficult to reconcile interventions—whether they be drugs or surgical procedures—that achieve two things at once: they improve the daily living activities of an adaptive athlete and improve the sport performance of that same person. If it is a question of a Paralympian modifying their body and changing to a different sport classification, that hardly seems an issue. But there are actual or hypothetical scenarios where interventions are more problematic. A brilliant example of this can be found in a point/counterpoint article in the journal *PM & R (Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation)*, where the editor and three discussants mull over complex cases. In one scenario they consider the situation of someone with spasticity presenting to a doctor with a request for injections of botulinum toxin; the patient wants this treatment to augment their athletic performance. As it happens, this drug is not banned by WADA, perhaps because there is no test for it. But a bigger question, which the ethicists debated, is whether any medical risk associated with a drug treatment is acceptable if the patient is seeking it first and foremost as a means to improve their athletic performance within an adaptive classification (McNamee et al. 2014).

Second, there is a problem that some have called ‘classification doping’ (Cooper 2012). Dr Van der Vliet, the IPC’s Chief Medical Officer, explained that ‘some athletes were bending the rules to force their way into [competition] classes that would give them a greater chance of winning gold medals’ (Davies 2012). *The Telegraph* (Davies 2012) reports that in a process similar to that used by anti-doping bodies, the athletes are called to the classification centre to undergo medical checks and present their medical documentation. ‘The process, on average, takes around an hour ... At the Beijing Games, 700 out of 4000 athletes were tested to ensure they were in the correct classification grouping. Ninety per cent [were] reassigned.’

This suggests that 9/10ths of the athletes evaluated had either deliberately or inadvertently positioned themselves in a category of Paralympic competition that was unreflective of their type or level of disability. The examination process involved 700 hours of time—an extraordinary com-

mitment in the effort to try to establish participation fairness. The scale of that investigation seems to make drug testing at the Games a more modest administrative task.

A third example of Paralympic augmentation is commonly called ‘technodoping’. There are robust arguments about what should or should not be allowed in terms of high-performance equipment. The *laissez-faire* position is that advances in equipment—whether they be faster wheelchairs or more efficient prosthetic limbs—have ripple effects in terms of the technical needs of sub-elite adaptive athletes, or even non-athletes with adaptive needs. The sceptical position is that many of these innovations are designed specifically for high-performance sport, and so have limited utility beyond that; just as importantly, they tend to be very expensive and thus beyond the reach of most people with adaptive needs (Burkett 2010; Burton et al. 2010; Grogan 2012). The IPC Handbook contains a section ‘Policy on Sport Equipment’. Among other things, it is concerned with ‘fair and clear rules governing the use of sport equipment for each sport’ (IPC 2011b); this addresses equity in terms of performance technologies in the way that anti-doping has rules around substances and methods that impact the body. That section also has a stated commitment to universality of access: ‘The cost and large scale availability of (principal components of) equipment should be considered to guarantee access to a sufficiently large number of athletes in the sport’ (IPC 2011b).

For many Paralympians, participation equity is an area of grave concern: they simply do not have the resources to compete effectively in disciplines requiring equipment. It is an all too familiar issue for athletes in the developing world. As the Secretary-General of the Jamaican Paralympic Committee, Suzanne Harris-Henry, put it: ‘The high cost of competitive chairs had priced the Jamaican team out of entering the wheelchair events ... the cheapest ones cost £2,200 which we cannot afford’ (Arbuthnott 2012). Meanwhile, the British Paralympic Association, lavished with funding from the UK’s National Lottery, not only provided its wheelchair athletes with the best equipment in the world, but also conducted cutting edge research via UK Sport:

To assess aerodynamic efficiency, wheelchairs have been blasted with air in wind tunnels built by defence firm BAE Systems and used to develop the

Eurofighter Typhoon jet. Manoeuvrability has been measured using cutting-edge tracking technology developed by Formula 1 team McLaren, while the seats have been created by car firm BMW (Arbuthnott 2012).

Across the English Channel, the French were not amused. Rudy Van Abeele, the French Paralympic team's deputy manager, complained that ParalympicsGB:

was turning the [wheelchair] event into the equivalent of Formula 1 ... the wheelchair is at least 25 per cent of the performance and Britain has the most advanced technology ... It's technological doping because it is not available for everybody (Arbuthnott 2012).

Keeping a stiff upper lip, a British Paralympic Association spokesman replied that: 'Our job, backed by funding from the lottery and commercial sponsors, is to make our athletes the best prepared to compete and win on the world stage, cleanly and fairly' (Arbuthnott 2012). Somewhere in this debate about technodoping, Section 3.1 of the IPC Handbook was supposed to have protected universal access to competitive athletic equipment. High performance seems to have trumped equal opportunity.

Is There a Doping Problem at the Paralympics?

Returning full circle to anti-doping, it is virtually impossible to be certain about the extent of cheating among Paralympians. Data comparisons with Olympians are sometimes made, but these are really apples and oranges. As mentioned previously, there is less testing of adaptive athletes outside of competition, while WADA itself is under pressure to expose doping and fraud among Olympic athletes, a subject brought to light by whistle-blowers and investigative journalists. Even though there are occasional media stories about Paralympians being caught for doping, there is no anti-corruption campaign—such as that recently directed towards Russian track and field athletes—against individuals or teams who compete in adaptive sports. Those who are banned are generally considered to be a few 'bad eggs'.

According to Beaver, the Sydney 2000 Games were the point at which IPC anti-doping first became serious. There were 128 pre-competition drug tests, nine of which were positive, while at the Paralympics themselves 500 tests revealed only two adverse findings. All of these were serious offences that attracted major penalties (Beaver 2001). There is now a Doping Sanctions List for Disability Sports (2016), as well as a series of very useful articles about ‘cheating’ in the online resource *ParaSport News*. Laura Hale, who self-describes as a disability sport reporter, offers a trove of stories and data that provide a sense that, even if incomplete, anti-doping is now taken much more seriously within the Paralympic Movement (Hale 2016b). The Doping Sanctions List contains many of the ‘hard’ drugs characteristically associated with doping, such as Androgenic Anabolic Steroids, but there is also a noticeable sprinkling of bans for marijuana. Even though cannabis is not performance enhancing, WADA and the IPC treat it as a proscribed substance during competition. Outside of that context, marijuana is not tested for. What athletes need to remember, should they use cannabis for social or medicinal purposes, is that the drug has a half-life of several weeks, and so may still be present in a person’s blood stream well after they stopped using it. It is vital that such information is made manifest to Paralympians. It is not in anyone’s interest for athletes to be banned for a drug that in no way cheats an opponent. Even if cannabis is used for medical purposes: Canadian skier Kimberly Joines was ill advised and subsequently suspended for 9 months (Mitchell 2007). She now has the status of a drug cheat. There are some who would ban the likes of her for life: zero tolerance.

There is one element of IPC policy in respect of doping that marks it as distinctive and arguably more punitive than the WADA Code. The IPC Handbook specifies that an athlete who has been found guilty of doping are liable to pay the organisation a fine of 1500 Euros (IPC 2011a). It is not stated why a fine is imposed; most Paralympians are not in a position of financial security—especially those from developing countries. Athletes are also expected to pay the cost of having a B sample tested in the event that their A sample is positive (IPC 2011a). Many athletes are also left to pay for their own legal defence

should they front an anti-doping violation panel. In the absence of trained counsel, Paralympians accused of doping—whether on the basis of analytical testing or non-analytical investigation—literally have no defence and are liable to a full penalty. Even if an athlete has legal counsel at their hearing, if they want to appeal to the Court of Arbitration for Sport this involves more advanced legal representation and prohibitive cost. The odds are very much stacked against Paralympians accused of doping receiving an optimum defence. They are typically not in a position to do so.

Conclusion

As with the Olympic Games, drug testing at the Paralympics is a routine part of the athlete experience. Typically, all medalists are tested, as well as either a random or targeted selection of placegetters. Collection of biological samples—whether urine or blood—are not a pleasant experience for athletes, while for some Paralympians they are a logistical challenge depending on type and level of body impairment. Yet drug testing—both out of competition and at the Games—is central to WADA's armoury of monitoring and detecting doping violations.

There is arguably more opportunity for adaptive athletes to explore a competitive edge than for their able-bodied peers. This is because they have more options. Beyond performance-enhancing drugs and methods, which can be pursued by any athlete, Paralympians—depending on their situation—may be tempted to 'boost' their performance using an AD methodology; they may attempt to compete in a classification where they have the best opportunity, rather than where they 'actually' belong; and they may contrive to modify equipment so that it outperforms that of rivals, yet skirts the notion of fair competition. All of this reminds us that the Paralympics, much like the Olympic Games, is now firmly associated with hyper-competitive athletic performances, and that the notion of participation for its own sake—while it is central to community and recreational sport—is largely outmoded at the elite level.

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7

Managing Paralympic Sport Organisations—The STEEPLE Framework

Mary Hums and Eli A. Wolff

Introduction

As the Paralympic Games continue to grow in their numbers of athletes, spectators, and sponsors, sport administrators are taking a long look at how best to manage the event and the Paralympic Movement. One of the best perspectives to take is to examine the Games using a framework that overlays the current issues sport administrators are dealing with as the Games move forward.

One framework that can be used is a variation of a model that has been used in other sport industry settings to structure decision-making protocols for sport administrators (Hancock and Hums 2011; Hums and MacLean 2013). Originally set up by W. Moore at Ohio State University in 1990, this framework is referred to as the SLEEPE principle and helps

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sport administrators by guiding them to examine “The Big Picture” when making decisions. The letters in this framework instruct sport administrators to consider the following ramifications of their organisational decisions:

S—Social
L—Legal
E—Economic
E—Ethical
P—Political
E—Educational

While these letters represent the traditional application of the model, this chapter will put forward a variation of it in order to capture issues present in the Paralympic Games environment:

S—Social
T—Technology
E—Economic
E—Ethical
P—Political
L—Legal
E—Educational

In this case, technology has been added to the framework. The reason for this is because one cannot overlook the immense impact technology has had on all levels of sport for people with disabilities in recent times. Lighter prosthetics, more affordable wheelchairs, and new and different types of equipment are now becoming available (Disabled Sports USA n.d.; Dyson 2012; Wheelpower 2015; Wrenn 2012). According to Sir Philip Craven, President of the International Paralympic Committee, “advancements in technology in terms of equipment are also benefitting athletes at all levels, from the grassroots right through to the Paralympic Games” (International Paralympic Committee 2014a, para. 18). Using this framework helps sport administrators see “The Big Picture” of the international environment in which they work.

This chapter will walk readers through current issues sport administrators working in Paralympic sport deal with on a regular basis. The sections of the chapter will be organised by the letters of the STEEPLE framework.

Social

Paralympic Games sport administrators need to address societal and cultural contexts as well as global attitudes and stigma about people with disabilities in general. A major social issue for Paralympic sport managers to address is inclusion. Although the Paralympic Games may be an oasis of sorts for people with disabilities in terms of inclusion, the rights, access, and inclusion of people with disabilities outside of the Games can affect local, national, and international support for the Games.

What responsibility do Paralympic sport administrators have to ensure social equality and inclusion outside of the Games themselves? It can be argued that because of the footprint of the Games, the host city and country need to commit to the inclusion and equality of people with disabilities with hopes of a lasting legacy. For the Rio 2016 Games, the people in the Paralympic Movement have worked with Brazilian officials to develop new disability rights laws in the host city (International Paralympic Committee 2015b).

It is clear that the Paralympic Games can be a catalyst for social change and social inclusion worldwide. The International Paralympic Committee's Agitos Foundation is charged with ongoing efforts to create access and opportunity for people with disabilities worldwide. The Paralympic Games can be utilised as a platform to promote Universal Design principles throughout societies and communities around the world.

The global disability rights community has a mantra of “Nothing About Us Without Us” (United Nations n.d.a) and the civil rights and human rights communities have also advocated around the principle of “Separate is not Equal” (Smithsonian n.d). While the International Paralympic Committee and the Paralympic Games promote aspects of

inclusion, there is an opportunity to continue to further develop the social inclusion of people with disabilities within both the Olympic and Paralympic Movements, and to continue to develop the relationship between the Paralympic Games and the Olympic Games.

Another social issue Paralympic sport administrators must respond to is the manner in which Paralympic athletes are portrayed in the media. Media coverage can certainly serve to focus on the powerful athleticism of Paralympians, but instead, the images set forth in the media serve to further stereotypes of Paralympians as inspirational or as supercrips. Neither of these latter two images do any justice to the athletes themselves. According to Hardin and Hardin (2004), “[d]isability advocates define the supercrip as the presentation of a person, affected by a disability or illness (often in the prime of life), as ‘overcoming’ to succeed as a meaningful member of society and to live a ‘normal’ life.” Also, as Wolff et al. (2015, paras. 1–2) point out when it comes to inspiration:

An athlete with a disability can be inspirational in the same way that all athletes with or without disabilities can be inspirational ... Where we would draw the line, however, is when athletes with disabilities are seen as inspirational not because of their athletic prowess but because in actuality we feel sorry for them. Athletes with disabilities should not make us cry because they are out of the house being active. Athletes with disabilities should not be seen as charity, nor as objects to pity. They are *athletes* first and foremost with the same challenges and responsibilities that all athletes encounter.

The problem here, of course, does not so much lie with Paralympic sport administrators as with the media. It is incumbent upon sport administrators to remind those covering the Paralympic Games of the proper language to use. A great example of this is the British Paralympic Association Guide to Reporting on Paralympic Sport. The guide makes it clear that Paralympic athletes are to be identified as athletes first and people with disabilities second—if at all. Clearly written guides such as these are useful tools for making sure Paralympians are portrayed the way they want to be—as athletes (ParalympicsGB 2012).

Technology

The impact of evolving technology on the Paralympic Movement has been immense. Every sport has unique equipment which looks almost nothing like it did even 20 years ago. Think of the designs of racing wheelchairs, handcycles, sit-skis, hockey sleds, and prosthetic limbs. Materials are stronger and lighter and aerodynamics have a sleeker look. Two main issues that sport administrators need to be aware of here are equipment costs and the new records in sports involving assistive devices.

The costs for any type of quality sporting equipment have risen over the years, including the costs of equipment for athletes with disabilities. A typical racing wheelchair will cost upwards of \$3300 before adding any components parts to personalise the equipment (Top End 2016). This is something that also adds costs for participants. Let us consider another example in skiing. A visually impaired person or an upper limb amputee will be able to ski standing up, although the poles may need to be modified. The cost here would be typical as for any skier. Higher priced equipment comes into play when an athlete with a mobility disability or a spinal cord injury might require a sit-ski. A basic sit-ski can price out at upwards of \$10,000, with elite competition units costing a great deal more. Even a basic recreational handcycle begins at \$3000.

When an able-bodied person purchases, let us say a bicycle, very few modifications may be needed. Often, users can buy and subsequently use the product “as is” from the manufacturer. This is typically not the case for an athlete with a disability. Accounting for not only body weight and height but also type of impairment means athletes with disabilities need their equipment personalised (Hambrick et al. 2015). Every person’s disability makes him or her unique and therefore equipment must often be modified, generally resulting in additional costs. What must also be pointed out is that as these costs continue to rise, athletes from lower income households or developing nations will be shut out from participation.

As technology has improved, a parallel increase in recent years in the number of Paralympic records which have fallen is evident. The role of technology in Paralympic sports does raise a number of questions.

We must not forget that while technology certainly can improve performance, without the athlete him or herself being highly skilled, the records would never fall. According to van Hilvoorde, (as cited in International Paralympic Committee n.d.a, paras. 3–4), “I believe the Paralympic Movement is at a crossroads where clear choices have to be made about the role and increasing dominance of technological innovation ... What is needed is a clear conceptual and sport ethical framework for evaluating and grounding choices about the implications of new technology.” University of Loughborough Professor and Paralympic expert David Howe has added his voice to the topic, saying “It can be argued that sporting technology has advanced with three aims in mind ... To produce better performances, to increase the comfort for an individual, athlete or otherwise, and to enable an improvement in efficiency and movement. Technology is literally pushing the Paralympic movement” (Grogan 2012, para. 26).

Without a doubt, technology will continue to march on in sport across the board and specifically in Paralympic sport. Sport administrators must find a way to strike a balance between moving Paralympic sport forward and having technology overcome the human side of sport. This will be an ongoing journey for the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) and athletes with disabilities everywhere.

Economic

Make no mistake about it—every segment of the sport industry is driven by economic concerns. Paralympic sport is no exception. While there are a number of economic issues facing sport administrators, we will focus on two in this section—sponsorships and securing future economic sustainability.

In terms of sponsorships, the IPC currently has six Worldwide Sponsors—Toyota, VISA, Otto Bock, Samsung, Atos, and Panasonic. In addition, the organisation has International Partners in Allianz and BP, while DB Schenker is a Logistics Supplier. Finally, the IPC also has three government partners in the German Ministry of the Interior, the regional government of North Rhine-Westphalia, and the city of Bonn (International Paralympic Committee n.d.b). The IPC continues to investigate addi-

tional sponsorships. National Paralympic Committees may also secure sponsorships as well. The Australian Paralympic Committee seeks partners by stating:

A partnership with the Australian Paralympic Committee is ideal for organisations wishing to:

- Align with a reputable and well regarded brand with high levels of recognition;
- Unite customers and employees in making a meaningful and tangible contribution to a highly visible and relevant cause;
- Be clearly positioned as a company which supports Australians and champions the uniquely Australian attributes of hardwork, mateship, determination and “having a go” (Australian Paralympic Committee 2015, para. 2)

The Canadian Paralympic Committee boasts a nice list of partners and sponsors as well. These include Pfizer Canada, Petro-Canada, Air Canada, Bell Canada, Hudson’s Bay Company, Canadian Tire, and CIBC (Canadian Paralympic Committee 2013). Finally, Rio 2016 lists three Paralympic Games suppliers—Casa da Moeda do Brazil, EF Education First, and Otto Bock (Rio 2016 n.d.b).

Beyond sponsorships, the IPC is currently working to build sustainable revenues moving into the future. In its current Strategic Plan released in 2015, sustainable revenues are key for keeping the Paralympic Movement growing, funding IPC events, and providing the resources necessary for a healthy organisation. The IPC strategic priorities in this area include the vision to:

Grow income through targeted, long-term global alliances and maximise revenue by smarter pricing of the IPC’s assets, based on better valuations of the Paralympic brand in different markets.

Maximise commercial opportunities from the sales of broadcasting rights and achieve cost coverage of broadcasting production as part of a long-term financial sustainability strategy.

Ensure greater value across the IPC’s activities by fostering value for money awareness, controlling expenditure and optimising operational costs. (International Paralympic Committee 2015c, 31)

When it comes to staging the Paralympic Games, the relationship between the IPC and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) is a bit complex from a financial standpoint. One requirement, however, of bidding to host the Olympic Games is the responsibility to also host the Paralympic Games. The Paralympic Movement benefits from this relationship, as it does not have to directly shoulder the costs of building venues and infrastructure for the Games. Agreements between the organisations do, however, limit the IPC's ability to generate broadcast revenues from the Paralympic Games. This is changing a bit now. In terms of broadcast opportunities, the 2018 Winter Games in South Korea will see a set-up similar to the 2014 Sochi Winter Games and the upcoming 2016 Rio de Janeiro Summer Games:

Selling the broadcasting rights to the Paralympic Games is the responsibility of a Games Organizing Committee, per the IPC-International Olympic Committee (IOC) agreement. Instead, POCOG has handed over the responsibility for negotiating and marketing broadcast agreements to the Paralympic Movement's global governing body...Similar agreements were made between the IPC and both the Sochi 2014 and Rio 2016 Organizing Committees, which resulted in record-breaking numbers. (Flanders 2014, paras. 2, 4)

Sport administrators within the Paralympic Movement have to realise the importance of working to establish financial sustainability and international brand recognition. The new Strategic Plan makes it clear these are organisational priorities.

Ethical

Sport administrators in every segment of the sport industry are confronted with ethical issues on a daily basis, and administrators working with the Paralympic face their own set of ethical issues. Two issues discussed in this section are illegal performance enhancement and classification. The IPC Code of Ethics states the organisation's commitment to fair play:

The International Paralympic Committee (IPC), its Members, partners, officials, sportsmen and sportswomen affirm their commitment to the Paralympic ethos, which is rooted in the history of the Paralympics and the tradition of fair and honourable sports competition. Paralympic history and tradition are based on the principles of excellence in sport, opportunity to participate in fair competition, and enhancement of the dignity of athletes and sport. This necessitates acceptance of the fundamental values of honesty, human rights, fairness, justice, non-discrimination and personal integrity. (International Paralympic Committee 2009, 1)

Despite these clearly stated ideals, ethical dilemmas still arise. Chief among these is the use of illegal performance enhancing techniques, primarily doping. Not unlike their Olympic counterparts, the Paralympic Games have been beset by allegations of doping. Similar to the Olympic Games, the Paralympic Games are about medals, money, and nationalism. This combination, when placed into the pressure cooker of elite competition, can only best be described as a recipe for cheating.

Paralympic athletes have engaged in blood doping and IPC press releases announce the banning of athletes who have transgressed (“Doping, Boosting and Other Forms of Cheating at the Paralympics” 2012). Athletes use performance enhancing drugs and also engage in the practice of boosting in an attempt to shave valuable seconds off performance times. To some people, it may be shocking to think that people with disabilities will cheat, but athletes are always looking for that edge, whether they have a disability or not. The race between the dopers and authorities is ongoing, but a main goal of Paralympic sport administrators is to run a clean game.

A second ethical issue involves the classification system and creating fair and equitable opportunities for all athletes with disabilities, particularly athletes with more severe disabilities. Athletes competing in Paralympic sport present various types and levels of disability. Because of this a system is needed

to ensure the success of an athlete is determined by skill, fitness, power, endurance, tactical ability and mental focus. This system is called classification. Classification determines who is eligible to compete in a para-sport

and it groups the eligible athletes in sport classes according to their activity limitation in a certain sport. (International Paralympic Committee 2015a, p. 1)

The International Paralympic Committee revisits the classification codes on a regular basis. Each time this occurs, however, there will be athletes who might be on the cusp of one classification category who consequently get reclassified into a more difficult category or whose disability no longer meets the standards. Those latter athletes are, in essence, classified out of the Games because they are either “too disabled” or “not disabled enough.” Plus, a question can be raised as to whether classification unfairly eliminates athletes who may be competing with a more severe disability, and if there are enough events and opportunities for these athletes. What also comes into question here is: Who is an elite athlete? Can an athlete with a severe disability be considered elite? Other issues related to the IPC classification codes 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 are the questions as to (a) what constitutes a permanent disability and (b) whether athletes can compete in both Paralympic sport as well as compete in sport against able-bodied athletes in settings outside the Paralympic Games. Paralympic sport administrators need to keep their focus on providing sufficient opportunities for athletes with a variety of disabilities while making sure that the competitions they organise are fair and as inclusive as reasonably possible.

Political

Sport and politics are inseparable. There will always be groups wishing to exert political pressure in order to further an agenda, influence change, or even just cause disruptions. Paralympic sport administrators need to be cognizant of the groups they interface with on a regular basis. A few of these will be highlighted in this section.

First of all is the International Olympic Committee. The IOC is an officially recognised organisation by the International Olympic Committee, along with organisations such as the Court of Arbitration for Sport, the World Anti-Doping Agency, and the World Olympians Association.

Obviously, IPC and IOC sport administrators work hand in hand during the staging of the Olympic and Paralympic Games. With the IOC being the much more powerful of the two, however, the IPC is at a disadvantage in a number of negotiations and discussions. For example, a question has been raised about when the Paralympic Games should be held relative to the Olympic Games—after (as they are now), before, or simultaneously. The question of whether the two Games should be combined into one large event with common medal counts, logos, and events is a debated topic (Legg et al. 2015). However, it is obvious that the IOC has the political upper hand in this debate. As it currently stands, the Paralympic Games benefit from the construction of Games-time facilities and improved infrastructure but the IOC is a far wealthier organisation with unparalleled global brand recognition and reach.

Because the Paralympic Movement deals with people with disabilities, sport administrators with the Games need to be aware of national and international political movements that may affect participation by people with disabilities in sport and physical activity. A number of major disability-related international documents and events have appeared on the scene in the past few years. For example, in 2006, the United Nations ratified the Convention on the Rights of Person with Disabilities (CRPD), the first human rights convention of the twenty-first century. The CRPD featured Article 30.5—Participation in Cultural Life, Recreation, Leisure, and Sport. The year 2014 marked the first International Day of Sport for Development and Peace, a now annual event celebrated on 6 April. One of the five key messages the United Nations associated with the inaugural event was the power of sport to include everyone regardless of ability (United Nations n.d.b). In 2015, UNESCO crafted a new International Charter on Physical Education which included expanded language on disability. According to UNESCO (2015, para. 3),

Based on the universal spirit of the original Charter adopted in 1978, and integrating the significant evolutions in the field of sport over the last 37 years, the revised Charter highlights the health benefits of physical activity, the inclusion of persons with disabilities, the protection of children, the role of sport for development and peace, as well as the need to protect the integrity of sport from doping, violence, manipulation and corruption.

None of the organisations that made an effort to include disability into their documents or events were primarily sport organisations. Rather, there was recognition on the part of major international policy making bodies to value the inclusion of people with disabilities in their new initiatives. All these initiatives are key in creating grassroots opportunities for people with disabilities to participate in sport. Paralympic athletes have to develop their love for sport on that level before they can ever represent their countries later on. Initiatives like the ones mentioned here provide valuable opportunities for athletes with disabilities to take the first steps on their road to the Paralympic Games.

Legal

As an international sport governing body, the IPC faces numerous legal challenges on an ongoing basis. Keep in mind as well that when we talk about legal issues, it refers not just to laws of the land, but also good governance. To assist with any legal issues that may arise, the IPC established its Legal and Ethics Committee. Among other responsibilities, the Legal and Ethics Committee

provides the IPC Governing Board and Chief Executive Officer with advice on any legal and ethics matter as required, including issues related to membership confirmation, ethical principles. Upon request it also provides legal counsel to IPC Standing Committees and Councils and conducts a regular review of the IPC Constitution, Bylaws, Standing Orders and other IPC Rules and Regulations. (International Paralympic Committee n.d.e, para. 3)

Just as in any segment of the sport industry, the IPC deals with contracts in various areas such as marketing, personnel, broadcast, and sponsorships. One contract of particular importance is the Host City contract with the city and local organising committee hosting the Olympic and Paralympic Games. When a city is awarded the right to host the Olympic Games, the local organising committee also shoulders the responsibility of staging the Paralympic Games. According to Rio 2016 (n.d.a, para. 1),

The Host City Contract is signed by all candidate cities and ratified by the city elected to host the Olympic and Paralympic Games. It specifies in detail the rights and obligations of all parties involved in organising both events, establishing the foundations for the organising committee's work with the International Olympic Committee, the International Paralympic Committee and their partners.

The Host City contract outlines in great detail the contractual obligations of the local organising committee relative to the Paralympic Games (International Olympic Committee 2015).

In addition to legal issues involving organisations external to the IPC, the IPC must create a legal structure relative to internal issues as well. For example, classification codes determine who will be able to compete, when, and how. These internal rules must be disseminated, explained, enforced, and updated as well. Classification has two important roles: to determine eligibility to compete and to group athletes for competition (International Paralympic Committee 2007). The IPC also has an extensive anti-doping code. The purpose of the code is spelled out as follows:

The code sets out sport rules governing the conditions under which sport is played. Aimed at enforcing anti-doping principles in a global and harmonized manner, these sport rules are distinct in nature from criminal and civil proceedings. When reviewing the facts and the law of a given case, all courts, arbitral tribunals, and other adjudicating bodies should be aware of and respect the distinct nature of this code implementing the World Anti-Doping Code and the fact that these rules represent a broad spectrum of stakeholders around the world as to what is necessary to protect and ensure fair sport

This illustrates how Paralympic sport administrators interface with not only external legal considerations, but must also comply with internal legal documents. When Paralympic athletes wish to challenge a rule they feel has resulted in unfair treatment, they have the opportunity to take their case to The Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS). The CAS is an independent organisation whose purpose is to settle legal disputes in sport-based settings via arbitration. The disputes can be commercial or disciplinary in nature (Court of Arbitration for Sport n.d). An example

of a disciplinary dispute might involve a Paralympic athlete raising questions about a doping charge against him by a sport governing body. As one can see, Paralympic sport administrators interface with legal systems both internal and external to their organisations.

Educational

The Paralympic Games have four educational values: Courage, Determination, Inspiration, and Equality. Additionally, as part of the broader Olympic Movement, the educational philosophy of Olympism and the Olympic values of Friendship, Respect and Excellence also help to advance the educational values of the Paralympic Games (Wolff et al. 2014). These values speak to the broader educational aims of sport and their relevance for athletes, coaches, administrators, and all stakeholders taking part in the Paralympic Games. These Paralympic values, in combination with the Olympic values, help to shift perceptions to see athletes with disabilities as athletes first.

Another educational initiative in connection with the Paralympic Games is the school programming associated with each Olympic and Paralympic Games. For every Games, the local organising committee is tasked with developing Olympic and Paralympic educational materials that address the Paralympic and Olympic values in theory and in practice. The London 2012 Games Organising Committee (LOCOG) had an exceptional programme called Get Set, which was the official Games' education programme for schools, colleges, and local authority education providers across Great Britain (International Paralympic Committee, n.d.c 2014b). LOCOG's main aim was to use the power of the Olympic and Paralympic Games to inspire children and young people across Great Britain and around the world.

Further, the Agitos Foundation of the International Paralympic Committee has now established the Proud Paralympian educational programme, recognising Paralympic athletes as ambassadors for the Paralympic values and the rights and dignity of people with a disability. "Proud Paralympian is designed to support athlete development both on and off the field of play, as individuals and active citizens" (International Paralympic Committee n.d.f, para. 6).

The International Paralympic Committee has also established an Education Committee with the following stated goals:

- To create high-quality Paralympic Education resources for global implementation.
- To encourage Paralympic Education Programmes to be implemented worldwide.
- To provide trainings for the implementation of Paralympic Education activities.
- To promote scholarly research activities and studies about the Paralympic Education Programmes. (International Paralympic Committee n.d.d)

It is important to see the work and purpose of the Education Committee of the International Paralympic Committee as it can be argued that in addition to providing the sports events themselves, a robust educational initiative is essential to further grow the understanding and awareness of athletes with a disability in sport and in society.

The STEEPLE Framework in Action at the Paralympic Games

So far this chapter has focused on how the STEEPLE framework can be overlaid onto the Paralympic Movement as a whole. This section will discuss what the STEEPLE framework would look like in terms of a sport administrators working for an organising committee with the Paralympic Games. When it comes to putting on an event, sport administrators must plan, organise, lead, and evaluate. When planning a Paralympic Games, the STEEPLE framework can be a valuable tool for sport administrators.

Fans and how they follow the Paralympic Games and Paralympic athletes are relevant to the Social level. Games administrators need to be in tune with fans of the Paralympic Games. Those fans could be watching the Games in person with a ticket, viewing live-streamed events on ParalympicSport.TV, or following the Games via social media platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, or Snapchat. Cheering on one's favourite country or athlete brings Paralympic fans together just as the Olympic Games do. The Paralympic Games provide a great social outlet for fans.

The first thought that comes to mind when discussing Technology and Paralympic sport, is, of course, the previously discussed impact of improved technology for the athletes. Technology takes on additional facets at the Games themselves. For example, both Olympic and Paralympic sport administrators need instantaneous access to results and statistics during the Games competitions. The same systems need to be in place for both Games.

From an Economic standpoint, Games administrators need to find ways to maximise revenue streams. One way to do this, for example, is by promoting ticket sales for the Paralympic Games in conjunction with the Olympic Games which immediately precede them. Creative ticket packaging such as Paralympic Day Passes to multiple events allows fans to sample different sports for a reasonable price while exposing them to new sports and athletes with various disabilities. Enlisting local sponsors for the Games also helps build the economic base for the Games, as was done in London with the UK supermarket chain J Sainsbury (Gillis 2011).

Paralympic Games sport administrators face numerous ethical issues and this chapter has already discussed doping and classification. Beyond these Paralympic Movement-wide issues, issues arise with the Games themselves. One of these is the representation of people with disabilities in the management of the Games. It is highly unusual to see any sport administrators with disabilities. This is not uncommon in the sport industry generally, but it is noticeable in a disability specific event like the Paralympic Games. Efforts need to be made by local organising committees to actively seek administrators, and for that matter, volunteers, with disabilities. Athletes competing on the field are highly visible while sport administrators work behind the scenes. The real power in any sport organisation, however, lies not on the field but behind a desk. This is where the voices of administrators with disabilities can influence what Paralympic sport looks like.

It is impossible to separate the Paralympic Games from Political based issues. When sport administrators assemble documents for awarding of the Games, fair treatment of all people, including people with disabilities, needs to be a priority. While this would seem to be a given, the outrage expressed at the time of the 2016 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games in Sochi regarding local laws discriminating against

the LGBT community brought politics to the forefront of both Games. Sport administrators bidding for the Games need to be mindful of the language in Principle 6 of the Olympic Charter that clearly states that discrimination is unacceptable. As of this writing, Principle 6 specifically names “race, colour, sex, sexual orientation, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status” (International Olympic Committee 2015, p. 14). Missing from this list is disability. Hopefully this specific mention will be added to Principle 6 in the near future, since athletes with disabilities are part of both the Olympic and Paralympic Games.

On a Legal level, the driving document behind organising the Paralympic Games is the Host City Contract. This contract lays out the legal obligations for the local organising committee for both the Paralympic and the Olympic Games. In addition to outlining the procedural aspects of the Games such as the organisation of accommodation, the sports programme, the educational programme, and the various ceremonies, the Host City contract covers intellectual property related matters and financial and commercial obligations (International Olympic Committee 2015).

Educationally, as part of hosting the Olympic and Paralympic Games, the local organising committee is responsible for developing and delivering an Olympic education programme. Information on the Paralympic Games needs to be an integral part of what young people in the community learn about. Bringing school groups to Paralympic events also helps young people learn and appreciate the athletes and the sports of the Paralympic Games.

Conclusion

Paralympic sport administrators face a wide variety of daily challenges in the tireless pursuit of producing the best Paralympic Games every two years. The STEEPLE framework provides them with a method to be able to look at The Big Picture of their organisations and the global environment surrounding them. This chapter presented just a selective look at each of the letters in the STEEPLE framework. Arguably, one could

write a separate chapter focusing on each letter individually. Using the STEEPLE framework provides a useful road map for sport administrators to help them look for the best path to take as they move their organisations forward in a competitive global sport marketplace.

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8

Leading the Team: The Role of the Chef de Mission at the Paralympic Games

Darren Peters, Stephen Frawley, and Daniel Favaloro

Introduction

In this chapter, we argue that the effective leadership of a National Paralympic team is critical for successful participation at the Paralympic Games. Games participation is important since the summer Games only occur every four years and are highly prized by numerous stakeholders, including athletes, coaches, sponsors, the media, and national and international sporting federations (Australian Paralympic Committee 2012). National Paralympic Committees (NPCs), Individual sports, athlete and stakeholder perceptions of the event are influenced by the performance of the national team and the related Games experience. National team success is of course dependent upon the quality of athletic talent and coaching, while the overall Games experience can be affected by many factors,

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including leadership, planning and access to the appropriate level of information and resources. Involvement in the Paralympic Games can therefore benefit a nation through increasing the level of national pride gained due to medal success by its athletes on the world stage, promoting sport recruitment and succession, generating public and sponsorship support, and by enhancing the reputation of team leadership and organizational capability.

Despite the importance of leadership, gaps remain in our knowledge on the most effective ways to develop leadership talent (Day et al. 2014). There is very limited research available about the development of the team leader at the Paralympic Games otherwise known as the Chef de Mission (Chef). The role of Chef is arguably the most important leadership position of any Paralympic (or for that matter Olympic) Games Team. If leadership development of the Chef becomes a stronger focus of NPCs, such as the Australian Paralympic Committee (APC), other less developed NPCs can learn from the example set. It would be beneficial for all participating countries if we increase our knowledge of how to develop a Chef and strive for more effective leadership. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an insight into the leadership practices of the Chef in the planning, human resource management, and decision-making requirements for the role. It will be informed by the experiences of the authors including the first author who was the Chef for the Australian Paralympic Team at the Beijing 2008 Games and the second author who worked in the management of sport for the organizing committee of the Sydney 2000 Olympic and Paralympic Games.

The chapter is structured in the following manner: The first section provides a brief overview of the leadership literature. This is followed by a description of the management and leadership responsibilities of the Chef at the Paralympic Games. The final section provides an analysis drawing on the relevant leadership literature.

Defining Leadership

In the broader field of management studies, leadership is a heavily researched concept (Burnes and O'Donnell 2011). Leadership at times has been viewed from both narrow and wide perspectives (Wood and Vilkinas 2005). This had led to confusion about what leadership actually is, and consequently,

multiple definitions of the concept have emerged over time (Egan et al. 1995). Yukl (1989) has suggested however that rather than try for a single definition, researchers should accept the conceptual diversity as a positive part of the field. From such a perspective, Nicholls (1987) has suggested that leadership can be examined from three interrelated concepts: meta, macro and micro. Meta leadership exerts influence on people through visioning to create engaged followers. Macro leadership is focused on executive action that creates successful organizations through building strong culture. Micro leadership is concerned with the performance of specific tasks that may require different leadership styles for particular situations. Leadership from this viewpoint is not only viewed as a top down practice, but also, leadership needs to occur across all levels of an organization to garner success (Nicholls 1987).

The large volume of work and significant disparity of meaning throughout the leadership literature is highlighted by numerous researchers (Burnes and O'Donnell 2011; Chelladurai 1980; Day 2001; Goff 2005; House and Howell 1992; Hoye et al. 2009; Jones 2002; Kellett 1999; Nicholls 1987; Sarros 1992; Sarros and Woodman 1993; Soucie 1994; Westerbeek and Smith 2005; Wood and Vilkinas 2005; Yukl 1989). This illustrates a key challenge associated with the study of leadership. Another challenge with exploring leadership is the difficulty in determining causal relationships through observation (Goff 2005). Personal attributes that stand out most prominently are therefore not necessarily the only critical leadership characteristics of effective leaders.

The distinction between leaders and managers is a common debate within the literature (see Table 8.1 for an overview of the prominent leadership theories). Leadership and management are interdependent concepts that overlap, but they also have definitional differences (Soucie 1994). Kotter's (1990) research for instance (cited by Fletcher and Arnold 2011, p. 225) has stated that 'leadership is about seeking adaptive and constructive change and movement, whereas management is about seeking order [and] stability.' An alternate view is that management is doing things right while leadership is doing the right things (Goff 2005; Yukl 1989). Leadership roles can be formal or informal in nature, whereas management emphasizes performance in formal managerial positions. Leadership processes generally enable groups of people to work together in meaningful ways, whereas management processes are considered organization-specific, with less focus on the people behind the action (Day 2001).

Table 8.1 Leadership theories

Approach	Description
Situational leadership	<p>Avery and Ryan (2002) describe situational leadership as the 'interplay between the leader's guidance, direction and socio-emotional support, and the readiness ... that followers exhibit on a particular task' (p. 243).</p> <p>Larsson and Vinberg (2010) suggest that situational leadership can be divided into three categories: change orientation, structure orientation and relation orientation.</p> <p>Relation orientation is viewed as the foundation for successful leadership while change orientation and structure orientation leadership behaviour should be adopted differently depending on specific situations.</p>
Authentic leadership	<p>Authentic leadership is considered 'as all forms of positive leadership and its development' (Avolio and Gardner 2005, p. 316).</p> <p>Authentic leadership is regarded as a continual learning process where leaders and followers gain self-awareness through open and trusting relationships.</p> <p>Avolio and Gardner (2005) argue that authentic leadership can be generated through 'increased self-awareness, self-regulation, and positive role modelling' (p. 317).</p>
Ethical leadership	<p>A decade ago, Brown and Trevino (2006) suggested that the construct of ethical leadership remained largely undeveloped. They stated that ethical leaders are regarded as 'honest, caring and principled individuals who make fair and balanced decisions' and who also establish clear ethical standards for followers (p. 597).</p> <p>Given the endless reporting of ethical scandals in business and sport, the value of the ethical dimension is greater than ever before.</p> <p>Providing for all groups, including men and women from all backgrounds, is another issue that needs ethical assessment. Business and sport are both dominated by men in leadership positions. To what extent is this ethical today? Issues of diversity, gender and power provide both opportunities and constraints in how leadership relations are formed and ethically delivered (Sinclair 2009).</p>

(continued)

Table 8.1 (continued)

Approach	Description
Transactional and transformational leadership	<p>Transformational leadership is one of the most researched constructs in the leadership literature (Parry 1998). It is argued that this approach became popular due to the holistic perspective of the transactional-transformational leadership paradigm (Bass 1997). This holistic paradigm is applied across multi-levels of leadership including: the individual, group, organizational and societal levels. Bass (1999) also refers to these levels as micro, macro and meta. According to Bass (1985) 'the transformational leader is one who motivates followers to do more than they would normally be expected to do. As a result, the followers' original levels of confidence in reaching desired and designated outcomes as a result of performance are transformed'.</p>
Charismatic leadership	<p>Charismatic leadership is closely associated with transformational leadership (Conger 1999). Charismatic leaders 'inspire in their followers unquestioning loyalty and devotion without regard for the followers' own self-interest' (Parry 1994, p. 85). The notion of transformational leadership was developed as a way of overcoming the negative connotations (i.e., flashy, awe-inspiring, God-like etc.) often associated with the term charisma (Bass 1999). However, scholars, such as House and Howell (1992) and Conger (1999), argue that charisma is an all-inclusive term encapsulating inspiration, intellectual stimulation and individualized consideration.</p>

Importance of the Chef de Mission Role

There are many paid and unpaid sport managers, coaches, Board members, officers, administrative staff, medical staff, media and suppliers who contribute to the organization and conduct of a national Paralympic team. However, it is the Chef who is the 'official' leader at the Paralympic Games. The proper organization and management of attendance and participation at the Paralympic Games is important to athletes and key stakeholders and, if done well, can contribute to the success of the

national team. Games organizers require all NPCs to nominate one person to communicate with them, on behalf of the national team, and this role (as outlined earlier) is called the 'Chef de Mission'. The term derives from the French concept of 'chief of the tour'. However, although the role is formally listed as the most important senior role for any team, there is no 'generic' role description outlined by either the International Paralympic Committee or International Olympic Committee. Instead, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in the Olympic Charter lists the role of National Olympic Committees (NOC), International Federations (IFS) and the Organizing Committee (OCOG) while seemingly leaving the Chef's role determination to individual NOCs and NPCs. If setting the role of the Chef is the domicile of the NOC or NPC, then there is a requirement for each to determine an adequate governance approach. The NOC or NPC Board and the CEO are therefore required to establish the position description and appoint the Chef to guide national team preparations, involvement and performance. If this is not done adequately, any component part can suffer.

Support for the abovementioned approach can be derived from past Australian Olympic or Paralympic team reports and listed team objectives. For example, the main objective of an individual athlete is first to be selected in the national team and then to attain the highest possible competition result (i.e., a Gold medal). For an NPC, the two main goals are to select the best possible national team (on behalf of the nation) and to achieve the highest possible position on the medal tally. Furthermore, in order to achieve this objective, the NPC needs to organize and manage the national team as effectively as possible to facilitate the environment for success. These objectives necessitate a national team to comprise athletes capable of achieving medals in their nominated sport, expert support staff to organize the preparation for and participation in the Games and, effective team leadership and governance.

In summary, team leadership functions pre, during and post Games are governed by the NOC or NPC Board, directed by the Secretary General or CEO (unless they are the Chef) and team operations are managed and delivered by the Chef. The Chef must (1) ensure the proper organization of the tour, (2) represent the national team at key decision meetings, events, with media and at ceremonial functions, and (3) guide

preparation for and participation at the Games, and (4) participate in any post-Games reviews. In essence, the Chef is responsible for the focused planning, resourcing, logistics, location orientation and adjustment, attendance at ceremonies, meeting training and competition requirements, attending to media needs, and decision and reporting processes of the team.

Australian Paralympic Team Composition

An important aspect of national team management at the Paralympic Games is team composition. Team composition is influenced by internal and external factors and presents unique set of challenges for the Chef that requires a heightened level of political acuity and interpersonal skill. The International Paralympic Committee (IPC) sets sport selection criteria, including classification standards, while the local organizing committee influences national team size quotas and final configuration, particularly in the area of officials and media. The local organizing committee is the authority that issues accreditation for the Games (both Paralympic and Olympic). National Sporting Organisations (NSOs) are responsible for the development and provision of talented athletes for the national team. An NPC is responsible for organizing and resourcing the national team. The Chef is responsible for nominating and confirming membership of the national team, including dignitary and officials' involvement and venue access. Historically, tensions often arise between an NPC and the IPC regarding sport and athlete quotas and athlete classification decisions. Furthermore, tensions can emerge between the local organizing committee and an NPC with reference to accessing additional (or changed) Games accreditations, as well as an NPC (and NSO) for additional Games accreditations. The Chef is required to negotiate with each of these key groups to resolve such problems as they arise often at the most inopportune times.

Team accreditation data submitted to the local organizing committee for the Australian national team competing at the London 2012 Games listed 200 athletes from 13 differing sport categories, seven guides and pilots, four senior roles led by the Chef de Mission and two Deputy Chef

de Missions, 131 officials, 32 medical and sport science staff, seven horse owners, and eight dignitaries (Australian Paralympic Committee 2012). The post-Games report indicated a 'gap' in the level of accreditations sought versus offered by the local organizing committee of 11 additional staff (eight coaches/sport science staff, two service staff, and one service manager for the NPC President).

The NPC President, CEO (when not acting as the Chef) and Deputy Chefs each play an important role in an NOC or NPCs Games and team preparation, participation and post-Games activities. The President has an opportunity to mix with international and domestic (Australian) dignitaries and influence them about the present situation of Paralympic sport, as they see it, and any emerging issues. They usually act as the official 'host' for domestic dignitaries such as the Prime Minister or nominee(s) when being introduced to the team. The CEO also has an opportunity to mix with international and domestic dignitaries, attend key meetings as required and is usually the 'host' of the corporate programme of an NPC. More recently, the APC has set a policy that the CEO is the Chef (e.g., 2006, 2008, 2012), due to the sense of a separation between decision-making delegation (or authority), when the Chef role resided with an expert 'volunteer'. Deputy Chefs are in the senior management group of the team supporting the Chef. There can be one to three, Deputy Chefs appointed to manage the 20 differing sports and athletes that can be included in any team. Each sport has unique preparation and competition requirements and the role of a Deputy Chef is usually to assist the Chef and act as an 'Account Manager' for a group of sports. During 2004 and 2008, this leadership structure was effective.

Planning

There are many possible ways to prepare and deliver a national team, but a planned approach is preferred, one that utilizes the knowledge and experiences of involvement at past Games and is supported by the requisite levels of resourcing. The IOC, IPC and the local organizing committee encourage all participating countries to use past information and

experiences to inform the development of a national team plan. The APC in the past has placed a great deal of emphasis on informing key stakeholder groups of the experiences and lessons learnt from previous Games. For example, the Australian Paralympic Team report for the Beijing 2008 Games listed 345 recommendations that informed the preparations for London 2012 (Australian Paralympic Committee 2012). In addition, financial trend graphs of team expenditure by category (e.g., travel costs) are used to develop and test budgets and has proven very useful. Despite the existence of this process at the larger and more resourced NPCs, many smaller to mid-level NPCs do not have a structured review, reporting and handover mechanism for the leaders of their national teams. We strongly believe that the development of a past plan, detailed budget, and handover information is critical in designing a Games participation plan. This systematic and structured approach to the organization and delivery of a national team is essential if providing the best opportunity for quality athletic performance is a major objective.

The three broad approaches to receive this type of information are (1) a structured handover, including the detailed national team report listing past experiences, outcomes and future recommendations, plus a plan and budget; (2) a limited to nil handover of prior information; and (3) somewhere in between. The anatomy of national team reports provides a snapshot in relation to 'what' has to be organized and is in the plan. For example, the post-London 2012 Games Report for the APC listed headings such as planning, administration, logistics, staging camps, games operations, team support, information, external programmes, events, team review and team members. Each aspect was important and indicated the multidimensional nature of planning, for example, people, resources, logistics, promotion and safety. In terms of specific functional area plans, the APC had a Sport Plan, Athlete Preparation Plan, Selection Plan, Games or Team Plan, Risk Plan, Critical Incident Response Plan, Accreditation Plan (athletes, officials, media), Team Management Plan, Media Plan, Uniform Plan, Travel Plan, Housing Plan, Emergency Plan, VIP and Guest Plan, and Marketing and Fundraising Plan¹. This type of plan detail and diversity is clear evidence of the depth of information and decision-making required to prepare a large national team for the Paralympic Games.

People

Successful National Paralympic Teams such as the Australian Paralympic Team have a diverse mix of leaders and followers that can solve a variety of strategic or operational problems, and also deal with issues that arise from over 300 people brought together for a three-week period. The most successful Paralympic Teams have a Chef who is conscientious, adaptable and personable. The Chef must deliver on the promises made in regard to the team. In addition, successful teams usually have an accessible and effective NPC President who acts as both a sounding board for the many organizing or operational issues that can arise from time to time, and is also a decision-maker on critical issues that pose risk or reputational damage to the organization. This leadership 'coupling' of President and Chef is critical to the success of organizational aspects of the team and ensures agile decision-making and a separation between governance and management.

Each sport has their own leaders who routinely organize travel to international competitions. The primary roles of any NPC (or NSO) Board member or staff are to influence these leaders towards common national team goals, fulfil resource objectives and inform logistical requirements. Using the APC as the example, the senior APC staffing routinely made the preparations for upcoming Paralympics and as such were heavily involved in leading many functional aspects (e.g., travel or clothing logistics) or administering the national team (e.g., information management). Finally, sport medical staff and scientists are appointed from a variety of differing backgrounds including national and state sport institutes. Therefore, due to the diversity of APC, NSO and government officials and staff plus sponsors and media, the Chef must be conscientious and organize the team on budget and on time, be adaptive towards other experts' ideas, and be personable enough to identify and, where required, acquiesce to the needs of others and negotiate desirable outcomes.

While the APC CEO has been the Chef on at least two recent occasions (2006 Torino and 2008 Beijing Games), sport staff in the APC office has played a significant role in liaison with NSOs, sport staff (e.g., Team Managers & Coaches) plus athletes. Further, the APC President, CEO

and some Board members have also been involved in major team decisions and have in the past been appointed to either Chef or Deputy Chef (and associated) roles. In these situations, they acted in a variety of roles aimed at delivering the Paralympic team through direction of the Chef, to deliver the corporate and supporters' team on behalf of the Board, and to govern the organization through the direction of the President.

This mix of duty and roles can, and has, created tension. For example, during the 2004 Paralympic Games, the CEO was responsible for the Corporate Supporters Program supported by some Board members and respective APC marketing staff. A Board member was the Chef of the Paralympic Team and it was supported by Board members acting in a variety of roles. However, while both Board members and APC staff worked extremely long hours and delivered an effective and successful team, some tension arose between staff and Board members in relation to the Corporate Program about who should be seen to be directing or hosting supporters (e.g., staff or volunteer Board members), and separately between the President, CEO and Chef at various times in regard to some Team decisions or media statements made. It is essential that these issues and decision boundaries were clarified prior to any Games.

Evolutionary psychologists believe that leadership is important in society and that leader and follower roles have evolved to enable the effective coordination of activities to solve day to day problems (e.g., food gathering) and conflict (e.g., tribal warfare), and that communities share leadership by selecting the best person for the role in a time of need (Van Vugt and Ronay 2014). Further, some studies have identified that the more effective leaders are conscientious, while others suggest that there are a variety of interpersonal styles including authoritarian, directive, inspirational, coaching, participative, yielding, withdrawn and distrustful, which are based upon agency or communion (Redeker et al. 2012). Agency refers to an individual's sense of purpose by task completion, and communion refers to their sense of relatedness with others by group decision-making and task participation.

Since the Chef reports to the NPC President and Board and works with NPC staff, plus individual sports, prior to and during the Games, there are many competing demands, and the possible existence of a hierarchy of relatedness importance. The leader of the NPC (tribe) is the

President on behalf of a Board, and then the CEO (unless they are the Chef). The broader community is the various sports themselves, including their athletes, coaches, technical staff and requisite nominated and/or appointed manager. In addition, the community comprises team senior management (e.g., Deputy Chefs), headquarters staff, medicos and media staff. Therefore, the hierarchy of relatedness importance would include: senior organizational actors as the most important (President and CEO), respective IPC/OCOG representatives, Government Executives, senior team management and Headquarters staff (Deputy Chef's, Doctor and Media), sports staff (Manager, Coach and Technical officials including allied health staff), and athletes.

Games accreditation type and access levels could also be an indicator of this. For the tribe (s) to be effective, the Chef must be aware of the respective sub-tribe perceived status and preferred operating style. For example, during the Games, Team Managers and Head Coaches have significant status, particularly in the competition arena, and athletes with the media. Headquarters administration, sport scientists and medicos are support services. Finally, it is the author's view that individual Presidents need to be seen to be the Chieftain of their Paralympic tribe because of the status of their role, while the Chef becomes the leader of the tribal warriors. If the above plan is achieved then role related agency is maintained. Everyone else who attends the Games in an official capacity then either observes or supports the Chieftain and/or supports the Chef and warriors.

Development of the Chef

The more successful Chefs are those who have been developed through sporting team environments, have attended an Olympic or Paralympic Games, and have been an athlete. There is no formal Chef training Program, but Chef meetings are regularly organized and conducted by the host local organizing committee for the Games. The sport environment comprises a mix of training, recovery support and competition demands, and leadership requirements involve an understanding of how technical (e.g., skill rehearsal and development), tactical (e.g., decision options to

maximize recovery or performance) and operational (e.g., equipment and logistical support) facets work together to enable human performance.

There are few sport or non-sport environments that can mirror these unique demands and subsequent leadership experiences. Leader development in local and state sporting domains provide fewer personal or environment pressures, and hence experiences, than national and international domains, since there are fewer numbers of competitors, officials, coach/manager interactions, media attention, result related stressors and consequences and facilities. Actors within these environments, for example, athletes, coaches, officials etc., often develop the requisite high level of knowledge and skills required to operate within them. Leader development in non-sport environments, such as the workplace, usually comprise some practical experience such as 'on the job' training by leading a major project or assuming a temporary or time based leadership role to gain experience. In either case, it is person-context-environment influenced and experiential. Due to the above, it is our belief that the best Chefs are trained in high level sporting environments through leading some facet of the team.

Discussion

The above discussion outlines the role of the Chef and the importance of leadership in the management of a national team at the Paralympic Games. A discussion of leadership practices of a Chef at either the Paralympic or Olympic Games has the potential to contribute to both the sport management and broader leadership literature. Over the past two decades, business and sport leaders have begun to cross the sport-business divide, acknowledging that there are valuable lessons to be learnt from each other (Goff 2005). Subsequently, a body of research promoting the transfer of elite performance principles from the sport domain to business has emerged (Burnes and O'Donnell 2011; Goff 2005; Jones 2002; Kellett 1999; Westerbeek and Smith 2005). As outlined by Burnes and O'Donnell (2011): 'Effective leadership is as crucial to success in sport as it is to business; There are areas where sports leaders are ahead of their business counterparts, particularly in developing the full potential

of teams and individuals; [and], Sport offers a more holistic approach to leadership development, going beyond the business approach' (p. 17).

Westerbeek and Smith (2005) further outline that leaders in business can benefit from a better appreciation of contemporary leadership challenges by utilizing a sport and/or sport event perspective. The sport event context offers a unique metaphor for critically examining leadership in business, as these two fields cross over in key and practical ways. Sport illustrates the significance of understanding that cause and effect is complex, and the context, whether in sport or business, is unpredictable (Westerbeek and Smith 2005). Likewise, Jones (2002) presents a personal perspective on the link between excellence in sport and business, concluding that the main principles of elite performance in sport are easily transferable to the business world. 'Arriving at an intuitive [leadership] model applicable in sport and business, and which also has a sound underpinning theory and empirical support' has been a significant challenge (Jones 2002, p. 273). The transactional-transformational leadership paradigm is emphasized by Jones (2002) as the most appropriate theory, which is reflected by his model of leadership and performance.

In analysing the role of the Chef at the Paralympic Games, the work of Chelladurai (1980) is informative. He argues that the role of a sport organization leader is influenced by three key characteristics. First, the leader's functions are supplemental in that they provide structure and support when required to those below them in the chain of command. Second, the leader's role becomes less critical when decisions are made effectively at the lower levels of the chain of command. Third, a leader's performance is shaped by situational factors within and beyond the wider organization that are often beyond their control (Chelladurai 1980).

Drawing on the work Fletcher and Arnold (2011), who examined the performance leadership and management in the preparation of Olympic teams, there are a number of factors that coincide with our analysis of Paralympic team leadership. First, the management of elite national sport teams is a multifaceted phenomenon. Second, performance is shaped by the development and clarity of vision. Third, performance is influenced by the quality of the management of team operations. Fourth, team performance is impacted by strong and effective leadership (Fletcher and Arnold 2011). Moreover, in order to sustain the highest levels of per-

formance ‘leaders ... must identify and disseminate their vision, optimise their resources and processes, challenge and support their people, and transform individuals’ attitudes and group cohesion’ (Fletcher and Arnold 2011, p. 238).

Conclusion

This chapter has briefly examined the role of the Chef de Mission in the management and leadership of a national team participating at the Paralympic Games. As outlined by Goff (2005) great leaders in sport need to be thinkers and not just ‘give-me-the-bottom-line’ leaders (p. 222). They require mental strength and the ability to resolve interpersonal and management challenges quickly without being overwhelmed. Effective Chefs must also have detailed technical knowledge that keeps them in touch with not only their athletes and coaches but other Games stakeholders, particularly their President and Board, as the ability to inspire people to follow develops or retain trust from others derives from demonstrated competency. While it has been found that the non-sport domain of business can learn a great deal from their counterparts in sport, sport also has a considerable amount to learn from excellence in business. The literature base on sport leadership is a developing field of study that requires greater investigation and research to further our understanding (Soucie 1994).

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9

Volunteer Management at the Paralympic Games

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Introduction

Large events require volunteers; from the Olympic Games and Paralympics Games to the FIFA World Cup, mega sport events could not be staged without the countless person-hours of work provided by willing volunteers. The International Paralympic Committee considers volunteering, both during the Paralympic Games, and at other events supported by the International Paralympic Committee, as “the backbone of the organization’s network that promotes sporting opportunities for people with disabilities” (https://www.paralympic.org/sites/default/files/document/131125102629752_Paralympics_and_Volunteering.pdf).

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Further, the bid books of mega events abound with descriptions of a positive legacy of well-trained, experienced volunteers who will naturally flow to communities and nations as a result of an event. In fact, it appears that a focus on volunteer legacy is a necessary part of any successful bid; for recent events, the suggestion of a volunteering legacy has included:

Vancouver 2010: “the Games will create a legacy around the development of skills. The Games provide valuable opportunities to enhance the region’s hospitality and event hosting expertise.” (VANOC 2007, p. 36)

London 2012: “the database will be consistent with LOCOG’s stated objective to build a lasting legacy from the London 2012 Games by getting more people involved in sport, as spectators, volunteers or participants, as well as in the arts and cultural events.” (LOCOG 2013)

Sochi 2014: “Our programme to train volunteers will not only deliver skilled and enthusiastic volunteers to welcome the world to Sochi in 2014, but also leave the invaluable legacy of a volunteering culture in Russia which will benefit the nation for years into the future.” (Sochi 2014 2011)

Rio 2016: “Skills development: 48,000 adults and young people will undergo an extensive Rio 2016-funded program of professional and volunteer training in areas of strategic importance for the Games. This program, integrating government, training institutions and universities, will help participants find jobs after the games.” (Rio 2016 Candidate City 2009, p. 23)

One might ask why a chapter on volunteer management at the Paralympic Games begins with a discussion of legacy, or, in fact, whether or not there is any difference in the management of volunteers at the Paralympics versus other mega events, particularly given the current and increasingly strong linkages between the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the International Paralympic Committee (IPC). The answer lies in the goals and priorities of the IPC, particularly with the communication of what makes the IPC brand unique, highlighting the “distinctive values, behaviours and spirit of the Paralympic movement” (IPC 2015, p. 27). While desiring to contribute to, and benefit from, an increasingly strong relationship with the IOC, the IPC strives to maintain and promote its unique brand, which creates an opportunity to be exceptional in the legacy of the event as well. Managers of Paralympic volunteers

have an opportunity to shape a legacy that may benefit many different groups and communities touched by the movement, as the Paralympic Movement's ultimate aspiration is "to make for a more inclusive society for people with an impairment through para-sport" (IPC 2015, p. 14).

Creating an inclusive society through para-sport is a lofty goal, reiterated by Thomas Bach, President of the IOC, who asserts that "the IOC and the IPC share a commitment to ... promote positive values, fight discrimination, increase access to sport and contribute to a better world" (IPC 2015, p. 6). This is supported by the United Nations, which sees the Paralympic Movement as "representing a world of integrity and inspiration in its mission to create inclusive and diverse societies in and through sport" (IPC 2015, p. 7). Further, Wilfried Lemke, United Nations Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Sport for Development and Peace, asserts that "the Paralympics have in fact played an active role in responding to the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, which embraces sport's role in contributing to inclusive societies" (IPC 2015, p.7). As such, managing volunteers at a Paralympic event takes on a proportion that transcends the event itself, demanding volunteer involvement and legacy that supports these positive values, increases access, builds capacity, and contributes to the creation of an inclusive and diverse society. It is within this context that this chapter seeks to inform managers of Paralympic volunteers.

The creation of an inclusive society extends beyond the ability of athletes with a disability or impairment to participate in sport, to persons with disabilities being actively engaged in all aspects of society. One area of societal participation which we know contributes to the overall health and well-being of individuals is volunteerism: "a strong correlation exists between the well-being, happiness, health, and longevity of people who are emotionally kind and compassionate in their charitable helping activities" (Post 2005, p. 73). Given the inclusivity goals of the Paralympic Movement and the benefits associated with volunteerism, to both individuals and society, it behooves Paralympic volunteer organizers to facilitate the inclusion of volunteers with disabilities as an integral part of their workforce. The bigger picture of the Paralympic legacy is discussed further by Misener (2017).

This chapter explores the role and contribution of volunteers to the Paralympic Games and their motivations. Then, using the lens of strategic human resource management, discusses steps for effective management of volunteers both for event delivery and to support a social legacy of volunteering beyond the Games.

What Do Paralympic Volunteers Do?

Volunteers for mega sport events can be involved in a diverse range of activities both on the field of play and behind the scenes. Examples of the diverse functional areas are transport, medical support, drug testing, medal ceremonies, language services and supporting the IPC “family”. Typically, they work in shifts of around 8–10 hours. Some begin work prior the event, especially if working during the planning or training phase, and some may continue after the event, such as transport for departures. Generally, the moment the event ends, volunteers return to their daily lives, organizing committees disband, and the momentum created by the event can be lost.

Volunteer Contribution

For the summer Paralympic Games, around 30,000 volunteers are needed, while for the winter Paralympics Games, between 6500 and 8000 are required (see Table 1). Often the numbers of volunteers recruited can exceed what might be needed at Games-time, as organizing committees (OCOGs) need to plan for attrition and retention. At Games-time, volunteers can account for 80 % of the workforce with the remainder being a mix of contractors (3 %), interns (1 %), full-time staff (6 %), part-time staff (1 %), temporary (7 %) and secondees (2 %) (VANOC 2010a).

In the absence of volunteers, OCOGs would need to raise more money, either via sponsorships (public or private) and/or ticket sales, to cover the cost of these events. However, similar to costs associated with

Table 9.1 Estimate of volunteers for the Olympic and Paralympics Games

Year	Location	Olympics	Paralympics	or Total
2000	Sydney			47,500
2002	Salt Lake	22,000	3,500	
2004	Athens			48,000
2006	Torino	18,000	3,300	
2008	Beijing	74,615	>30,000	
2010	Vancouver	18,500	6,500	
2012	London			70,000
2014	Sochi		>8,000	25,000

Sources: (VANOC 2010a) and <https://www.olympic.org/documents>

Games' employees, volunteers do not come for free as there are costs associated with their recruitment, selection, training, uniforms, and transport and meals when volunteering. For the volunteers themselves there may be additional personal costs for travel, accommodation and leave from work associated with their recruitment, selection and training, as well as their accommodation during the event and meals outside their shifts. In fact, for Vancouver 2010 and London 2012 volunteers had to provide for their own transport to the host cities as well as find and fund their own accommodation. For Sochi 2014, there was a very different strategy implemented where 26 volunteer centers across the country, each tasked with recruiting and training volunteers from their region, also had to cover the cost of travel to the Sochi, where the Administration of the Krasnodar Region provided food and accommodation for the period of the Games (Sochi 2014 2013).

For London 2012 it was estimated that the 70,000 volunteers would contribute 8 million volunteer hours (LOCOG 2012b) and for Sochi 2014 the 8000 Paralympic volunteers were scheduled to work a total of 80,000 shifts (IPC 2014). To further demonstrate the value of volunteers to the Paralympics, assuming that the 12,000 volunteers for Pyeongchang 2018 (ChosunMedia 2015) will each contribute a minimum of 8 shifts of 10 hours each, at the minimum wage of 6030 Korean Wan per hour (<http://www.tradingeconomics.com/south-korea/minimum-wages>) would equate to an additional USD \$6 million being required.

Volunteer Attrition and Retention

Volunteer Canada sets volunteer retention pre-eminently in the center of their management model (see Fig. 9.1). Retention could mean (1) retaining volunteers for the duration of an event; (2) retaining volunteers from one event to the next (e.g., from an Olympic Games to a Paralympic Games in the same quadrennial, or from one Paralympic Games to the next, 4 years later) or (3) retaining volunteers in the para-sport community who may go on to volunteer at other local, regional, national or international events in support of para-athletes.

With the recruitment and training of volunteers commencing more than 12 months prior to the event, retention in the lead up to the event is important. For Sydney 2000, it was reported that there was an attrition rate of 30 % in the lead up to and during the Games (Athens Hash House Harriers 2004). Further, retention between the Olympics and Paralympics can be a concern. For Vancouver 2010, approximately 30 % of volunteers were scheduled for both events, but the experience of one of the authors of this article during the 2010 Games was that there was appreciable drop-out of these volunteers post-Olympic Games, resulting in fewer than necessary experienced volunteers available for the Paralympic Games. In fact, one of the other authors of this chapter was recruited at the last minute to fill one of these required roles. Thus, while anecdotal, this evidence points to the potential for attrition, before and



Fig. 9.1 Volunteer Canada's volunteer management cycle (<https://volunteer.ca>)

during an event, which must be factored into the workforce planning associated with Games organization.

The focus on retention and volunteer legacy underpinned Sochi 2014's recruitment approach. This approach involved utilizing the university system throughout Russia to recruit and train volunteers from their local areas, with a focus on young people and students (Sochi 2014 2007). It was considered that the adoption of this decentralized model, with a focus on youth, would enable greater volunteer retention, and a volunteer legacy, because well-trained and experienced youth would be able to contribute to the volunteer movement throughout Russia for years to come.

The third conceptualization of retention aligns with the stated goal of a volunteering legacy that would see either more people volunteering and/or an increase in the level of volunteering of existing volunteers post-Games (Dickson et al. 2013). It is considered that, upon returning to their home communities, these trained, experienced and enthusiastic Paralympic volunteers will volunteer for events at many levels, thus enabling the Paralympic movement to progress. This aligns with the IPC's strategic priority to "ensure resources exist to improve access and opportunities in para-sport through the continued development of athlete pathways, from the grassroots level to the Paralympics ... worldwide, and with a diverse population which includes more women, and athletes with high support needs" (IPC 2015, p. 23).

When considering retention and legacy it is essential to recall that while the IOC and the IPC continue to exist before and after the event, the OCOG is transitory and in most circumstances is wound up within a year of event, if not sooner. Thus, any planning for and implementation of a volunteer legacy strategy must navigate the demise of the OCOG, the central player in the design and delivery of the event. In some cases legacy organizations have been established, such as 2010 Legacies Now, or RELAYS (Regional Education Legacy for Arts and Youth Sport) which was funded by London 2012 from 2008 through 2013 (Universities South West 2013). In other cases, organizations, such as Whistler Adaptive Sport, have positioned themselves to take advantage of Paralympic volunteers (The Whistler for the Disabled Society 2014). One may debate whether a separate organization subject to changes in policy and funding

is effective, or whether capacity building within existing and ongoing organizations will endure, but one thing is certain; retention of volunteers within the Paralympic movement does not happen by accident, but with careful planning from the outset.

Why People Volunteer

For event organizers, it is beneficial to understand why people volunteer for a mega sport event when planning their recruitment strategy. Exploring the motivations of event volunteers is a growing area of research, but there is limited research that has included or focused specifically on the Paralympics (Dickson et al. 2013; Dickson et al. 2014). For mega sport events such as the Paralympics the dominant motivation is the appeal of the event itself and a desire to see it succeed. For both Vancouver 2010 and London 2012 the top three motivations were as follows: *It was the chance of a lifetime; I wanted to help make the Games a success* and *I am interested in the Games* (Dickson et al. 2014), while for Sochi 2014 they were, *I am interested in Sochi 2014; I wanted to help make the Games a success* and *I am proud of Sochi and/or Russia* (Dickson et al. Forthcoming). It has also been demonstrated that there is a difference in motivation between millennials, who are more interested in skill development and networking, and older volunteers who were more altruistic and interested in applying their skills (Dickson et al. 2011). The implication that the Games themselves, and national pride, are the main drivers for volunteers must be considered by Paralympic organizers who hope to sustain volunteers in the Paralympic movement beyond the Games.

Who Volunteers?

There is no single profile of who volunteers as there are many factors that may have some influence, such as the OCOG's recruitment strategy and the additional costs of volunteering to the volunteers themselves. For both Vancouver 2010 and London 2012 where volunteers had to provide their

own accommodation in, often, high cost circumstances, most volunteers were female (c. 60 %), aged 45–64 years (c. 60 %) and working full time (Dickson et al. 2014). In contrast, for Sochi 2014 where the emphasis was on recruiting and training students through partner Universities, and providing food and housing during the volunteer period, they had 77 % females, 50 % aged 20–24 years and over 50 % who were full-time students (Dickson et al. [Forthcoming](#)).

Recent research has also explored the extent to which people with a disability have been able to volunteer for the Olympics and Paralympics (Darcy et al. 2014). A major barrier to participation is accessibility, a topic explored further by Darcy (2017).

The Changing Context of Volunteering

Paralympic events are episodic and may be perceived as a once in a life-time opportunity by volunteers. As such, it is worth considering what pressures may impact volunteers, both in terms of their motivation to volunteer and the factors that impact volunteer attrition before and during the event. Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) suggested:

In contrast to the usual lament about the increased individualism of the “new” volunteer generation, it is important to recognize that a number of social-structural forces are pushing volunteers in a certain direction. Organizations must be attentive to both external pressures (e.g., unpredictable life courses) and internal pressures (e.g., increasing pursuit of professionalism and reshaping volunteer’s behaviour, p. 183)

Additional considerations may include the challenges that millennials themselves, or the interface between millennials and the baby boomer generation with their very different work styles, may bring to a volunteer workforce and legacy debate. For the broader nonprofit sector who depend upon volunteers, which could lose up to one-third of volunteers who may not return to volunteer if they have a negative experience at the Games, a more strategic approach to volunteer management is called for (Eisner et al. 2009). This leads to consideration of the potential role of strategic human resource management in volunteer management.

What Is Strategic Human Resource Management?

Human resource management (HRM) has been of long-standing interest to academics and practitioners. In general terms, it refers to the management of employment relations in organizations (Boxall and Purcell 2000; Kaufman 2012). The concept of “strategic” HRM (SHRM) evolved out of the desire to demonstrate that HR practices are important for organizational performance (Delery and Doty 1996). As such, it refers to HR approaches that aim to enhance organizational effectiveness (Boxall and Purcell 2000) and advocates that HR practices should be aligned with organizational requirements. In the literature, SHRM has been defined in a number of ways (Boxall and Purcell 2000), and is underpinned by three key perspectives: the best practice, contingency and configurational perspectives (Boxall and Purcell 2000; Delery and Doty 1996). In this chapter, we posit that analyzing volunteer management according to the configurational perspective may provide useful insights into how to optimize the successful delivery of Paralympic games over the longer-term.

Proponents of the configurational perspective advocate for the establishment of High Performance Work Systems (HPWS) in order to enhance organizational performance (Delery and Doty 1996). A HPWS comprises a system of interrelated parts that must function together effectively to achieve organizational goals and enhance its performance (Gephart and Van Buren, 1996; Sung and Ashton 2005; Van Buren and Werner 1996), via the strategic use of particular configurations—or bundles—of HR practices (Delery and Doty 1996). To enhance performance, organizations utilize “bundles” of High Performance Work Practices (HPWPs), which are appropriate for the organization’s specific requirements (Sung and Ashton 2005). As such, a HPWS is premised on the assumption “that the ‘system’ is more than the sum of its parts” (Drummond and Stone 2007, p.193). It is argued that the configuration of practices should act in a synergistic manner to yield positive outcomes for the organization (Drummond and Stone 2007), such as higher levels of employee commitment and organiza-

tional performance (Blackman et al. 2012; Boselie 2010; Leggat et al. 2012).

In the event context, commitment may relate to volunteer retention, or legacy, both for the event and beyond, while organizational performance relates to the delivery of the event and the event experience for all customers, for example: athletes, spectators, volunteers, communities and other stakeholders. We now consider the practice of volunteer management according to the configurational perspective, with particular emphasis on the complementary utilization of HR practices aimed at enhancing volunteer retention and, therefore, successful Games delivery.

Volunteer Management in Practice

It can be argued that effective event delivery, and associated volunteer legacy, requires the effective management of volunteers. In turn, effective volunteer management requires the alignment of HR strategies and practices with the corporate strategy of the OCOG (see Fig. 9.2). This model will now be discussed.

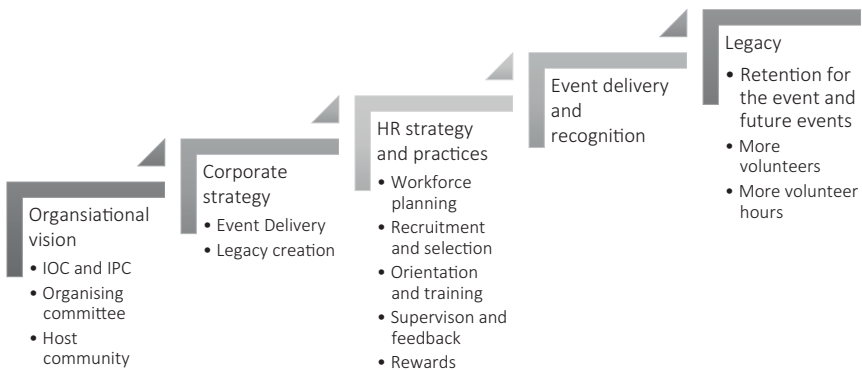


Fig. 9.2 A strategic approach to Paralympic volunteer management

Organizational Vision

For events such as the Paralympics organizational vision occurs at multiple levels, from the IPC (macro), through the organizing committee (meso) to the local and host communities (micro).

For the IPC the key objectives of the Paralympic Games are as follows:

- To allow Paralympic athletes to achieve their best performance at the highest level of competition by providing appropriate conditions and services in an operationally sound environment.
- To ensure the visibility, distinctiveness and promotional opportunities that showcase the spirit and values of the Paralympic Movement.
- To act as catalyst that stimulates social development and leaves a positive long-term legacy that benefits communities in the host country and across the world (IPC 2013, p. 7).

The four broad legacy areas for the IPC are as follows:

- Accessible infrastructure in sport facilities and in the overall urban development.
- Development of sport structures/organizations for people with an impairment, from grassroots to elite level.
- Attitudinal changes in the perception of the position and the capabilities of persons with an impairment as well as in the self-esteem of the people with a disability.
- Opportunities for people with an impairment to become fully integrated in social living and to reach their full potential in aspects of life beyond sports (IPC 2013, p. 37)

From a games-time volunteer management perspective, examples of how these legacy areas may be impacted include:

- developing sport organizations through capacity building via the training and work experiences at the Paralympics;
- attitudinal change through the training, work and exposure to elite Paralympic athletic performance

- opportunities for full integration through showcasing best practice for: (i) inclusion in the workplace; (ii) accessible transport and infrastructure and (iii) accessible sport and recreation opportunities.

For the transitory and temporary OCOG, while they may espouse legacy as an outcome, the reality is that they have the demands of delivering an event on time. Legacy may be desirable, but the key performance indicator (KPI) that counts in the short term is event delivery. That is their vision, their objective, their nonnegotiable target. How legacy could become an IOC/IPC or OCOG mandate, and therefore an additional KPI, is a matter for further discussion.

At the micro level, an example of a host community vision from Vancouver 2010 for Whistler related to volunteerism and community pride was “To foster volunteerism and enhance community pride and spirit in Whistler. The intent of this objective is to create a strategic framework that fosters volunteerism as an integral part of the VANOC volunteer program, enhancing resort community pride and spirit before, during and after the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games” (Resort Municipality of Whistler 2010 Winter Games Office 2006, p. 55). Similarly, a local organization, Whistler Adaptive Sports, created volunteer legacy outcomes from Vancouver 2010 as they created a plan to “keep those volunteers engaged [and] post-games, to steward our volunteers” (Walker 2010). Understanding the multilevel nature of the Paralympics organizational vision provides a context for the corporate strategy underpinning events.

Corporate Strategy

As indicated earlier, there is much rhetoric from the OCOGs saying the Games will result in legacies for volunteering beyond the event. For this to occur, it is essential that a strategy, and financing, be put in place that will support such a legacy. This could include a strategy to work with volunteer organizations before and during the Games to identify how they may leverage a volunteer legacy from the Games, but also implementing a strategy that determines how information about those who volunteered is managed and transferred, and to whom. Knowledge of the desire and

intention of volunteers to volunteer into the future must be captured, so that too may be leveraged beyond the Games (Blackman et al. 2017). Corporate strategy should also be aligned with the HR strategy that sees a rapid intake of staff and volunteers in the lead up to the Games, and the exit of most paid and volunteer staff within days or weeks of the Games.

Human Resource Strategy

For a strategic human resource approach to be adopted, the human resource strategy has to balance the demands of event delivery with the desire for, and offer of, legacy. Event delivery will primarily be driven by the job-specific requirements. However, emerging work on the experience economy and customer experiences (Meyer and Schwager 2007; Pine and Gilmore 1998), where a broad definition of “customer” may include the athlete, the volunteer and the audience, suggests that volunteers, who are often the touchpoints between the audience and the event, help “create fulfillable expectations and better experiences” (Meyer and Schwager 2007, p. 4). Thus, volunteers are central to the experience of the event, not just the delivery of the event.

Recognition of the central role of volunteers in successful event delivery requires the integration of human resource management practices aimed at volunteer retention. The Volunteer Canada model illustrates that all of the HR functions from workforce planning through recognition have retention at their core. Thus, the workforce planning phase is vital for determining the number and types of volunteers required to successfully deliver events. During the recruitment phase, it is necessary to create a recruitment strategy that is informed by the goal of retention. This leads to the question of who should be recruited so that a legacy will exist post-Games; those who are already volunteering consistently, those who have never volunteered before, younger volunteers, older volunteers? The answer to this question lies in the desired retention or legacy outcome, which must be considered for each individual Games and their host community.

Aon Hewitt, an international provider of human capital and management consulting services, espouses the benefits of applying a marketing

approach to employee (volunteer) recruitment. An organization which seeks to attract the best talent possible must “create an employee value proposition that best satisfies the needs of the workforce ... and is aligned with the strategic objectives of the organization” (http://www.aon.com/human-capital-consulting/thought-leadership/communication/article_employees_consumers.jsp). While the volunteer plan must support the goals of the Games, it must also have wide appeal to those that the organization seeks to recruit. If retention of volunteers beyond the Games is a stated objective, then organizers must look beyond those who are volunteering because it is a once in a lifetime opportunity, or because of the Games themselves (Dickson et al. 2013) to those who would extend their experience beyond the Games. Rather than putting out a *carte blanche* call for volunteers and recruiting anybody and everybody, organizers taking a long-term strategic approach will determine their needs and objectives, and recruit strategically in order to meet their requirements. Based upon the stated aspiration of the Paralympic movement with regard to an inclusive society, the value proposition, a short statement which distills the benefits of participation, must appeal to those who, after the Paralympic Games are over, would go back to their communities and continue to contribute to the Paralympic movement. Time spent creating an attractive value proposition prior to the launch of a recruitment drive would be time well-spent, ensuring the right people are recruited for the right roles. An opportunity that has yet to be capitalized on is the recruitment and retention of people with disabilities for volunteer position. If the Paralympic Movement is meant to change the perception of people with disabilities and erase stereotypes, and to contribute to a world with equal opportunities for all, then a vibrant volunteer corps made up of people of all kinds of (dis)abilities should inform the recruitment of volunteers.

Once the right volunteer candidates have been recruited and selected for the right jobs, their direct experience with the organization begins. The volunteer experience can be looked at in the context of experience management as well. Customer experience management implies the thoughtful creation and management of all of the touchpoints that a customer (or volunteer, in this case) would have with an organization, in such a way that the customer (volunteer) would become loyal to the organiza-

tion. Managing the volunteer experience in a thoughtful, proactive and positive way will ensure retention of volunteers through the event and beyond. Thus, organizers must put some thought into the type of expectations and experiences they would like to create for their volunteers. A savvy volunteer manager will look back to the aspirations and strategic priorities of the Games, and their own recruitment strategy, in terms of understanding the motivation of volunteers, in order to create touchpoints that are meaningful and rewarding for volunteers. Orientation and training are a primary touchpoint for volunteers, and set the stage for all future interactions between volunteers and organizers.

Training of Olympic and Paralympic volunteers has typically centered on service excellence, venue-specific training and job-specific training (Benson et al. 2014). Often this has been provided in large group contexts. The mass production approach is no more evident than in the use of McDonalds as a key training provider (The editor 2010) where the 70,000 Games Makers received 1 million hours of training or an average of 14 hours each (LOCOG 2012b). For Sochi 2014 the model shifted to a decentralized approach using over 20 Universities across the country to recruit and train volunteers from their region (Sochi 2014 2013). The hope is that recruiting and training locally may have benefits for volunteering legacies in those regions.

For the Paralympics, disability awareness training may be a facilitator of creating a great Games-time experience, but also contribute to the legacy potential of changing attitudes toward people with disabilities. For Vancouver 2010, online training modules were made available to all volunteers; one such module was Destination British Columbia's (DBC's) "WorldHost: Customers with Disabilities" training program (Fig. 9.3). Designed to "increase front-line employees' sensitivity toward people with disabilities, and to provide superior customer service skills that respect every visitor's unique needs" (<http://www.worldhosttraining.com/workshops/>), DBC's module looks at communication, language and protocol, and helps participants to explore their own attitudes and beliefs about people with disabilities (VANOC 2010b). For London 2012, LOCOG indicated that diversity and inclusion training would be provided (LOCOG 2012a), however volunteers reported that there had been little, or no training specifically on disability awareness (Darcy et al. 2014).

What is Disability?



Our Customers

Many of our customers will have disabilities – not just Paralympic athletes, but also spectators, media, officials and dignitaries.

Persons with a disability include...

those who reported difficulties with daily living activities, or indicated that a physical, mental condition or health problem reduced the kind, or amount, of activities they could do.

- World Health Organization

Fig. 9.3 VANOC online orientation and service training: Accessibility and Disability training (VANOC 2010b)

Event Delivery and Volunteer Recognition

From an experience management perspective, the event delivery aspect of the Games will be a crucial time for volunteers as they weigh their Games-time experience and decide whether or not to continue their volunteer efforts. A key factor that impacts the future volunteering intentions of mega sport-event volunteers is their experience of being managed by the paid staff (Dickson et al. 2014). This is especially significant for managing Olympic and Paralympic volunteers where many of the volunteers are older and have significant work experience, whereas their paid supervisors are often younger with less work experience than their volunteers. Thus, the recruitment, selection and training of paid staff focused on effective volunteer management are also important for event delivery and legacy.

Another human resource practice that is important for facilitating retention is the recognition and reward of volunteers. Volunteers at recent Olympic and Paralympic Games have received rewards for completing a certain number of shifts, examples of which are key chains, badges and small representations of Games mascots, with specific gifts aligning with a

designated number of shifts completed. The large numbers of volunteers involved make personalizing rewards and recognition difficult, though we know from the HR literature that tailoring recognition and rewards to individual motivators, wherever possible, is the best practice (see e.g., Blackman et al. 2013). Due to the scale of volunteers, with the need for tailored rewards, there may be a place for the types of systems used in the mass-customization of tourism products where a menu of choices is provided and participants can choose from the menu. In this way an organization can manage the desires of a large number of people, while the participants themselves have some agency. In the Paralympic context, volunteers could choose the reward most meaningful to them from a selection of reward and recognition options provided. Many HR studies highlight the power of a sincere “thank you for a job well done” as one of the most impactful forms of recognition (see e.g., Blackman et al. 2013). Event managers who find ways to express their appreciation of the efforts of volunteers will go a long way toward retaining those volunteers into the future.

These ideas demonstrate how, through integrating HR practices around a common goal, the retention of volunteers could be enhanced. Similar ideas could also be adopted for optimizing volunteer legacy over time.

Legacy

The final step in Fig. 9.2, legacy, has been discussed throughout the chapter. Whether described as retention or legacy, the focus on a post-Games scenario throughout the human resource management cycle, from workforce planning through Games time, will help to ensure retention and a positive legacy for the Paralympic movement. The OCOG can facilitate connections between trained and experienced volunteers and organizations in their own communities thus building social capital. This may be overtly via the OCOG reaching out to or providing information for the not-for-profit sector, or covertly, via giving volunteers the tools and encouragement to reach out to organizations on their own, may override the transitory nature of OCOG’s to ensure a social legacy. Table 2 provides the examples of HR strategies and practices that will support event delivery, as well as positive legacies for individual volunteers and for the host communities.

Table 9.2 Examples of strategic human resource management solutions for a volunteer legacy from mega sport events

Human resource management phase		Delivery of the event	Legacy: for individuals	Legacy: for community
Workforce Plan		Identify required skills and expertise	Identify existing skills and expertise and what is needed to be learned	Identify events and organizations that may be able to use volunteers after the Games
		Identify likely volunteer candidates and groups (seniors, past sport participants, etc.) Have a long-term or multi-event focus for planning	Deliver training to a large group that is as individualized as possible	
Recruit		Implement a volunteer recruitment strategy aimed at both current and future events	Identify those who are most likely to have the time and the opportunity to volunteer more after the Games, e.g. age, gender, employment situation	Recruit complementary organizations as partners
			Use interviewers who are skilled and experienced	
Orient and train		Provide training in areas such as venue specific, job specific and customer services areas	Provide relevant, meaningful training and rewarding work for volunteers	Provide resources and strategies as to how to maximize the volunteer potential
		Train volunteer supervisors and paid staff in effective volunteer management	Recognize current skills and augment lacking skills through a well-planned training effort	

(continued)

Table 9.2 (continued)

Human resource management phase	Delivery of the event	Legacy: for individuals	Legacy: for community
Supervision and feedback	Train supervisors in the delivery of constructive feedback with a long-term volunteer development focus	Ensure that supervision and feedback is constructive, aimed at developing the volunteer for the long term	Provide an end-of-event update on skills developed and upcoming opportunities to use those skills
Reward	Create opportunities for intrinsically motivated volunteers to experience fulfillment Extrinsic rewards should have a legacy focus	Where possible, individualize rewards to suit the volunteer	Where possible, create a reward program that builds from one event to the next, e.g. a point system that accumulates with each successive volunteer effort

Source: Dickson et al. (2011)

Conclusion

Volunteer management is an intricate endeavor, complicated by the fact that volunteers join an organization as a result of a particular motivation, expecting to have a certain type of experience, and the experience they have during training and while “on the job” regulates their connection to event organizers during the event, and their willingness to volunteer after the event. The Paralympic Games and the Paralympic movement will benefit from a strategic focus with regard to the management of the valuable, though unpaid, human resources that allow the event to take place. Unpaid volunteers who are not under contract may feel the freedom to leave if the experience they are having does not meet their expectations. As such, the Paralympic volunteer management team must understand the motivations and expectations of their volunteers, and try to meet those needs by providing a robust, well-considered program of recruitment, training, motivation, Games-time experience and recognition. Well-managed volunteers will form the backbone of the Paralympic movement and ensure that the broader goals of the IPC around inclusivity and sport for all, from the grassroots level to the Paralympic Games, are realized.

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10

Media and the Paralympics: Progress, Visibility, and Paradox

Gerard Goggin and Brett Hutchins

Introduction

Since the beginning of the organized disability sporting movement in the years after the Second World War, media have been a significant part of the Paralympic Games. The increasing visibility and awareness that have flowed from news and broadcast media coverage of quadrennial summer and winter Games have altered both the scale and symbolic power of disability sport. As Ian Brittain noted:

One of the intriguing issues about the Paralympic Games is how this small niche festival, which involved a minority of athletes on the margins, reinvented itself by establishing a connection to the premier multi-sport festival

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thus adopting the name “Paralympic”. This became the recognised term denoting the disability sport equivalent of the Olympic Games. (Brittain 2008, p. 19)

As it emerges from Brittain’s account, the coinage of the term by the key founding figure, Dr Ludwig Guttman, provided a “hook” for media that connected the development of this event with the prestige of the Olympic movement. This link offered a readily understood frame that fused disability sport competition with the high-minded ethical principles of Olympism:

Guttman’s constant Olympic–Paralympic comparison bore fruit in the media ... [A] headline in the *Bucks Advertiser & Aylesbury News* on 29 July 1949 declared that “‘Olympic Games’ Of Disabled Men is Born at Stoke” ... It did not take long for this term to be used internationally. The USA-published *Paraplegia News* ran a story in November 1953 under the headline “Stoke Mandeville Paralympics” ... What is also clear from the increasing usage of the term Paralympic by the media during the 1950s is that it is used to refer to all the Games held annually from 1948 to 1959, as is reinforced by the heading in the *New York Times* of 21 August 1960 which stated “US to send 24 Athletes to Rome for Annual ‘Paralympics’ Event”. (Brittain 2008, pp. 23–24)

Featuring 400 athletes from 23 countries, the Ninth International Stoke Mandeville Games—now accepted to be the first Paralympics Games—occurred in the same year as the Rome summer Olympiad. This coming together continued in 1964 with both the Olympics and Paralympics staged in Tokyo, separated by a 10-day intermission (These Paralympic Games were also referred to as the Tokyo Games for the Physically Handicapped and the International Stoke Mandeville Games). The Olympic and Paralympic Games would not be held in the same city again until 1988 in Seoul.

There is little focused research available on the history of media and the Paralympics. However, there are clear signs that media has played an important role in bringing the Paralympics and broader organized disability sports into existence by helping to expand their visibility to international publics. This may be stating the obvious from our historical

vantage point, but a significant feature of this relationship is the pivotal role played by media in perpetuating a paradox that characterizes the management of Paralympic competition over the past half-a-century.

David Purdue and P. David Howe's (Purdue and Howe 2012) concept of the "Paralympic paradox" is used to guide the analysis presented in this chapter. The term captures the liminal position occupied by these Games and their competitors in relation to sport, impairment, disability politics, and their appeal to variegated media audiences. Paralympic athletes perform for growing international able-bodied audiences in a setting where the focus is slanted toward an elite sporting achievement and performance. This emphasis is signified by the hallmarks of Olympic competition, including time keeping, distance measurement, scoring world and Olympic records, medal presentations and tallies, award ceremonies, national flags and anthems. As an exemplar of modern "achievement sport" culture (Bale and Sang 1996), the Olympics has long positioned abled-bodiedness as a "foundational identity" for athletic men and women and perpetuated an "enduring general economy" of ableist media representations (Ellis and Goggin 2015, p. 33; Goggin and Newell 2000, p. 80). Yet, at the same time, Paralympic competitors are performing for disabled audiences whose lives are tied to diverse disability communities and a range of rights agendas (Bundon and Clarke 2015). By virtue of their media profile and promotion, Paralympic athletes are positioned as representatives of communities and audiences who may—or may not—identify with the sporting performances on display or feel they are relevant to their experience and situation (Cashman and Darcy 2008; Darcy 2003; Jones 2012). This representativeness is further complicated by the contested character of the International Paralympic Committee's (IPC) impairment classification system and its narrow biomedical categories, which privileges those perceived to be "most athletic" and marginalizes severely impaired athletes (Legg and Steadward 2011, p. 1007; Howe 2008, pp. 72–81; Goggin and Newell 2003, pp. 92–93). This complex social, political, and administrative terrain has far-reaching consequences in terms of the Paralympic spectacle communicated via media to audiences around the world.

Media management is now well established as an integral part of conceiving, staging, and managing a Paralympic event. For example, the IPC has a seven-member media and communications team, with specific roles

assigned to operations, public relations, campaigns, and digital media (IPC 2016). Like the role of media in the Olympic movement—and elite sport generally—a symbiotic relationship between sport and media exists in terms of institutional, economic, and cultural functions (Rowe 2004; Wenner 1998). From a society-wide perspective, the stakes in Paralympic media management are even higher because of the over-determined, rich, and highly loaded role that communication about disability and sport plays in changing the attitudes and realities of disability, discrimination, and exclusion in everyday life. This is of direct relevance to the Paralympics and its goals, given that a key element of its vision is to “inspire and excite the world: the external result is our contribution to a better world for all people with a disability” (IPC 2003). To trace the dynamics of media management in the Paralympics, then, provides significant insights into how we understand sport and, more critically, the changing role of media in shaping, reproducing, and challenging societal attitudes.

In what follows, we discuss the emergence, role and function, and characteristics of media management in the Paralympics. Broadly speaking, this chapter aims to combine a critical disability studies perspective with approaches to sport drawn from sociology, media, communications, and cultural studies. We are especially influenced by the small yet rich critical literature on Paralympic media, publicity, and promotion, and its distinctive and sometimes troubling social, cultural, and political underpinnings (Cherney et al. 2015; Howe 2008; Peers 2009, 2012; Purdue and Howe 2015; Schell and Rodriguez 2001; Smith and Thomas 2005). By sketching a reconstruction of the development of media in the Paralympics since its inception, and supported by in-depth interviews with leading disability sport media practitioners and administrators, we offer a characterization of the “full service” media management that has evolved in the lead-up to 2016 Rio de Janeiro Paralympics.¹

¹ Interview data presented in this chapter are de-identified in accordance with the conditions of clearance provided by the relevant University Human Research Ethics Committee. These data were collected as part of a broader program of 65 semi-structured, in-depth interviews completed over the course of 2014 and 2015, featuring sport and media industry informants based in the United States, United Kingdom, Europe, Australasia and Southeast Asia. Data from five of these interviews appear in this chapter.

Moving Mainstream: 1960 Rome to 2008 Beijing

The post-World War II period witnessed enormous changes in media, woven into equally epochal changes in society, politics, the economy and culture internationally. In the 1930s, the key media were the press and radio broadcasting, with the telephone diffusing, and media industries such as advertising, music, book publishing, and public relations all growing. As we have seen already, it was in the press—specialist, trade, and niche on local and national scales—that the Paralympics first gained coverage from the 1950s onwards. As the Paralympics become more sharply defined, from Rome in 1960 onwards, media plays an increasingly prominent, if often contradictory role.

Perhaps the first research to document this change is Frost's examination of the little-studied 1964 Tokyo Paralympics. He finds that there was "extensive media coverage" and sees the media as a key factor in making these games a success:

Driven by diverse agendas, individuals such as Guttmann, Kasai, Nakamura, Watanabe, and a host of others harnessed existing organisational networks, *the power of the media*, and the prestige of Japan's imperial family to help an emerging transnational movement take root in Japan in a remarkably short period of time. (our italics; Frost 2012, pp. 634–635)

With their heady combination of Royal authority, celebrity, and national pride, the Tokyo Games' reception took a particular form:

[E]ven a cursory glance at the leading dailies in Japan reveals that the "spectacular" elements of these Games—their international nature, their ceremonies, and the involvement of imperial family members—generated far more attention than the athletes' achievements or the broader social issues that organisers hoped the Games would address. (Frost 2012, p. 633)

Frost also hints at an early iteration of the paradox described earlier when describing the organization of the media coverage:

Reflecting a pattern that can still be seen in many Japanese newspapers today, most of the coverage appeared not in the sports sections, but on the society pages. The Paralympics and disability sports were human-interest or health-and-welfare stories, not “real” sports. (Frost 2012, p. 633)

There remains much more to say about the ways media developed and featured in the summer Paralympics from the 1960s through to the 1980s. There are some mentions in the various histories and other research literature, but otherwise it is an important research agenda for the future. We take up the story in the late 1980s and early 1990s when professional sports events and leagues were on “the road to globalisation” as television and media products (Whannel 1992, 163). Built on terrestrial, cable and satellite television systems, the coverage of live sport proved highly effective in delivering large audiences to networks that could be sold to advertisers, as well as multiplying the range of ancillary sports content produced by the broadcast media and news industries (e.g., panel and highlights shows, interview specials, documentaries) (Boyle and Haynes 2000; Jhally 1984). The Paralympics was still very much a minority, specialized undertaking during this period, but media was figuring in its prospects for moving out of this “segregated” situation and taking its place as a newsworthy spectacle on the international stage.

Consider, for instance, that the emergence of the Paralympics coincided with the emergence of television as a popular and crucial mass medium. However, it took a lengthy time for the Paralympics to be considered a “drawcard” for television broadcasting. There was a significant step forward in television coverage with the 1992 Barcelona Paralympics, which “witnessed expanded television coverage, with Spain and much of Europe able to watch daily telecasts” (Cashman and Darcy 2008, p. 37). There was a total of 45 hours of live coverage (Cashman and Darcy 2008, p. 40). Although this live coverage was confined to Europe, the Games broadcasting authority created a highlights package, which was screened by various national broadcasters. At the 1996 Atlanta Paralympics, media management took another step forward with the appointment of a “quasi-host broadcaster, resulting in television feeds that were taken by various countries”, a development that dovetailed with the signing of 60 formal contracts with US companies and sponsors, including Coca

Cola, Motorola, IBM, and Turner Broadcasting (Cashman and Darcy 2008, p. 38). These arrangements moved the Paralympics onto a smaller but parallel organizational footing with the Olympics, which had established processes for the provision of sophisticated media facilities, exclusive national broadcaster rights across multiple territories, and worldwide category sponsors (Billings 2008). In Atlanta, media professionalism at the Paralympics was, unfortunately, a work in progress, as the broadcaster “focused almost exclusively on US athletes” (Cashman and Darcy 2008, p. 38)—a parochialism that drew considerable international criticism.

During the 1990s, research on media and the Paralympics started to develop. Analysis of media coverage and representation of the Paralympics provided a handy archive for this fledgling research on media and its management (and still underpins much of the literature). Such research was typically undertaken in an effort to understand why the Paralympics was still largely regarded as a specialized, minority event of little general interest. Part of the frustration for many involved in disability sports, as well as the broader disability rights movements, was the out-of-date, patronizing attitudes evident in the scant media coverage available. According to a former national and international Paralympic sport administrator who has witnessed the progress of the Games over almost two decades, this problem can be historically traced to a lack of knowledge among journalists about disability sport competition:

[E]ven within swimming, athletics and other sports, there is quite a challenging classification system ... for the journalist to track and follow, and indeed it is difficult to try and explain in simple terms. So the system itself has not necessarily encouraged deep interest by the media and the media has treated Paralympic sport, in some instances, in a fairly superficial way or as a curiosity – not as serious sport. (Project Participant 52)

This observation recalls the Paralympic paradox. For many years, a substantial number of the journalists assigned to the Games were (and still are) specialists in covering able-bodied professional sport. Responding to the interests and needs of disability communities and audiences over the course of a Paralympics presented an unfamiliar challenge and intermittently delivered “superficial” and “curious” coverage.

Despite these issues, the rise of the Paralympics coincides with the emergence of disability as an increasingly visible area of society. The social and political movements formed by people with disabilities and their allies saw mounting pressure that resulted in landmark anti-discrimination, equal opportunity, and human rights legislation around the world, especially in wealthy countries across the UK, North America, Europe, and East Asia; dynamics that were also influential in the Paralympic movement. Such social transformations saw the use of media as tools to present different images and perspectives on disability, and to argue for the need for rights, justice, and reform. For disability activists and scholars, the media itself as an institution was clearly part of the problem (Haller 2010). Activism and scholarship critiqued charity models of disability that dominated mass media (Pointon and Davies 1997), and also the “medical models”. Proponents called for new, affirmative models of disability: the famous “social model”; human rights approaches; cultural and political accounts; and perspectives on people with disabilities as legitimate, diverse, and empowered minorities. In this context, the Paralympics became a high-profile site for debate over media and disability as the popularity of the Games gathered momentum and drew greater public attention.

This momentum gathered pace from the 1988 Seoul Paralympics onwards, when the Games were once again held in the same city and venues as the Olympics themselves. Also significant, from a media perspective, at Seoul was the staging of a dedicated opening ceremony for the Paralympics, modeled on the famous and spectacularly expensive Olympic opening ceremonies. The institution of its own prominent opening ceremony meant that the Paralympics had its own “media event” (Dayan and Katz 1992; Couldry et al. 2010; Tzanelli 2015). This pageant provided a new, powerful way to create “imagined communities” (Anderson 2006)—something, as we have seen, inaugurated in the Tokyo Paralympics of 1964. As a core element of a publicly expressed Paralympic identity, this media event raised the bar for media infrastructure, professionalism, coverage, and broadcast rights—in short, the panopoly of media that was evolving across the media sport industries.

As well as providing a worrisome index of general societal attitudes to disability, the contrast between the vastly different media management and treatment of the Paralympics compared to the Olympics became a

topic for discussion in its own right. The “disabling” nature of media coverage came to a head with the 1996 Atlanta Paralympic Games, an event featuring 3259 competitors from 104 countries. Newspaper coverage of the Games in France and Germany featured patronizing attitudes, insensitive language, and a regressively nationalist agenda when it came to the origins of competing athletes (Schantz and Gilbert 2001). Coverage was little better on television, with the US broadcaster, CBS, presenting examples of stereotyping, poor production values, and commentary that failed to explain the rules and strategies of disability sport events. A welcome feature of the coverage in Atlanta was a lack of sexist language in relation to female athletes when compared to the Olympic Games, although this possibly relates to an objectionable tendency for the disabled to be viewed as “aesthetically unpleasing and asexual” (Schell and Duncan 1999, p. 45). These problems in media coverage were compounded by the “poor condition” of the venues and the Athletes Village, which almost led to a protest by athletes during the Paralympic closing ceremony (Cashman and Darcy 2008, pp. 38–39).

Following on from events in Georgia four years earlier, the 2000 Sydney Paralympics generated a groundswell of critique and research on media representation of disability (Cashman and Darcy 2008; Goggin and Newell 2000, 2003, 2005; Thomas and Smith 2003). Political and scholarly criticism was arguably a by-product of the local organizing committee’s considerable efforts to place the Games on a commercial footing, and achieve significant media and public exposure by marketing the Paralympics as a major *sporting* event. An unanticipated consequence of this approach, according to Purdue and Howe (2012), was an “ideological uncoupling” of disability communities and the athletic performances on display. The emphasis on participants as elite athletes symbolically distanced them from the population of impaired individuals “who do not partake in regular, strenuous physical activity” (Purdue and Howe 2012, p. 195). Yet, it was this uncoupling that exposed the Paralympics to wider publics and delivered an unprecedented popularity that foregrounded the Games as an international sporting spectacle. Despite initial difficulties in securing a host broadcaster, television coverage of the opening and closing ceremonies and daily highlights packages ultimately “rated through the roof for the ABC” in Australia, helping to change the

perceptions of the “quality sport” that was on display (Project Participant 52). Reflecting a focus on sporting achievement, the Sydney Paralympics was covered by 2300 accredited members of the media and broke all previous ticket sales records (Howe 2008, p. 32; Legg and Steadward 2011, p. 1111).

The success of Sydney in 2000 saw journalists, other media professionals, and news organizations make efforts to take the Paralympics seriously as sport. This meant addressing deeply embedded journalistic practices and perceptions, such as news values, the role of the journalist, approach to sources, and audience appeal and interest. Progress was achieved in these areas, but it was also notably uneven. For example, Anne V. Golden’s study identified the strikingly dissimilar coverage by reporters and news organizations of the 2002 Salt Lake City winter Olympics and Paralympics, wistfully concluding, “Perhaps, in time, the Paralympics will find acceptance among American reporters” (Golden 2003).

Also associated with the Sydney Paralympics, and the following years, was the full-blown emergence of celebrity athletes with disability. This is bound up with changing attitudes about disability, as well as celebrity (Goggin and Newell 2004; Marwick 2013; Turner 2014). In brief, it can be argued that, once mainstream audiences “switched” on to the Paralympics, it served as a crucial platform for affirmative, positive role models and social identities for people with disabilities. Here the Paralympics can be seen alongside a range of other ways in which, through sport, disability and impairment were being revalued and made widely visible. Key cases include the popular film, *Murderball*, featuring wheelchair rugby (which became renowned for its toughness), and the figure of Oscar Pistorius, the athlete who became a global icon, before his fall from grace after he killed his girlfriend Reeva Steenkamp. Pistorius’ on-track rival, Brazilian T44 sprinter Alan Fonteles Oliveira, also became the “first para-athlete” to appear on the *SportsPro* and *Eurosport* most marketable athlete media lists (Dannenberg 2013).

Researchers have theorized the processes outlined here in different ways, and debate continues on the salience of the “super-crip” framing of accepted, even desirable and valorized disability, with many pointing out its exclusionary and narrow nature (Silva and Howe 2012). Nonetheless, the combined effects of sporting spectacle, expanding commercial appeal,

growing news coverage, celebrification, and sophisticated marketing campaigns have contributed to the popularity of Paralympic sport. An indicator of this process is Australian news media coverage of the 2004 Paralympics in Athens, which delivered an estimated 19,666 stories across radio, television, print and online outlets. This number grew to 31,986 stories for Beijing in 2008, and then more than doubled to 63,343 for London in 2012 (iSentia 2014a).² The following section continues this story, examining the London Games as a pivotal moment in the media presentation of the Paralympics.

“Full Service” Paralympics Media Management: “We Don’t Want to ... Hear a Paralympic Athlete Giving the Same Interview that a Footballer Just Did”

In the wake of Sydney in 2000, many felt that the Paralympics as a movement had arrived—a conceit thoroughly examined in Cashman and Darcy’s pioneering study *Benchmark Games* (Cashman and Darcy 2008). However, if we were to nominate a breakthrough moment for media management of the Paralympics, a good case can now be made for London in 2012. As the Paralympic administrator quoted earlier expresses it:

The London Games took a major step forward in presentation. That was for media presentation as well. There was far more media in London to cover the Games and they [the audiences] were hungry for [the coverage], particularly domestically ... the British athletes were just phenomenal. It wasn’t just the broadcast media. It was the advertising media and billboard media as well, which augmented the competition coverage. They produced major material, which impacted on people’s perceptions of not only Paralympic athletes but disability in general. (Project Participant 52)

The efforts of the official broadcaster, Channel 4, support this claim. The online “Lexi Decoder” (Channel 4 2012a) helped to explain the athlete classification system for the uninitiated (although not its politics or

²Thank you to the project participant who generously supplied these figures.

inclusiveness—see Howe 2008; Peers 2009), while the nightly program, *The Last Leg with Adam Hills*, was a ratings success as it combined comedy, guests, and highlights over the course of the Games (Ryan 2012). The proliferation of media content and coverage was further enabled by online media and social media platforms, with the IPC website receiving more visitors on the first day of London than during all 12 days of the 2008 Beijing Paralympics (Project Participant 53). Reviewing the available evidence, we suggest there are at least five ways in which media management of the Paralympics had “arrived” by London.

First, the sheer scale, scope, and reach of media show it had become a matter for serious management in its own right from 2000 onwards, and especially during the London Paralympics. As stated in the previous section, concerted efforts to present disability sport to ever-wider audiences produced large increases in news media coverage of the summer Paralympics from Athens to Beijing and then London. Even in the case of the winter Paralympics—a smaller event than the summer edition—there was a significant growth in Australian news media coverage from Torino (2006) to Vancouver (2010) (from 871 to 3023 stories). News coverage then quadrupled in Sochi in 2014 (12,202 stories) across radio, television, print, and online media (iSentia 2014b). Those leading the media effort point to their strategic efforts to work with, support, and provide content and services to media professionals, as decisive factors in this raised profile. A national Paralympic media and communications manager explains:

To have been able to keep building the level of coverage Games after Games, we did a lot of work on our strategy over the years. One of the major improvements we made was our delivery of services to journalists who are working on the Games. We work hard to ensure that their jobs are made as easy as possible, enabling them to produce more high quality and high quantity content. (Project Participant 46)

Availability of staff resources is still a pronounced challenge however. While overall levels of funding for the Paralympics have grown, they remain small when compared to the Olympics. One mechanism to deal with this has been the use of volunteers. In Sochi, for instance, the IPC

reported that its “Volunteer Writer’s Programme had a successful second year, as a team of 30 journalists from around the world created regular editorial content for the International Federations of all para-sports” (IPC 2015, p. 32).

Secondly, the Paralympics as an event, or rather series of events, reached impressive heights. Notably, the Paralympics—and disability generally (over and above, sport)—featured prominently as a motif of the Olympics opening ceremony. During the sequence titled, “Happy and Glorious”, an abridged a cappella version of the British national anthem was performed by the Kaos Signing Choir for Deaf and Hearing Children. This performance reflected the London organizing committee’s determination to present the Olympics and Paralympics as linked events, referring to itself as the “London 2012 Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games” (although the letter P is conspicuously absent from the committee’s acronym, LOCOG). Speaking to complex audience formations, a senior figure in the communications team for London 2012 describes the principle of accessibility that guided media strategies over the course of *both* events:

[T] here are actually more people with an impairment or disability consuming the Olympics than our Paralympics because it’s a bigger event ... And what we got out of it was, by making things accessible to as broader market as we could, we learnt to distil information down into its simplest form. We learnt to communicate better, we learnt to think harder about how we communicated, all of which are great disciplines in just making yourself better understood. I think they say in the UK, which may also be common in other countries, is that when you take into account all factors, one in six or one in seven people have some sort of impairment. (Project Participant 27)

This approach did not, however, prevent criticism of Paralympic organizers at the commencement of the Games. The Disability News Service (2012) reported that only 68 of 3250 volunteers who took part in the opening ceremony on 29 August “were disabled people”, prompting complaint about a failure to deliver on the “‘legacy’ considerations” of London 2012 (also see Ahmed 2013).

Thirdly, the London Paralympics saw social, mobile, and online media fully incorporated into the media enterprise. Digital media, in particular, served as the innovative, leading the edge of Paralympic communications—within and across its communities and audiences (cf. McNary and Hardin 2013). For example, extensive accessibility testing was undertaken by LOCOG for all web, mobile, and app-based media platforms that they controlled (Project Participant 27). Another notable initiative was the development of the IPC's own digital media channels, which in its 2014 Annual Report, were reported as experiencing an “[e]xplosion in the engagement of sport fans”, reaching more than 270 million people (IPC 2015, pp. 4–5). According to a curator of the IPC's social media accounts, London really was “the first Games where social media played a big role”, with the amplification of online engagement partly attributable to the fact that people in the UK “are very active on social media” (Project Participant 53). Knowledge of this activity saw the IPC establish a partnership with Facebook that saw the location of users (at least as measured by their IP address) matched to the profiles of competitors from specific nations. For selected athletes, the IPC digital media team also helped to administer their Facebook profile for the duration of the Paralympics, yielding significant growth in likes and hits (Project Participant 53).

Fourthly, given the experience and exposure provided by London, selected national Paralympic committees now focus on supporting individual athletes in media communication and presentation. An interesting feature of this preparation is encouraging athletes to present themselves as authentic and engaging:

We talk to them about the different idiosyncrasies of a television interview as opposed to a radio interview. We're giving these guys [and women] the skills to communicate in a more engaging way. We're working with our athletes to sell a product, to open the door to what we do. Another successful approach of ours is to not over sanitize the message that our athletes are given. (Paralympic media and communications manager, Project Participant 46)

It is not clear how widespread or consistent this approach is, but it is the practice of one country post-London. Suggesting the anticipation of specific audiences' expectations during the Paralympics, there is a conscious differentiation between the media product and approach taken for the Games versus mainstream professional sport:

We want you [the athlete] to talk about how you got here, what this means to you. We don't want people watching at home who have just watched the football to then turn over to the Paralympic Games and hear a Paralympic athlete giving the same rehearsed interview that a footballer just did. We want our athletes to show real emotion. If you're happy, show it. If you're disappointed, show it. If you have performed poorly, say it. We're not hiding here, we want the guys [and women] to be raw and accountable, and it's worked really, really well. (Project Participant 46)

The popularity of social media during the London Paralympics also highlights the need for media management and training to extend beyond broadcast and news media. Heightened attention is now paid to social networking profiles in everyday life (Papacharissi 2015), as well as by journalists and fans over the course of major sporting events (Hutchins and Rowe 2012). The ready availability of mobile media devices—used even in the midst of competition—means that Paralympic athletes may need guidance in managing their own “personal” media profiles and flows. Approaches to the use of mobile phones and social media vary across sports, teams, and countries, as this perspective reveals:

... we encourage the team managers of each sport to set a policy. It comes down to an individual athlete and an individual coach. An athlete might feel a lot better having access to their phone. In some cases, it helps their sleep, their anxiety levels, and so it's not for us to say, “No phones, no social media.” If that's how they've prepared and, in a psychological sense, if that's what puts them in the best position to achieve peak performance, then we leave that decision to the athlete and their coach. In some cases, an athlete will be on their phone right before competition, and then there are others who won't take it into the village. They don't want the distraction and they just don't have a phone at all. (Paralympic media and communications manager, Project Participant 46)

Sensitivity to the varying mindsets of athletes and the needs of teams is required in formulating how mobile and social media use is managed. This statement also suggests that, in the context of disability sport, the professionalization of media management has occurred in relation to considerable variations in athlete media practices and communication.

Fifthly, media was central to the social and political controversies that played out around the London Paralympics. A contest unfolded to seize the Paralympic “platform” (Price 2008) for dissent and debate over contentious issues of disability, welfare, work, and citizenship in the host nation (Briant et al. 2013). Determined to make the Paralympics about more than sport, disability rights campaigners targeted the Games for protest, including one of the UK’s most famous Paralympic athletes, former wheelchair racer and current member of the House of Lords, Tanni Grey-Thompson (Taylor 2012). These publicized actions were directed against the restructuring of disability-related benefits by the David Cameron-led Conservative government, justified by so-called austerity measures. This sequence of events created a sadly ironic state of affairs in which disabled athletes were marketed as “super human” during the Paralympics (Channel 4 2012b) while disabled citizens in the UK were subject to “demonization” in the news media as undeserving recipients of state welfare (Briant et al. 2013, p. 885). Writing in *The Guardian*, Robert Jones, a freelance journalist who became slowly impaired after a car accident, described the insult inflicted by these government-sponsored events and policies:

The Paralympics, like the Olympics, is a circus – it has its stars, its pretence, its sheer silliness – and on that level, I don’t object to it. I don’t want to watch it, neither do I want wall-to-wall coverage so reminiscent of fiddling while Rome burns, but if that’s what fills your boots, go ahead. But it isn’t a sermon in form-fitting Lycra. It’s not, or shouldn’t be, a big party for the Friends of *Atos* – the firm that conducts controversial medical assessments for [disability] benefit claims on behalf of the government – to hug us as if we were all the same while surreptitiously snipping away at our sole means of support. (Jones 2012)

This sequence of events represents a powerful manifestation of the Paralympic paradox. The London Games were an event promoted suc-

cessfully as sporting entertainment to a range of media audiences. But, as the retrogressive policies of the Cameron government show, the meanings and conduct of the Games are inextricably bound to ongoing campaigns for disability rights and social justice.

Conclusion: Sochi and Beyond

The Paralympics has subsequently built on the media achievements of London 2012, but the record is mixed—with the approach, dynamics, and capabilities of the host nation, their political leaders and community continuing to play a decisive role. The Sochi 2014 winter Paralympics reported extensions in media coverage, leading the IPC to officially herald its success:

Sochi 2014 was the most watched Paralympic Winter Games in history, attracting a global cumulative audience of 2.1 billion people across 55 countries, and the 316,200 tickets sold were 86,200 more than at Vancouver 2010. (IPC 2015, p. 14)

A stress on large audience numbers is typical of promotional public domain information, although the global broadcast footprint of the Paralympics is not entirely clear because of variations in national media systems and the complexity of new digital television ecologies (Evens et al. 2013; Holt and Sanson 2014). Nonetheless, in the case of the Sochi Games, publicized increases in media coverage sit alongside severe criticism and commendation. The latest edition of the Paralympics attracted protest over Russia's poor record on human rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) people, as well as environmental and corruption issues (Walker 2014). It drew particular attention to the everyday discrimination and obstacles faced by disabled citizens in Russia (Human Rights Watch 2013). From the perspective of a Paralympic administrator, the approach of the hosts fell well short of the official praise offered by the IPC, and saw the Paralympics overshadowed by the winter Olympics:

It was a massive step back in Sochi ... The Russians just didn't embrace that approach [treating both the Olympics and Paralympics as comparably significant events], which was a disappointment. The IPC, I think,

were probably over complimentary in their evaluation of the Games. The President of the Paralympic Movement [Sir Philip Craven] met with [President Vladimir] Putin and congratulated him on making positive change for people with a disability in Russia through greater access to different public places and things like that. But the reality was that it was just a second-class event to the Olympics. (Project Participant 46)

The case of Sochi underscores the uneven progress of the Paralympics as a movement, and also the media as a key element of it. It also suggests that in the context of increasingly commercialized and mediatized elite level disability sport, media management now encompasses the sorts of public relations “spin” and geo-political concerns that have long been featured in the staging of the Olympic Games.

More so than sport generally, the Paralympics carries the burden, and gift, of added significance and resonance as a touchstone for how societies globally deal with people with disabilities and the urgent need for political and social disability reform. In the lead-up to the Rio Paralympics, the key concern of managing the Paralympics remains: how does Paralympic media do justice to the diversity and richness of disability and impairment? The historically informed analysis presented in this chapter suggests that a series of politically sensitive and substantive responses to this question are required in the years ahead. The success of the Games as a major sporting and media event has drawn in larger and wider media audiences. This progress has prompted discussions about even greater integration of the Paralympic Games within the Olympic festival (Legg et al. 2015). Yet, greater international visibility and commercial impact has intensified the paradox outlined by Purdue and Howe (2012), leading to conflict and uncertainty about the symbolic and political relationship of the Paralympics to disability rights, the groups that advocate for them, and the communities whose lives depend on them (Braye et al. 2013). As recent events in both London and Sochi serve to remind us, the Paralympics possess a history that is indivisible from the political voices, everyday experiences, and well-being of disabled citizens and communities. This history needs to be respected and acknowledged both in media and through its management, particularly given the opportunity presented by Brazil in 2016 to advance and contest media discourses of disability in the host country (Maia and Vimieiro 2015).

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11

Communicating and Managing the Message: Media and Media Representation of Disability and Paralympic Sport

Ian Brittain

Introduction

Media coverage given to an issue or event suggests the ‘value’ placed on it by editors or programmers. The media covers an issue or event for a variety of reasons, be it financial, perceived interest to the target audience or simply newsworthiness. Therefore, if a newspaper or TV station provides more airtime to non-disabled issues or events (e.g. the Olympic Games) than to disability issues or events (e.g. the Paralympic Games), it would appear that they perceive one to have far greater ‘value’ than the other. One reason for such a situation in the context of sport is that sport is a creation of and for non-disabled people, which gives priority to certain types of human movement (Barton 1993). Disability sport does not, apparently, provide images that fit within the norms that delineate sporting images within society at large. This lack of exposure has numerous knock-on effects that will be outlined throughout the chapter.

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However, when disability sport receives good quality coverage it may, potentially, introduce people to concepts and ideas they may never have entertained before, or go against what they have been socialised to believe regarding both disability and disability sport. The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to highlight some of the issues around media representation of disability in general and Paralympic and disability sport in particular, and then look at some of the ways that the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) and the wider Paralympic Movement have responded to these issues, and why. The chapter will examine how the IPC and the Paralympic Movement seek to manage the media and the messages that are conveyed around the Paralympic Games. It will conclude with some examples of how the media in the UK and the USA has responded to criticism in light of the growing interest in and importance of the Paralympic Games.

Media Representation of Disability in General

A lack of understanding towards, and coverage of, disability issues within the media is not limited to just disability sport, but to disability generally. According to Darke (2004), 'the representation of disability in the media in the last ten years is pretty much the same as it has always been: clichéd, stereotyped and archetypal' (p. 100). One possible reason for this is a general lack of understanding and awareness amongst the people who hold senior positions in media organisations, who Haralambos and Holborn (2000) claim are mostly middle-class, and usually older than their subordinates, with the added problem that people with disabilities are highly under-represented within such organisations. This leads to the situation whereby the dominant group (usually white, middle-class, non-disabled males) within society hold the key positions within organisations and institutions that are key in influencing the perceptions of those within the rest of society. Representations of people with disabilities shown on television are, therefore, primarily defined by people with little or no knowledge of what it is like to be disabled. Cumberbatch and Negrine (Cumberbatch and Negrine 1992, cited in Haralambos and Holborn 2004, p. 854–55) cite ten ways in which people with disabilities

have been represented on television, a key source of information for many people around the world:

1. Disability or handicap as an emblem of evil.
2. The disabled as monsters.
3. Disability as a loss of one's humanity.
4. Disability as total dependency and lack of self-determination.
5. The image of the disabled as a maladjusted person.
6. Disability with compensation or substitute gift (e.g. the blind having compensatory powers).
7. Disability leading to courageousness or achievement.
8. Disability and sexuality: as sexual menace, deviancy, and danger stemming from loss of control.
9. Disability as an object of fun or pity.
10. The disabled as an object of charity.

Cumberbatch and Negrine (1992) highlight that people with disabilities are rarely portrayed in a positive or constructive light. They claim that when people with disabilities do appear on screen, their roles and actions are far more likely to be determined by the nature of their disability and they are far less likely to appear as a person who just happens to have a disability. These portrayals of people with disabilities on television, therefore, continue to reinforce the perception of disability as deficit. The blanket label of 'disabled' is applied and the ability-inability continuum is broken. Williams-Findlay (2014) asserts that the same claims can also be made for print media, where people with disabilities 'are more likely to be framed in "negative" representations than "progressive" ones; as well as more "passive" than "active"' (p. 112). However, it is not only the type of media representation that affects people's attitudes, but also the amount of coverage that people with disabilities receive. The Broadcasting Standards Commission in the UK (1999 cited in Haralambos and Holborn 2000, p. 956) showed that people with disabilities appeared in 7 per cent of their sample of television programmes and accounted for just 0.7 per cent of all those who spoke. According to Reiser and Mason (Reiser and Mason 1990 cited in Barnes 1994, p. 198), this general absence of people with disabilities from television, coupled with the traditional linking of

disability and medicine, reinforces the idea that people with disabilities are incapable of fully participating in everyday life, whilst simultaneously feeding the notion that they should be shut away and segregated.

Media Representation of Paralympic and Disability Sport

According to Brittain (2016), the Paralympic Games is often the only time that disability sport receives any kind of national media coverage in countries around the world. This worldwide lack of exposure has numerous knock-on effects. It limits the visibility of disability sport, therefore lessening the possibility of non-participating people with disabilities becoming aware of it or inspired to follow or take part themselves. Since young people with disabilities, who are interested in sport, have limited role models with a disability to inspire them, they may, therefore, be limited to non-disabled sportspersons as potential role models. There is a possibility, therefore, that they model themselves and their sporting lives on a non-disabled conception of sport based on non-disabled physical strength and performance. Consequently, they may perceive their own performances as inferior, rather than seeing them in context. The lack of media coverage is implicated in the lack of recognition of the capabilities of athletes with a disability.

In addition, in many countries the interest from the media in disability sport is very fleeting and generally dies away completely within two to three weeks of the Paralympic closing ceremony. There are signs that in some countries certain parts of the media are starting to take a greater interest in Paralympic and disability sport. In the UK, Channel 4, which will be discussed in more detail towards the end of this chapter, was the host broadcasters for the London 2012 Paralympic Games and has continued to broadcast numerous Para-sport events since then, including European and World Championships in individual sports, such as athletics and swimming. This would appear to indicate that within the UK and the Channel 4 organisation in particular, there is increasing awareness and acceptance of the capabilities of people (or more specifically athletes) with disabilities. Therefore, sports participation by people with disabili-

ties has, to some extent, been ‘normalised’ within British society, moving away from being just a curiosity (‘freak show’) to an accepted practice.

So what are some of the ways that the media have represented the Paralympic Games and Paralympic athletes, past and present?

Revulsion

Gilbert and Schantz (2012), in summing up the chapters for their edited volume about media perceptions of Paralympic sport, concluded that there was a powerful, but hidden, sense of ‘revulsion’ towards Paralympic athletes from the media and, by implication, from the rest of society. They claimed that ‘some people are consciously or unconsciously repulsed by the disabled body and the members of the media are no exception’ (p. 229–230). As a result the media, and especially the sports media, attempt to hide anyone whose body does not conform to societal ‘norms’ for the human body, largely because the sports media are used to reporting on ‘the perfect bodily form and the perfect performance’ (p. 229).

Visual Representations

Having visible role models to encourage people into believing they too can possibly take part in sport at a high level plays a vitally important role. The printed media plays a key role in this process through the medium of photographs. However, when it comes to photographs of athletes with disabilities, research suggests that there is a distinct lack of disabled athlete role models pictured in the print media—especially age or gender-specific role models for women and children with disabilities (Hardin et al. 2006; Hardin et al. 2001). These issues are equally true for newspaper coverage of the Olympic and Paralympic Games. Chang and Crossman (2009) compared the coverage of the two Games at Athens 2004 by a South Korean National Newspaper, the *Chosun Ilbo*, in terms of number and size of articles and the number and size of photographs from each Game. Compared to the Paralympics, they found 16 times as many Olympic articles (261 Olympic, 16 Paralympic) and nearly 13 times as many Olympic photographs (220 Olympic, 17 Paralympic).

These findings are similar to those of ongoing research I am undertaking regarding British newspaper coverage of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. Results for one British national daily newspaper, the *Daily Express*, found that despite the London Games being a 'home' Games, this newspaper devoted four and a half times more space to the Olympic Games and featured four times as many Olympic photographs, that were an average of 25 per cent bigger than the average Paralympic photograph. This not only denies people with disabilities as visible role models, but also reinforces the underlying assumption within society that non-disabled sport is superior and of greater importance. Given the relatively new and higher profile of the Paralympic Games and the long-standing dominant media profile of the Olympic Games, combined with the issues outlined above, it would be unlikely that the Paralympic Games could currently expect to garner the same level of media coverage as the Olympic Games. However, what it does do is give a clear indication of the current standing of the Paralympic Games amongst the media in the hierarchy of sporting mega-events globally. It also provides a benchmark from which to measure changes in the media profile in comparison to other mega-events at future editions of the Games.

What's in an Image?

It is not just the lack of photographs in the print media showing individuals with discernible disabilities that has an impact. According to Hardin and Hardin (2004), the way that a photograph is framed and what it depicts can be equally revealing about the underlying attitudes towards disability and disability sport within the mainstream media. Pappous (2008) analysed photographs in two popular mainstream newspapers in Greece, France, Spain, Germany and Great Britain during the periods of the Sydney and Athens Paralympic Games. Firstly, he counted the number of photographs used from the Games in each country, which were as given in Table 11.1 below.

In all cases the number of photographs depicting disabled athletes increased at the Athens Games, which possibly hints at an increasing awareness of the Games amongst the journalists at the newspapers

Table 11.1 Number of photographs used from Paralympic Games by country

	France	Germany	Great Britain	Greece	Spain
Sydney 2000	0	14	16	3	4
Athens 2004	4	15	23	105	11

Source: (Brittain 2016 adapted from Pappous 2008)

selected. However, on closer examination of the photographs, Pappous highlighted a number of issues with the content and framing of the photographs, some of which are outlined below:

Hiding the Disabled Body In some of the photographs the image had been altered such that the particular impairment of the Paralympian (wheelchair user, amputation, etc.) was not visible. It is as if the editor had decided that these are things that the readers should not be subjected to, thus reinforcing many of the stereotypes regarding disability highlighted above.

The Use of Passive Poses Many of the photographs used depicted the Paralympians in very passive poses (e.g. sitting in their racing chair waiting to be called to the start line), unlike many of the action shots used to depict non-disabled sportsmen and women. Despite the fact that most of these Paralympians can run, jump, throw, lift, and so on, better than most of the non-disabled population, their depiction in passive poses simply reinforces the stereotype of disabled people as weak and passive individuals unable to do anything for themselves without assistance.

A Focus on the Disability In contrast to the first point of hiding the disabled body, Pappous also found that the opposite sometimes occurred when the focus of the photograph was specifically upon the impairment. However, these photographs do not depict the whole individual athlete, but just a part of them such as a prosthetic limb or a wheelchair. Pappous raises the question of what would be the reaction if an Olympic athlete was depicted by a photograph of just a hand holding a racquet or just one of their feet. What this does is to highlight and reinforce a sense of difference between disabled and non-disabled athletes rather than the fact that they are all just sportsmen and women.

Portraying Emotion Rather than Motion Pappous points out that despite the fact that the motto of the International Paralympic Committee is ‘Spirit in Motion’, many editors depict the emotion of Paralympic athletes (athletes with tears in their eyes, crying, etc.) rather than strong action shots, thus reinforcing the stereotype of disabled people as fragile, delicate and oversensitive.

Overrepresentation of Wheelchair Athletes Many journalists, according to Pappous, appear to work on the assumption that disabled equals wheelchair. This often leads to the problem that other categories of disability are under-represented in reporting on the Paralympic Games. This is particularly true of many of the more severely disabled athletes. Part of the reason for this, and possibly linked to the point regarding the hiding of the disabled body, is that the strong muscular upper bodies of wheelchair athletes (particularly when not shown in conjunction with the wheelchair) clearly fit with non-disabled perceptions of what the sporting body should look like.

Language

The language used in describing the achievements, sporting or otherwise, of disabled people is important, because it is often loaded with underlying meaning and perceptions based in the medical model of disability. Language is more than just a series of syllables or characters strung together. It is the meanings attached to words that dictate their impact. These meanings are often dictated by the group with the most economic and political power within a particular society (usually non-disabled males). As a result, phrases like disabled athlete can be perceived as somewhat of an oxymoron as the generally accepted meanings ‘disabled’ and ‘athlete’ are almost polar opposites (Brittain 2016).

Super-crip—Inspiration Porn

Hardin and Hardin (2003, p. 249) claim that the use of the ‘super-crip’ stereotype is often found in the media coverage of disability sport. They claim that the underlying assumption in such depictions is that people

with disabilities are 'pitiful and useless until they 'overcome' their disabilities through rugged individualism and pull off a feat considered heroic by the mainstream'. Stella Young, a comedian and journalist with a disability who sadly passed away in 2015, termed this kind of stereotyping 'Inspiration Porn' at a TEDx presentation in Sydney, Australia in 2014 (TED website 2016). This kind of portrayal of disabled athletes places great emphasis on the disability, usually with the intention of evoking an emotional response (such as pity), thus reflecting and reinforcing the pervasive medicalised perception of disability as personal tragedy without interrogating the socio-political dimensions inherent in disability. By taking such an approach the media tend to trivialise the sporting aspect of the disabled individual, with any successes serving merely as the catalyst for a heart-warming 'super-crip' story. Defeats for fancied Olympic athletes or teams are often reported as national catastrophes, whereas defeats for Paralympic athletes are often reported rather patronisingly as valiant efforts by the poor disabled person. It should be pointed out that this situation is improving, albeit slowly, in some countries. For instance in Great Britain, Paralympic athletes now receive state funding to assist their training, leading to far greater expectations in terms of performance. However, despite increasing media coverage of the Paralympic Games, the content of the coverage continues, on the whole, to reinforce medicalised stereotypes of disabled people as 'super-crips' who courageously overcome their disability and the issues that come with it to achieve and to be 'normal'. Darke (1998, p. 187) claims that such portrayals are based in two general themes that are inherent in media portrayals of disability in general. Firstly, the abnormal medical state that disability is considered to be cannot be seen in any way other than as a tragedy. Secondly, the struggle for 'normality', as defined by the non-disabled population, is unquestionably the only thing a disabled individual would desire to achieve owing to the perceived supremacy of the 'normal' body. Huang (2005, p. 205) claims that 'media representations of Paralympic athletes "emotionally experiencing disability" reveal more about what disability means to the able-bodied than the lived feelings and sport experiences and achievements of elite athletes with disabilities.' Huang goes on to claim that as long as athletes with disabilities have got a tragic and charity-based image, their sporting image will continue to be reported in diminished terms by the media, especially in comparison to non-disabled athletes.

Levels of Coverage

A clear indicator of societal attitudes towards disabled and non-disabled sport, already highlighted above for newspaper coverage, may be seen in the differences in time spent covering the Olympic and Paralympic Games. Schantz and Gilbert (2001) claim that media coverage of the Paralympics is an indicator of public representations of, and attitudes towards, sport for persons with disabilities. If this claim has any validity, it should be evident in the coverage and portrayal of athletes with disabilities, and people with disabilities in general, by the media. It is reasonable to suppose that the relative amount of television airtime given to the Olympic and Paralympic Games gives some indication as to how these events are differently valued by the programmers. Media coverage given to an event suggests the 'value' placed on it by producers. Programmers cover an event for a variety of reasons, be it financial, perceived interest to the target audience or simply newsworthiness. This may also be dependent upon whether the media is a commercial organisation or one that is publically funded. If a broadcaster provides more airtime to Olympic Sport then it appears that it perceives it to have far greater 'value' than its Paralympic counterpart. Since sport is a creation of and for non-disabled people, which gives priority to certain types of human movement (Barton 1993), disability sport does not, apparently, provide images that fit within the norms that delineate sporting images within the rest of society. Huang (2005) reports that in Taiwan there was no live media coverage of the Athens 2004 Paralympic Games; the fact that the Games received any coverage at all was largely due to the fact that the Taiwanese President's wife, who is a wheelchair user, led the Taiwanese team in Athens. A group of nearly 40 political journalists followed the President's wife to Athens and reports generally appeared as political rather than sporting news. There was only one professional sports journalist from Taiwan with the delegation. Apparently once the President's wife left Athens, the reporting of the Games all but ceased. Quinn (2007) reports that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation had around 200 staff in Sydney to cover the Olympic Games. It asked a team of six to stay on in Sydney to cover the Paralympic Games, who produced four one-hour shows that were shown in Canada after the Games were

over. According to Cashman and Tremblay (2008), TV New Zealand also showed four one-hour specials after the Sydney 2000 Paralympic Games had ended and in the USA CBS broadcast a two-hour special entitled 'Role Models for the 21st Century: The Sydney 2000 Paralympic Games' in November, nearly two months after the Games had ended. Despite these findings it should be pointed out that media interest in the Paralympic Games has increased significantly over the last 25 years as Table 11.2 demonstrates below:

Classification

Newlands (2012) claims that a key problem in media reporting on the Paralympic Games is a lack of understanding by members of the media regarding the classification system used by the IPC to ensure fair competition, which she claims impacts in turn upon public understanding and knowledge of Paralympic and disability sport. Newlands goes on to state that:

In a mediatised world, aesthetics and the visual plays a key role in generating meaning. The Paralympics reliance on aesthetics creates confusion of the viewer when presented with a line of competitors with differing disabilities. (Newlands 2012; p. 211)

Therefore, if members of the media do not understand how the classification system in a particular sport or event works, it makes it extremely

Table 11.2 Number of accredited media at the summer and winter Paralympic Games

Host city (Summer Games)	Number of accredited media	Host city (Winter Games)	Number of accredited media
Barcelona 1992	1500	Tignes 1992	320
Atlanta 1996	2050	Lillehammer 1994	630
Sydney 2000	2450	Nagano 1998	1450
Athens 2004	3200	Salt Lake 2002	810
Beijing 2008	5600	Torino 2006	1050
London 2012	4957	Vancouver 2010	1621
		Sochi 2014	2493

difficult for them to report in a manner that does the sport and the athletes justice, whilst allowing the viewing public to truly engage with the event in a meaningful way. Interestingly, it appears that the media itself, and Channel 4 in the UK particular, who have tried to address this issue with the introduction of a new graphical system to explain classification called LEXI. This is explained in a bit more detail in the section ‘media responses to criticism’.

The section above has highlighted a selection of the issues that have arisen as a result of the way the world’s media have reported on the Paralympic Games and the underlying issues that may have led to such coverage. Attention is now turned to some of the ways that the International Paralympic Committee have attempted to ‘manage’ these issues in order to try and improve the quality and quantity of coverage around the world, as well as enhance accessibility to that coverage.

IPC Responses to Media Coverage

In response to many of the issues outlined above, the International Paralympic Committee took it upon itself to try and either change the way the media reports on the Games or to try and fill some of the gaps left by the coverage, especially in places where there was, or in certain cases still is, little in the way of live coverage from the Games. However, it should also be pointed out that these actions by the IPC most likely had a secondary and very important motive. The combination of how the Games are portrayed by the media and how the rest of society views them can have a large bearing upon the success or otherwise of any marketing programmes of those running the Paralympic movement might undertake. This in turn will impact upon their ability to raise the increasing funds necessary to support the significant growth that has occurred in the movement over the last 10–15 years. In line with this, the IPC published a brand strategy as part of their overall sports strategic plan in 2013 that stated the following:

Develop a multi-year media and communications strategy: (a) that can capitalise on all levels of IPC sports competitions; (b) that increases visibil-

ity and awareness of IPC sports in key markets and (c) that logically flows toward and out from the Paralympic Games to maximise the visibility of Paralympic sports in between the Games. (IPC Sports Strategic Plan 2013–2016; p. 10)

IPC's overall Strategic Plan (2015–2018) also includes the strategic priority to 'develop and implement a strategy to increase the quality, profile, recognition and awareness of para-sport, its main events and leading para-athletes 365 days a year' (IPC Strategic Plan 2015–2018; p. 27). Below are small selections of the ways in which the IPC attempts to do this.

ParalympicSport.tv

Although media coverage of the Games is on the increase, the disparity between the levels of coverage, especially television coverage, led the IPC to introduce its own internet-based free view television service that provides a sustainable global media platform with which to reach audiences around the world. Following in the footsteps of what low-profile sports (e.g. Squash TV) have done previously and sponsored by VISA and Samsung, this system allows the IPC to satisfy additional demand where only limited coverage is available, or to provide coverage where none exists. It was first introduced at the Turin 2006 Winter Paralympic Games and was an instant hit, broadcasting over 150 hours of live sport. The five key objectives of ParalympicSport.TV (PSTV) are the following:

- To create a sustainable global media platform to reach out to current and potential fans.
- To turn the weakness caused by a lack of mainstream media coverage into a strength as PSTV is often the only coverage available.
- To satisfy additional demand in areas where only limited coverage is available.
- To communicate IPC's vision.
- To make coverage easily accessible in order to allow for maximum exposure.

PSTV has greatly increased awareness of Paralympic sport and, by increasing awareness of Paralympic sport, it should eventually impact upon traditional media coverage by increasing interest amongst audiences. It has received extremely positive audience feedback and provided great promotion for the movement. It has also overcome the issue of time difference as spectators are now able to watch their chosen events at a time that suits them from any place in the world. Marketing opportunities and IPC brand communication have also been greatly enhanced, thus greatly improving IPC's long-term commercial prospects. Table 11.3 gives the top ten viewing nations using the service at the last two Paralympic Games, which does appear to highlight a problem. Each of the countries listed are well-established Paralympic nations that are all considered highly developed. If the IPC is to encourage greater engagement from less developed nations it will need to find a way to overcome issues such as access to the internet and the technology necessary to use this service in order to make inroads into potentially huge markets such as China and India.

IPC Press Releases

On an almost daily basis the IPC sends out via email, its website and through a variety of social media outlets, a number of press releases

Table 11.3 Largest audience by nation of the last five Paralympic Games on ParalympicSport TV

Rank	London, 2012	Sochi 2014
1	Great Britain	USA
2	Japan	Canada
3	USA	Germany
4	Germany	France
5	Canada	Russia
6	Netherlands	Great Britain
7	Australia	Italy
8	France	Japan
9	Belgium	Spain
10	Poland	Netherlands

Source: (IPC 2015; personal communication)

containing news on a wide variety of different aspects relating to the movement. In this way they keep the Movement and its athletes in the public's eye, presenting the information in ways that meet the standards that the IPC and its athletes would expect in terms of wording, content and presentation while also suiting the IPCs brand strategy. For the latest examples of such press releases please visit <http://www.paralympic.org/news>.

IPC Newsletter

The IPC also puts out, three times a year in electronic and hardcopy format, a magazine called *The Paralympian*, which contains news, reports, articles from and about different Paralympians, a message from the IPC President and other information from the Paralympic movement. This allows the IPC to do all of the things outlined above, but in greater detail than might be possible in a standard press release. The current and back issues of *The Paralympian* can be found at <http://www.paralympic.org/the-paralympian>.

IPC Media Awards

In 2005, the IPC introduced media awards in a variety of categories that are awarded in the year following each Paralympic Games. The aim of these awards is to honour members of the international media in recognition of extraordinary coverage of an athlete or team at the Paralympic Games (Summer or Winter) in the media. By adding this element of competition amongst the media with a glitzy awards ceremony, it is hoped to entice the world's media to improve the quality of its coverage. The 2015 awards were awarded in four categories (Broadcast, Written (print and online), Photo and Radio) (IPC website 2016). Of the 23 awards made since 2005, UK media organisations (BBC, Channel 4, The Telegraph Group) have won ten times. Indeed, all written and broadcast awards have gone to media organisations in highly developed nations with a long history of participation in the Paralympic Games.

Media Responses to Criticism

I would like to end with a few examples of how some sections of the media in the UK and the USA have responded to key criticisms of their media coverage of Paralympic and disability sport.

Channel 4

From 1980 to 2010, the UK's BBC covered the Paralympic Games using various formats (television, radio, online); they also covered a host of other disability sport events, including the annual Paralympic World Cup from Manchester. The BBC was apparently so confident of being the host broadcaster for the London 2012 Paralympic Games that the BBC sport website was already proclaiming it to be 'the Paralympics Broadcaster' (Guardian website [2010](#)). However, the London Organising Committee for the Olympic (and Paralympic) Games (LOCOG), keen to maximise revenue and apparently fearing a low price from the BBC, sets up a tender process. Channel 4 won with a bid worth more than £5 million and a promise to broadcast an unprecedented 130 hours of coverage from the Games on its main channel (insidethegames website [2010](#)). It would appear, therefore, that having two large media corporations such as Channel 4 and the BBC, competing to broadcast disability sport could potentially be good for disability and Paralympic sport in Great Britain both financially and in terms of the quality and amount of exposure they received. In the end, Channel 4 won praise and numerous awards for its coverage from London 2012, and it has continued to broadcast a range of Para-sport events including the Sochi Winter Games and a number of Para-sport World and European championships, including athletics and swimming. Since taking over the role of host UK broadcaster for the Paralympic Games, Channel 4 has attempted to introduce a range of methods by which to improve the quality of their programming, educate the general public about Para-sport and improve the visibility of people with disabilities across all of its programming. Below is a small selection of these:

LEXI In the lead-up to the 2012 Paralympic Games, Channel 4, having carried out research that revealed that some viewers were confused by the disability classifications in Paralympic sports but would be more engaged with the Games if they had a better understanding of why athletes with different disabilities competed against each other, introduced a new graphical system called LEXI. This was designed to aid the viewing experience of people watching the Games by explaining the classification system in various sports and events in a clear and visual way using colour-coded graphics that illustrate disability types within sporting classes. Channel 4 used the same system at the Sochi 2014 winter Paralympic Games (Channel 4 website [2012a](#)).

Meet the Superhumans Campaign As part of their promotional campaign for London 2012 Channel 4 introduced their 'Meet the Superhumans' campaign centred around a 90-second television advert that attempted to mix the excitement of elite sport with the wide variety of backstories encapsulated by the athletes (Channel 4 website [2012b](#)). The advert and campaign raised many debates (see the chapter on marketing and sponsorship by David Legg and Mark Dottori for further details), won numerous awards and is credited with greatly raising awareness of Paralympic sport. In early 2015 in preparation for the Rio 2016 Paralympic Games, Channel 4 introduced an updated version of the campaign entitled 'The Superhumans Return'.

The Last Leg As part of the London 2012 Paralympic Games, Channel 4 introduced a new programme called the 'The Last Leg' presented by three well-known comedians, two of whom have disabilities. They raised topical issues around disability in a humorous, but enlightening way in order to overcome many of the negative stereotypes around disability. They also introduced a way people could tweet using the hashtag #isitokay, where the general public could ask any question they wanted about disability, but had possibly been too afraid to ask. The Last Leg is still running today four years after the Games ended (Channel 4 website [2016](#)).

Year of Disability In the lead-up to the Rio 2016 Paralympic Games, Channel 4 announced that it was launching its 'year of disability' at the

Games, with the aim of increasing the representation of people with disabilities. This included the commitment to double the number of people with disabilities appearing in its 20 most high-profile shows. In addition, there will be a £300,000 fund to foster new talent, including 20 people with disabilities working behind the cameras in Channel 4's biggest suppliers and the ring fencing of half of its apprenticeships and 30 per cent of its work experience places for applicants with disabilities (*The Guardian* 2016).

NUJ Guidelines

The National Union of Journalists (NUJ) in the UK got together with the producers of UK newspaper *Disability Now* to produce a guide for journalists entitled 'Hacked Off: A Journalists Guide to Disability' in order to try and put an end to discriminatory and negative portrayals of people with disabilities as objects of pity within media reporting in the UK (NUJ website 2010). Measures such as this have played an important role in improving the quality of reporting and coverage of disability issues, which has fed into the reporting and coverage of Paralympic and disability sport in the UK.

NBC Coverage

The practice highlighted earlier of providing zero-live coverage for the Paralympic Games and just documentary style coverage several months after the end of the Games occurred in the USA for the Athens, Beijing and London Paralympic Games, despite mounting criticism. In response to this there were a number of internet-based petitions protesting the fact that NBC was going to give blanket coverage of the Olympics, but no live coverage of the Paralympic Games. There was also public criticism from London by the IPC Chief Executive Xavier Gonzales about NBC's lack of coverage (insidethegames 2012). This situation continued all the way up until September 2013, when the IPC announced that NBC and the United States Olympic Committee had signed to take the media rights to the Sochi 2014 and Rio 2016 Paralympic Games, promising to deliver

60 hours of coverage from Sochi and 66 hours from Rio, which would be a 60.5 hour increase on their coverage from the London Paralympic Games (IPC website 2013). Following the Sochi Games, the Head of NBC Olympics, Gary Zinkel, admitted 'we have found a diamond in the rough with this amazing event that is full of incredible human interest stories to tell' (insidethegames 2014). Promising increased coverage in the future, this bodes well for Paralympic coverage moving forward, although the comment about 'human interest stories' indicates that NBC still has some way to go in terms of truly understanding and appreciating Paralympic sport and its athletes.

Conclusions

It is clear that the level of coverage of sport for people with disabilities, in particular the Paralympic Games, is on the increase, which would appear to indicate a certain level of rising knowledge and acceptance within wider society. However, the level and quality of this coverage varies greatly from country to country and even within different media outlets in the same country. In many cases, the media still needs to be properly advised in order to ensure that they do not send the wrong messages. When properly informed, good media coverage may encourage people with disabilities to try things they have been socialised to believe they are incapable of. In order to try and achieve this situation, the IPC has adopted a media strategy that allows it to use mostly digital media to try and fill the perceived gaps, whilst still allowing it to communicate with the media, reacts to the media outputs that are produced and, therefore, seeks to influence the media representation of Paralympic and disability sport in the long term. I would like to end with a quote from Bush et al. (2013) that although referring to academics nicely encapsulates what is at stake in this ongoing 'battle' between the IPC and the media:

'As academics interested in social justice, impairment and human rights, it is our responsibility to ensure such stories [of athletes and people with disabilities] are heard relational to dominant narratives and to foster spaces/sites/ conditions that aid to bringing voices together to create meaningful social change.' (Bush et al. 2013; p. 638)

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12

Marketing and Sponsorship at the Paralympic Games

David Legg and Mark Dottori

Introduction

The Paralympic Games have grown to become the second largest multi-sport event in the world behind only the Olympic Games (Misener et al. [2013](#)). This growth can be demonstrated through the lens of the London 2012 Games, which saw most of the events sold out as part of a record 2.7 million attendance figure, compared to the 1.5 million who attended the 1992 Games in Barcelona. In terms of social media activity and online traffic, the word “Paralympic” has also seen growth with 1.3 million tweets and the official website receiving 25 million visits during the 12 days of the London 2012 (IPC [2016a](#)).

With each new Games, Paralympic athletes have garnered greater public visibility as evidenced by the record US \$60 million sponsorship deal

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struck by the Brazilian Paralympic Committee in the lead-up to the Rio 2016 (Degun 2013), American broadcaster NBC's expected commitment is to provide unprecedented television coverage in the USA (IPC 2016b), and the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) is hoping to exceed four billion in cumulative audience for the 2016 Games. However, the Paralympic Movement's growth has not been a straight-line with reports from Rio 2016 in March, 2016 suggesting only 15 % of available tickets had been sold (Butler 2016).

Sir Philip Craven, President of the IPC has suggested, "Over the years, the Paralympic Games have developed a strong track record for changing and challenging deep-rooted views in society regarding disability. Thanks to widespread media coverage of Beijing 2008 and London 2012, the Paralympics have established themselves as the world's number one sporting event for driving social inclusion" (IPC 2016b). As reported in an IPC Press release in April, 2016, the IPC and US Paralympics published results of a national survey conducted by Benenson Strategy Group which suggested that social inclusion is an important issue with 92 % of Americans believing there are problems with the way people with a disability are treated, noting over half witnessed discrimination due to disability, and 71 % think those with a disability are often ignored or forgotten.

The IPC's marketing focus on celebrating the high performance sporting achievements of its athletes thus seeks to change to public perceptions of disability sport (Quinn 2007; Maika 2014; Wolbring and Tynedal 2013). In the same study noted earlier, 84 % of Americans believe attitudes toward people with disabilities would change if people saw them competing in sports at a high level, and 95 % say Paralympians are good role models for both disabled and non-disabled Americans. Such studies validate the IPC as it seeks to achieve its vision "to enable Paralympic athletes to achieve sporting excellence and inspire and excite the world" (IPC 2010, p. 7).

To do this the IPC uses mass media which plays an important role in shaping public opinion, especially when examining attitudes toward people with disability (Farnall and Smith 1999; Schantz and Gilbert 2001). This is evidenced through the increasing use of the "athlete" frame in media coverage of the Paralympic Games in North America (Maika 2014; Pate et al. 2013; Howe 2008a; Quinn 2007). This is a shift away from prior headlines that celebrated a Paralympian's triumph

over adversity (the “supercrip” mentality of individuals admired for overcoming the hardship of their disability) or as suffering entities, which dominated media coverage prior to 2004 (Ellis 2009; Silva and Howe 2012). Examples of this change include a study of news coverage from the Beijing 2008 Olympic and Paralympic Games, where Chang et al. (2011) noted, that newspapers often portrayed athletes with disabilities as “real athletes” rather than “supercrips” or “victims”, as they have been described in the past. In 2008 and 2012, when Paralympians were asked to comment on their performances, they focused on issues such as technique, similar to able-bodied athletes.

However, while Paralympic sport has made recent inroads into mainstream consciousness focusing on high performance sport, society still appears resistant to the idea of disability sport due to the traditional understanding of sport being based on able-bodiedness (DePauw 1997; Schell and Rodriguez 2001). Wolbring and Tynedal (2013) concluded that there was a general lack of visibility of the Paralympics when compared to the Olympics, and what little coverage existed still held a strong charitable discourse narrative, despite recent inroads of the sport narrative.

This may be, in part, because the public compares Paralympic athletes to Olympic athletes (Fitzgerald 2012; Silva and Howe 2012; Thomas and Smith 2003) resulting in perceptions of the Paralympic Games, Paralympic athletes and disability sport in general as inferior, less legitimate and easier to play (Fitzgerald 2012; Medland and Ellis-Hill 2008; Purdue and Howe 2012; Silva and Howe 2012; Thomas and Smith 2003). This attitude can perhaps be best summed up by Anne Golden (2003), who when interviewing US sports reporters at the 2002 Salt Lake City Olympic and Paralympic Games, found that many did not view Paralympic sport as valid elite competition. Golden quoted one American reporter who commented about Paralympic athletes and the Games: “They can’t compete on the same level as the Olympic athletes, so it’s a bone they throw to them to make them feel better. It’s not a real competition, and I, for one, don’t see why I should have to cover it”. This attitude was echoed in Schantz and Gilbert’s (2008) analysis of French and German newspapers which concluded that coverage of the 1996 Paralympics did not take the Games “seriously as a sporting event” (p. 49), with coverage located in a lifestyle section of the newspaper, framed as human-interest pieces, or focused on topics centered on controversy or technology.

Before delving further into our understanding of marketing and sponsorship of the Paralympic Games, however, it is worthwhile to briefly review what is defined as sport marketing and the varied aspects that are sometimes overlooked within it. Mullin et al. (2014) define sport marketing as “all activities designed to meet the needs and wants of sports consumers through exchange processes” (p. 13). Pitts and Stotlar (2007), state sport marketing is “the process of designing and implementation activities for the production, pricing, promotion and distribution of a sport product or sport business product to satisfy the needs or desires of consumers and to achieve the company’s objectives” (p. 69). This usually occurs through two ways—the marketing of sport products and services directly to consumers, or the marketing of other goods through the use of sport. Sport marketing is seen as subtly different than “regular” marketing in that sport has unique features such as sport being invariably intangible, emotional, subjective, produced and consumed at the same time, and heavily experiential with its outcomes unknown.

Major developments in sport marketing have included the evolution of sport broadcasting (growth and sports repositioning as entertainment), the acceptance and growth of sponsorship, the emphasis of branded product extensions and the development and professionalization of the field (Masteralexis et al. 2015). Today the marketing of sport is pervasive and far reaching while the marketing of Paralympic sport and the Paralympic Games is in a relatively nascent stage of development. Although the Olympic brand is one of the most recognized in the world, the Paralympic brand has struggled to achieve the same level of recognition (Kabitsis et al. 2002) and there remains confusion between the Paralympic and Special Olympic brands (Fay et al. 2007).

The Marketing and Sponsorship Environment at the Paralympic Games

Sport sponsorship, which is a big part of sport marketing and will be a significant focus for this chapter, continues to grow. According to Leader Consulting (<http://www.leadersconsulting.com/>), global sports sponsorship revenue is expected to rise to US \$45 billion in 2016 and world-

wide sport event revenue is projected to hit US \$90.9 billion by 2017. American broadcaster NBC believes it will sell over US \$1 billion in advertising for its Rio 2016 Olympic telecast and the 2015 Super Bowl had a record breaking average TV audience of 114.4 million viewers.

Sponsorship has thus become an integral activity for most sport organizations (Alexandris et al. 2007; Stotlar 2009). Sport mega-event sponsorships, such those at Olympic Games and the Football World Cup, have become some of the most powerful platforms to create connections with consumers and sport sponsorship can thus play a vital role in the strategic positioning of a corporation or brand (O'Reilly and Séguin 2012). The importance of sport marketing and sponsorship to the Paralympic Movement should thus not be underestimated. At the same time, it should not be naively perceived as a simple panacea, that if implemented, will result in more investment or exposure. For example, Dottori et al. (2014b) noted that while 75 % of Canadians had a very positive sentiment toward Paralympians, this did not translate into behavioral change such as investing time in the Movement or viewing Paralympic sport on television.

This may change, however, as there is also evidence to suggest that the marketing and sponsorship of the Games is rapidly evolving. The IPC newsletter from February 2016 was filled with announcements regarding sponsorship and marketing opportunities. These included Azerbaijan's National Paralympic Committee (NPC) signing a co-operation agreement with Azerbaijan Airlines, the One Complete Solutions Ltd Group of Ireland sponsoring the Irish Paralympic team, the Spanish NPC landing two sponsors, food company ElPozo, and Valencian sportswear company Luanvi. Additionally, it was announced Cadbury contributed NZ \$200,000 to support the New Zealand Paralympic team and \$1 million to the Australian Paralympic Team. One month later, the IPC newsletter highlights included the Australian Paralympic Committee announcing Australia Post as a Major Partner and the official postal and logistics supplier of the 2016 Australian Paralympic Team, and retailer Harvey Norman initiating a nationwide fundraising campaign in support of the New Zealand Paralympic Team.

The level of interest demonstrated here will likely increase. At SportAccord 2014, a gathering of leaders from all international sport-

ing governing bodies, members of Repucom, a large multi-national sport marketing firm, undertook a survey among the conference delegates asking them about the future of sport. Delegates reported that disability sport would have the greatest increase in relevancy in the future. The report also noted that the topic of disability sport's relevance was led by sponsor representatives, indicating that it is not just sport administrators, but the world's corporations that are beginning to take note of Paralympic sport. The responses in both situations were due to disability sport's ability to provide the best value proposition to meet sport's fragmenting consumption patterns among traditional media, new media, and its' particular ability to engage youth.

A second reason why the Paralympic Movement may see growth in sponsorship and marketing was noted by The Future of Sports (<http://futureof.org/>). When accessing how brands would adapt to rapidly evolving sports content and distribution formats, it was suggested one solution would be for brands to specifically direct their marketing budgets. This could include personalized and directed advertising campaigns to a single person, allowing a measurable return on investment, as opposed to large sponsorships that are difficult to quantify. The "Future of Sport" suggests that it is not about the most eyeballs seeing the message, but the right ones and Paralympic sport might be able to address this by focusing on previously untapped markets in innovative and original ways. This micro-targeted sponsorship trend of using disability sport may have already begun to occur as witnessed by Target's use of a child with Down Syndrome in advertisements (Smith 2012) and the hiring of Paralympic athletes such as Amy Purdy (Popken 2015) and Aimee Mullins (L'Oréal Paris 2012), as brand spokespersons.

Linkages to the Olympic Games and International Olympic Committee

The marketing of Paralympic sport and the Paralympic Games in particular, cannot be discussed without acknowledging its relationship with the Olympic Games. Although not required at the time, many Olympic host cities from 1992 to 2004 shared responsibilities for staging both

the Olympic and Paralympic Games. There was no formal agreement between the IPC and International Olympic Committee (IOC) until 2001 and the first elements of this agreement focused on Games management with subsequent agreements from 2003 to 2012 addressing marketing among other items.

The subtle changes in the IOC–IPC relationship, and in particular those related to the marketing, were evident at the 2010 Vancouver Olympic and Paralympic Games. Here, the word “Paralympic” was included in the official name of the host Olympic Organizing Committee, a joint marketing agreement was created with the host NPC, and a member from the Canadian NPC was named to the Vancouver Organizing Committee’s (VANOC’s) Board of Directors. Other new Vancouver initiatives echoed by the 2012 London Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (LOCOG) included the creation of a separate countdown clock for the Paralympic Games, and the flying both Olympic and Paralympic flags side-by-side at the Olympic and Paralympic Village, the competition venues, as well as other official and Games support venues (Coward and Legg 2011; Legg and Steadward 2011).

Unique to the London 2012 Games was when the LOCOG revealed its logos for both Games. The stylized “2012” logos were essentially the same, the only difference being that the five Olympic rings and the three Paralympic agitos were exchanged within the common logo (Legg and Steadward 2011). LOCOG also intentionally created two companion mascots for the 2012 Games, Wenlock and Mandeville, whose names celebrated the towns in England that were the epicenters of British Olympic and Paralympic heritage (Polley 2011). This eliminated an issue that occurred at the 1996 Games in Atlanta where Blaze, the dynamic phoenix-like bird created as the mascot for the Paralympic Games, was deemed to be more commercially viable than its Olympic counterpart, Izzy, resulting in the Atlanta Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (ACOG) filing a lawsuit against the separately incorporated Atlanta Paralympic Organizing Committee (APOC) to limit the impact of Blaze’s brand value (Hums and Fay 1995).

While seemingly small in scope, symbols and logos such as the mascot are important representations of organizations and reflect the ongoing evolution of the IOC–IPC relationship. Most recently, as a result

of the 2012 Agreement, the IPC will participate in a number of IOC Commissions and Committees, including the Press Commission and the Radio and Television Commission (International Paralympic Committee 2012).

Another marketing related partnership that has resulted from the IOC IPC agreement in 2003 was the IPC agreeing to protect the IOC's TOP (global) sponsor partners in return for a lump sum of payment from the OCOG (Brittain 2010). Additionally, the agreement transferred broadcast and marketing rights for the Paralympic Games to the Host City in exchange payments. This amounted to Beijing (BOCOG) paying US \$9 million, Vancouver (VANOC) US \$4 million and London (LOCOG) US \$10 million to the IPC in return for the Paralympic Games Broadcasting and Marketing rights (Brittain 2010).

Broadcasters and sponsors have thus all been impacted by the evolving IOC–IPC relationship. At the 2012 London Games, for example, 3 of the 12 IOC TOP Worldwide Sponsors (e.g., Visa, Atos and Samsung) were also IPC global sponsors. Many of the remaining TOP sponsors (Acer, Coca-Cola, Dow, GE, McDonald's, Omega, Panasonic and Proctor & Gamble) also signed on through LOCOG as local sponsors of the 2012 Paralympic Games (Mickle 2012a). Each of these sponsors was required to purchase Paralympic Games marketing rights separate from its IOC rights (International Paralympic Committee 2011b) and these rights were controlled and negotiated through the IOC or OCOG and not the IPC (Mickle 2012a). The value of a local OCOG sponsorship is far lower than the cost of an IOC TOP sponsorship for the Olympic Games and by deduction would be even less for the Paralympic Games (Mickle 2012a, b; Pathak and Hall 2012).

It is also important to note, however, that many sponsors may view Paralympic sponsorship as part of their "Games" strategy (Dottori et al. 2014b). Lloyds TSB, for example, made a strategic decision to combine its Olympic and Paralympic activation work at the 2012 Games. "We've never entertained the idea that we would treat the Paralympics separately", says Lloyds TSB head of group sponsorship Stuart Beaver. "It has been bound together with Olympics across all our activations, from National School Sports Week to the Olympic and Paralympic torch relays" (Gillis 2012). What is unknown is why sponsors follow a "piggyback" Games

strategy. Some may do so to avoid an increased risk of successful ambush marketing by competitors and this will likely increase. Some companies who are unable to sponsor the Olympics due to prohibitive cost, and the IOC's rigidly enforced rules on ambush marketing, have started to realize that a relationship with the Paralympic Games can give them "the perception and kudos" of an Olympic presence (Gillis 2011).

Opportunities and Challenges Faced by Paralympic Marketers and Sponsors

Before the 2002 Salt Lake City Paralympic Games, the Paralympic Games as a whole struggled to secure sponsorship with some corporations perhaps fearing they would give an impression that they were trying to exploit athletes with disabilities (Sutton 1998). This built on a trend from prior Paralympic Games such as Horner 2000 in Sydney which raised US \$48 million from sponsors such as Visa, Coca-Cola, Nike and IBM; however, this figure was only 2 % of the total raised for the Sydney Olympics, which raised US \$2.6 billion through sponsorships (Horner 2000). This dichotomy has changed, somewhat, in recent Games, likely due to the 2001 "one bid, one city" IOC/IPC agreement discussed earlier. Now as a result of the combined organizational structure, the Paralympic Organizing Committees often secures sponsors *ipso facto*, since sponsorship for one event often implies sponsorship for the other.

One reason for this may be that Paralympic sponsorship remains relatively uncluttered compared with sponsorship of mainstream sports and mega-events such as the Olympic Games (Seguin et al. 2008). Paralympic sponsors can take advantage of this uncluttered space, as well as the congruence between their own objectives and the Paralympic values of courage, determination, inspiration and equality. The hope and in some cases reality has been that positive attitudes toward a brand associated with Paralympic sponsorship will translate into a high level of purchase intention, which can lead to increased sales (Center et al. 2011). Nam and Lee (2013) also found this conclusion noting the promotion and contribution dimensions of Paralympic sponsorship had positive effects on corporate image and consumers' purchase intentions. In a third study,

the Paralympic Games provided the opportunity for sponsors to demonstrate an understanding of diversity and establish consumer perceptions of corporate social responsibility (CSR) in the minds of consumers (Macdougall et al. 2014).

Establishing perceptions of CSR also illustrates the co-existence and subsequent tension between disability and elite sport in the context of the Paralympic representation (or brand), a tension referred to as the Paralympic paradox (Purdue and Howe 2012, Dottori et al. 2014b). The IPC has made building the Paralympic brand one of its six strategic goals. Based on the Paralympic values, the IPC foresees their brand helping to teach the values of acceptance and appreciation for people with a disability through the lessons and examples of athletes and the Paralympic Games, linking sport with social awareness and challenging stereotypes (IPC 2010). Inherent with this current vision and their brand then is the push-pull relationship of the competitive attributes of elite sport versus those of the uniqueness of disability sport and cause marketing, that is, the Paralympic paradox (Purdue and Howe 2012, Dottori et al. 2014b). A key communications challenge for the Paralympic Games then, is to generate media and sponsors to focus on the sport, says Jane Jones, the Director of Marketing and Communications for ParalympicsGB. “We wrestle with this balance every day”, she adds. “We know that many people will come to us for the back stories—the stories of redemption or of overcoming life-changing injuries. Often we’ve shied away from selling stories of Iraq War veterans, but now we’re confident that the sport speaks for itself” (Gillis 2012).

This challenge though is that the IPC and the Paralympic Games operate within a highly competitive global marketplace with many sports seeking visibility and position within the media sport production complex (Maguire 2004) and sponsorship (Nam and Lee 2013). Differentiation through a focus on disability is thus one way to separate from the host of able-bodied sport competitors. Suggestions have been made that instead of focusing on an elite sporting identity that the IPC seeks to emphasize (IPC 2010), impairment or disability should be included as a point of brand differentiation, to attract sponsors and to ensure its advocacy/relatability for persons with a disability (Purdue and Howe 2012; Dottori et al. 2014b).

This Paralympic paradox in terms of marketing is therefore a significant challenge that the Paralympic brand faces. While the IPC has attempted to move Paralympic sport toward normalization through its flagship events and the Paralympic Games in particular via the mainstream media (Schantz and Gilbert 2001, Thomas and Smith 2003), the Movement must also deal with the added dimension of how Paralympic sport is seen through the lens of the disability community. Using the lens of paradox literature suggested by Smith and Lewis (2011), this tension can be viewed as a performing paradox, stemming from the Paralympic Movement's attempt to address the differing and sometimes conflicting demands of its stakeholders. Paralympic athletes desire able-bodied audiences to focus on their athletic achievements that can empower the athlete and break stereotypes, but at the same time, they wish disability audiences to view them as role models. However, if they distance themselves too much from their disability so that able-bodied audiences can focus on their athletic performances, they risk being unrelatable to the disability community. The result is that the failure of Paralympic athletes and sport to identify as "disabled" could potentially limit the ability of the Paralympic Games and movement to empower other persons with a disability (Purdue and Howe 2012).

This tension was evident at the London 2012 Paralympic Games where the television coverage in the UK by host broadcaster Channel 4 was widely viewed as exceptional, showing more than 400 hours of coverage, 150 of it in prime time. However, despite this unprecedented coverage, criticism ensued. IPC president Sir Philip Craven requested that the word "disabled" be dropped from Games coverage (Gibson 2012). The television advertisement used by Channel 4 with the slogan, "Meet the Superhumans", also met with concern with some in the Paralympic community, troubled about how athletes were failing to be portrayed as elite athletes and instead being shown as one of two extremes; superhuman or victims of accidents overcoming handicaps (The Inclusion Club 2012). Pearce (2008) suggested that such portrayals potentially reduced the accomplishments of Paralympic athletes to demeaning, feel good stories (Legg 2016).

These paradoxes are both the Paralympic brands' greatest strength and weakness (Dottori et al. 2014b). It is a weakness because it confuses key

brand elements (Guenzi and Nocco 2006; Kotler 2009) to the general public and consumers' perception of the Movement. The paradox has made it unclear as to where the brand is positioned, thus weakening the brand as a whole. This in turn, could be seen as a limitation for Games and NPC sponsorship potential as organizations are unsure of the benefits and associations they are purchasing. Ambiguity, however, when used strategically can become a great asset to the Paralympic movement and provide a basis for brand positioning through differentiation (Farhana 2012; Kay 2006). No other sport event is associated with both sides of the Paralympic paradox, namely a high sport performance level, coupled with a high cause association. This is especially important for sports brands in particular as unpredictable athlete podium performances can now be tempered by the diversity of their brand to successfully meet social responsibility goals for sponsors. As already noted in the paradox literature, the key for sustainable success is to manage divergent demands and reach a dynamic equilibrium that reflects the vibrant and consistent nature of the tension (Smith and Lewis 2011). For the Paralympic brand, this requires finding the proper balance of high performance sport versus social responsibility and the realization that sponsor needs may change over the four-year Paralympic cycle. For example, a sponsor may value and promote the elite sport image of the brand around the Paralympic Games, but value the brand's cause association attributes during the years in between. The sponsorship value can thus be distributed more evenly through additional activation opportunities over the duration of a Paralympic quadrennial. Properly positioned, the Paralympic Movement has the potential to meet such dueling needs, becoming a "one-stop shop" for organizations seeking associations with performance excellence *AND* social responsibility. This dual equity offering creates a critical differentiator for the Paralympic Games and movement, and an opportunity to stand out in the sponsorship marketplace.

A tangible example of taking advantage of the Paralympic paradox can be seen through sponsorship activities of petroleum company Petro-Canada and the Canadian Paralympic Committee (CPC). The CPC created an in-school education program to provide more information about Paralympic athletes, awareness of individuals with a disability and sport-ing options for persons with disabilities. Petro-Canada sponsored this

school program as well as its own FACE (Fueling Athlete and Coaching Excellence) initiative to help athletes achieve podium finishes. This allowed the company to meet both social responsibility and excellence attributes through the CPC brand.

Examples of Paralympic Games Marketing and Sponsorship Best Practice

One marketing strategy and sponsor of note specific to the Paralympic Games was Sainsbury's (a grocery store chain in the UK), which was Official Partner of the London 2012 Paralympic Games. Sainsbury's was a Paralympic-only sponsor and one of two partners to have a presence on Paralympic athlete's bibs, as well as in and around key venues at Games time. Sainsbury's also activated their sponsorship by utilizing its network of over 850 stores to help promote the Paralympic Games in the run up to 2012, and made Paralympic Games and ParalympicsGB merchandise available across the UK. As part of its commitment to LOCOG, Sainsbury's ran a media campaign in 2012 to support the Paralympic Games titled "Here's to Extraordinary". In addition to their media campaign, the legacy of Sainsbury's was their Active Kids for All program. Due to the success of their sponsorship in London, they have extended their partnership with the British Paralympic Association through to the Rio 2016 Paralympic Games.

Sainsbury's unveiled their 2012 Paralympic Games sponsorship with the "Here's to Extraordinary" advertising campaign having David Beckham as the key spokesperson. The campaign ran throughout 2012 with branding appearing on delivery vehicles, shopfronts and other sales materials. Sainsbury's welcomed Paralympic athletes Ellie Simmonds as an Active Kids Ambassador and she, along with fellow Paralympian David Weir and David Beckham, were showcased in a one-minute television commercial. In partnership with Channel 4, Sainsbury's also created a Blind Football video game which built on a video of David Beckham learning to play football under similar conditions as those with visual impairments.

This was only a small part of Sainsbury's partnership with Channel 4 who was also the official broadcast provider of the 2012 Paralympic

Games. Together they co-produced 30 short films that followed 10 Paralympic athletes on their journey to the Games. Sainsbury's also joined BT and Lloyds TSB as a presenting partner of the Paralympic Torch Relay. Here, Sainsbury's ran a public nominations process in 1000+ stores to find community heroes to be Paralympic Torchbearers. Joining them were 45 Sainsbury's employees from across each of the four regions who had been handpicked for their embodiment of the Paralympic values and spirit of the Games.

The supermarket's Paralympics-only deal transformed the landscape of Olympic marketing, however, by dramatically raising the value of Paralympic sponsorship rights. Igor Stolyakov, Head of Marketing for the 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Sochi, Russia, expressed such admiration for LOCOG's ingenuity specific to Sainsbury that he intended to copy it (Gillis 2011). Jat Sahota, Head of Sponsorship, at Sainsbury's, noted that there was no road map for anyone, anywhere around Paralympic-only activation, which allowed his company to be more creative. They found people were amazed not just at the athletic standard and endeavors of the Paralympians, but also the inevitable personal backstory.

In the end the supermarket's official sponsorship of the Paralympic Games captured the public imagination. Rather than being perceived to be riding the athletes' coattails, the brand was perceived to be championing athletes who had traditionally did not received the support, attention or funding they deserved, as well as supporting a societal shift toward greater understanding and inclusiveness of (dis)ability (Promovertis 2013). Sir Philip Craven, the IPC President, hailed their sponsorship as "most certainly historic" (Gillis 2011).

A second example of an excellent marketing program was Proctor and Gamble's (P & G) Thank You Mom campaign during the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. Like many corporations, P & G sponsored both Games. In a presentation in London during the 2012 Paralympic Games by Nathan Homer, P & G's Olympic and Paralympic Director, outlined the organization's goals to serve athletes, moms and families. A number of activation strategies were thus employed both internally and externally to achieve this vision. For instance, P & G employees were given special opportunities to be torch relay runners and attend the opening ceremony dress rehearsal. P & G also provided chances for consumers buying their

product at Sainsbury's grocery stores to win tickets to the Paralympic Games. One specific Paralympic advertisement for Eukanuba dog food, used a cyclist with a visual impairment and her guide dog Libby as the spokesperson. During the Games, P & G created salons in the Games' park to provide hair and nail aesthetics for athletes along with tickets and apparel to family members of Games' athletes. Perhaps the most memorable example of how P & G was able to activate their sponsorship, was having Ireland's Paralympic track star Michael MacKillop receive his gold medal at the official ceremony on the track from his mom. As a result of their efforts, based on a P & G internal marketing promotional video, during the 2012 Games, P & G saw a 28 % increase in twitter followers and a 36 % increase in Facebook followers. The campaign was then extended to the 2014 Winter Paralympic Games with a television commercial showing varied images of young children with disabilities participating in recreation and ending with visuals of Paralympic champions. The advertisement finished with the tagline "The world's toughest moms raise the world's toughest kids. Thank you mom. P & G proud sponsors of moms."

Social Media: An Important Tool for Paralympic Marketing

Sainsbury's and P & G are two great examples of Paralympic marketing campaigns and both included the key ingredient of athlete buy-in. This can be complicated, however, as Paralympic athletes are becoming increasingly seen as public figures and thus have the potential for multi-layered identities (Huang and Brittain 2006). In a study of how Canadian Paralympians athletes presented themselves online by Dottori and his colleagues (Dottori et al. 2014a), it was discovered that three identity themes were common: as an athlete, advocate and person with a disability. While Paralympians were not averse to discussing their disability, it was not something they promoted as central to their identity as an athlete.

This self-identification as an athlete first from a Canadian context was consistent with results from a Flemish study (Van de Vliet et al. 2008) where Belgian Paralympic athletes identified in an athlete role as much as

their Olympic counterparts. These findings were then further congruent with Olympic athletes' identities being based on sporting achievement (Brewer and Cornelius 2001; Tasiemski et al. 2004).

How Paralympic athletes view themselves and then how they present themselves externally is important for sponsors to understand as social media can be a valuable marketing tool for Paralympic sport and corporations due to the continuing dearth of mainstream media coverage (Pate and Mirabito 2014; Wolbring and Tynedal 2013). Online marketing is becoming increasingly more important with social media platforms rapidly and constantly evolving in their scope (Rowe and Hutchins 2014) and this transformation is especially noticeable in the global sporting culture, where the penetration, and magnitude of social media reach has been significant (Pedersen 2014). Although the development of social media is still unfolding, its popularity and acceptance by teams, leagues, fans and sport governing bodies is widespread (Hutchins 2014).

This was certainly the case at the 2012 London Paralympic Games with #Paralympics being the top trending hashtag for any sporting event across Great Britain (Washenko 2014) and Twitter serving as a key messenger of news, particularly in the USA where there was no live television coverage and little newspaper coverage (Pate and Mirabito 2014). Instead the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) produced and promoted its own highlights package for internet users, specifically 10 daily highlight packages which were posted on the USOC's Paralympic YouTube channel. These video highlights were then promoted through US athletes' social media accounts such as Twitter. The athletes themselves essentially became citizen reporters within the confines of the IPC's social media usage guidelines (Pate et al. 2014).

Paralympians are thus valuable tools to market Paralympic sport both on and off the playing field and it could be argued that the athletes are the most important "employees" of the marketing and sponsorship departments of the Paralympic movement as they actively raise awareness and help forge emotional attachments with the public regarding Paralympic sport. An implication of this is that Paralympic promotional activity which focuses on elite sport performance rather than "supercrip" themes, will be much more likely to be supported by their most valuable commodity, Paralympic athletes.

The Future

Recognizing the challenges of Paralympic marketing led to a discussion among colleagues affiliated with the Canadian Paralympic Committee during the 2012 Games in London. A full description of the conversation is presented in the Global Sport Management News which was co-authored by David Legg and Robert C Hain (Legg and Hain 2012) with reviews in both Legg 2015 and Legg 2016. The discussion centered on what marketing strategies for the purposes of fund generation should be employed by the Canadian Paralympic Committee and Canadian Paralympic athletes. Ultimately seven potential options were discussed:

- (a) a focus on support from government or community-based institutions
- (b) pity: asking for charitable support
- (c) institutional guilt: comparing Paralympic sport to its better funded and more visibly supported able-bodied Olympic peers
- (d) inspirational messaging: emphasizing how people with disabilities have overcome so much
- (e) associative commercial: presenting disability as a good community brand
- (f) indirect commercial: recognizing that people with disabilities, or their friends and families, buy stuff just like everybody else and therefore companies should market directly to this audience
- (g) direct commercial: we are all aging into disability of some form and thus disability will be recognized as a growing market (Legg 2016).

Ultimately the group settled on the seventh option as the most preferred because of others either being in final stages of relevance, or becoming outdated “Disability” the group concluded, however, was about to become a huge market opportunity and one that would remain compelling for the foreseeable future (Legg 2015, 2016) and companies would see this is an opening and opportunity to differentiate themselves.

It appears that the group was right (or at least close). Since the 2012 Games there has been a proliferation of companies using athletes with a disability as spokespersons. In a blog posted by the International

Paralympic Committee (2013), several examples were presented including Amy Purdy's Toyota commercial which aired during the 2014 Super Bowl. Since that time iconic singer Beyonce has used a model with muscular dystrophy in advertisements of her new Formation clothing line. Microsoft aired a commercial titled "Empowering us all" highlighting the links between technology, innovation and disability (Legg 2015, 2016). BMW has launched a campaign showcasing their technology expertise with racing wheelchairs (Armour 2016) and Google has launched the impact challenge (Google 2015). In each case they were thus using disability as a means to demonstrate their prowess with technology—exactly what the group that met with in London suggested as the preferred means for future ways to market Paralympic athletes (Legg 2016). Craig Spence, IPC's Director of Media and Communications suggested that this new interest in having athletes with a disability as spokespersons was a direct result of the 2012 London Paralympic Games. "Thanks to London 2012, Paralympic sport is now seen as sport, high performance sport that is practiced by some of the world's best athletes. London 2012 also helped encourage large corporations to realize the benefits of aligning their brand with para-athletes and para-sport" (IPC 2015).

The inclusion of persons with disabilities into mainstream media is also being seen in recreation and less traditional sporting events. At the 2015 X Games, several new sports debuted for persons with a disability, and Nitro Circus, a traveling tour that showcases people doing stunts on wheels now includes a person in a wheelchair Aaron "Wheelz" Fotheringham. National Geographic, meanwhile, named two kayakers with a visually impairment as their 2015 adventurers of the year (Legg 2016).

As more Paralympic athletes are being used in advertising, so too are people with disabilities who are not athletes. One example is Katie Driscoll who along with a friend created the website <http://changingthefaceofbeauty.org/> "to promote the use of special-needs models in mainstream ads" (Lang 2014). CBC News in Canada noted this trend in 2014, by airing a news special showcasing the growing convergence between business and disability. In an online article related to the video it was noted that products designed for people with disabilities can be good for everyone—not just those they were initially designed for. The disability popu-

lation was also noted as growing with this likely not slowing any time soon. “The population of people with disabilities is the fastest growing minority in the world when you include aging baby boomers. Globally, it is about 1.3 billion people, a market roughly the size of China. Add their friends and family to the mix and the number doubles, to more than half the world’s population” (Roumeliotis 2014). The CBC article also reaffirmed what has already been discussed. “We all have some kind of impairment at some time. Maybe we’re driving so we can’t put our eyes on the screen or we’re cooking and our hands are filthy and we don’t want to touch our phone. So making things that work without relying on all of our senses and all of our capabilities at all times is really helpful for the population at large” (Roumeliotis 2014).

Conclusion

While tremendous gains have been made with the marketing of Paralympic athletes and the Games, more is needed. In a 2015 a Toronto Parapan American Games Awareness Survey conducted by Ipsos Reid for the Canadian Paralympic Committee, it was suggested that 82 % of respondents agreed that the Paralympic Games represented a highly competitive sporting competition for elite athletes, who happen to be physically disabled. Additionally, most respondents did not feel that the Paralympic Games were any less competitive than the Olympic Games, for the athletes trying out (63 %) or competing (62 %). The challenge, however, was that there was limited proactive or passive involvement with the Paralympic movement by these same respondents. This could be, in part, because respondents were not familiar with the Paralympic Games as only 11 % indicated that they were Paralympic fans, and few (12 %) were able to name members of the Canadian Paralympic Team. How then can marketing help change this paradox.

The other paradox that needs to be addressed is whether to present Paralympic athletes focusing on high performance achievements or inspiration due to overcoming the disability. This conversation needs to better include the disability community which has for the most part been excluded from the Paralympic sport discourse specific to marketing.

What little commentaries exist are often negative, contrasting with a typically positive, academic narrative. Activists with disabilities have started to voice their opinions and were particularly cynical of the portrayal and production of the Games and Paralympic athletes as they perceived that the wider population of disabled people are misrepresented using the “supercrip” frame and thus viewed the Games as counterproductive to disability rights beyond sport (Braye et al. 2013, Howe 2008a). This conversation needs to continue.

For the Paralympic Movement to capitalize on sport marketing and sponsorship, the IPC, host organizing committees for Paralympic Games, and the movement as a whole needs to analyze brand impact and awareness and how they can stand out in an increasingly cluttered sport marketplace while respecting the wishes and voices of their athletes and broader disability community.

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13

Paralympic Paradigm: A Research Agenda

Daryl Adair, Simon Darcy, and Stephen Frawley

Introduction

This chapter draws the book to conclusion by reviewing the chapters and seeking to establish a research agenda for the future of the Paralympics. What became apparent in the work presented in each of the chapters was the relative organisational complexity of the Paralympics as opposed to the Olympics due to the matrix of disability type and classification on top of the already complex multisport event. These elements in themselves create further rich veins for research that are discussed in the chapter.

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Understanding Organisational and Event Complexity

Although this book has showcased many of the most important factors associated with effective management of the Paralympics, there are inevitably gaps in what is a single, first of a kind, volume. Para sport is so much more complex than able-bodied sport; this means that the IPC and related organisations have deeply embedded challenges that require both sophisticated insider knowledge and advanced managerial acumen. The fact that the IPC is poorly resourced compared to the IOC adds administrative burden to that imperative. One response to this dilemma would be for the IOC – and indeed various able-bodied sport organisations that have adaptive equivalents – to provide the IPC with targeted financial support. There are, for example, athletes from developing nations who do not have the resources to travel to the Paralympics; or, if they make the trip, arrive with little in the way of a support entourage, and a reliance on equipment – such as wheelchairs – that are uncompetitive. For researchers, therefore, an opportunity exists to explore how and why the IPC and Paralympic organisers might improve opportunity and access for all nations and athletes to participate in the Games. At present, the gap between developed and developing nations is greater even than at the Olympics.

A corollary to this is questions about the role of science for Para sport athletes and the Paralympics as a showcase of high technology equipment, whether embodied (i.e. prosthetics for athletics) or assembled (i.e. state-of-the-art frames for discus). Part of the rationale to allow scientifically advanced methodologies in Para sport is the assumption that innovations not only drive sport performance but have spin-off effects for the wider community. A trickle-down effect is posited as a by-product of fabulous new designs for Para athletes: improvements to equipment, while not needed for competitive purposes by non-athletes, are presumed to infiltrate the production of various mobility devices, such as prosthetic limbs and wheelchairs. At present, though, it is not clear how much of these claims are rhetorical or substantial. Only independent research can help us to better understand whether Para sport technology is a key driver of innovation and consumption in the wider disability equipment market.

The health and wellbeing of athletes at the Paralympics is obviously a key consideration. This book only glossed over medical and pharmaceutical needs of Paralympians that, once again, are typically more complex and demanding than for able-bodied athletes. The provision of emergency medicine and personnel is equally important, that also being reliant on effective procedures at Games' venues and best practice strategies in terms of patient evacuation and transportation. The capacity for athletes to engage with medical staff – especially in the case of Paralympians without an entourage – is critical. They may face the onset of illness or a re-emergent condition that requires diagnosis and treatment; should drugs be provided they could well need a Therapeutic Use Exemption in order to avoid inadvertent doping. There is, in short, both an opportunity and need for more research into the medical needs of Paralympians and the associated services provided at the Games.

Paralympic host cities must commit, as part of the bid document, to engage in research about the legacy of this event for stakeholders – especially the disability community and those within who wish to participate in sport and exercise programs. However, as often happens with legacy reporting processes, once a mega-event is over Games hosts are not genuinely held accountable for promises made. The goodwill associated with staging the Paralympics is manifest over a two-week period of competition and spectacle, but questions about the impact of the Games for policy and practice in the community are much more challenging to discern. Key areas of concern for people with a disability include equitable access to public events and spaces, as well as transport options and resources for those with movement constraints. The Paralympic Games, which is expected to cater for people with a disability, might be perceived as something of a microcosm for the way in which host cities plan to cater for the needs of the disability community generally. Robust research is therefore needed to establish the extent to which the Paralympics has a wider impact on disability policies and practices in host cities.

There also needs to be research on how the disability community has an impact on the progress of the Paralympics. Critical disability studies scholars, several of whom are represented in this volume, argue that the Paralympics have been a site of robust advocacy leading to policy that makes accessible venues, transport and destinations far easier to

implement. In this sense, the Paralympic movement in many nations has been possible because of the ‘blood, sweat and tears’ (Darcy 2003, p. 752) of the national disability community, something that has not been acknowledged by the Paralympic movement. For the Paralympic movement to truly improve the lives of people with disability – as promised by the IPC Accessibility Guide (2013) – then improved IPC recognition of, and engagement with, the disability community is of paramount importance.

What impact has the Paralympics had on public attitudes towards athletes with a disability and the disabled community more generally? Research of this kind can only be pursued systematically with the benefit of pre- and post-event research. There has been plenty of anecdotal evidence that the Paralympics has gone some way to positively changing perceptions of disability in host nations, but a widespread body of research has yet to emerge. Longitudinal studies are imperative if we are to explore and understand the wider influence (or otherwise) of the Paralympics on host communities and indeed media audiences. It has recently been suggested that even the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic games has had little long-term impact on the attitudes of the general public towards people with disability (Darcy 2016).

An additional research area worth pursuing is the sport impact generated by the Paralympic Games. Over the past two decades a steady stream of research has been published exploring the sport participation impacts that may (or may not) result from hosting sport mega-events (Veal et al. 2012). While this research has mainly centred on events like the Olympics and the Rugby World Cup, very little analysis has been done on the Paralympics (Frawley and Cush 2010). Furthermore, participation impacts such as sport infrastructure development for both elite and community based sport consumer markets need to be considered from a Paralympic viewpoint.

The governance of international Para sport must also be considered in the context of the organisation of both the Olympic Games and the Paralympic Games. The strengths and weaknesses of sport integration, especially from a governance perspective (and the resulting value that could emerge for the Paralympic movement), need to be analysed and reviewed. For instance, some international sport federations have been

integrated for a long period of time, and have been very successful in managing both the Olympic and Paralympic sides of their sport (i.e. the International Tennis Federation). By contrast, other international sport federations have continued to exclude Para sport from their operations. Further work is therefore required to understand the various organisational models and governance structures in order to drive the Paralympic movement forward.

In conclusion, we hope that this first volume on *Managing the Paralympics* has provided some new perspectives in Paralympic scholarship, and acts as a foundation towards innovative managerial approaches. In doing so, we hope that this volume interests a new generation of researchers and managers to contribute to this developing area. As such, we encourage sport managers at the Summer and Winter Paralympics to become involved in contributing their knowledge to a more engaged operational understanding of Paralympic management.

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Index

A

- accessibility working group, 53, 54
- accessible destinations and experiences, 77
- accessible Path of travel, 61, 62, 72, 74, 76, 77
- accessible paths of travel, 62
- accessible tourism, 50, 77, 78, 108
- accessible websites, 69, 104
- accountability, 30, 105, 106
- activity limitation, 8, 10, 11, 114, 164
- agenda, 95–6, 100, 104, 106, 108–9, 164, 219, 221–3, 225, 289–93
- aisle chair, 75
- Alan Fonteles Oliveira, 226
- ambush marketing, 36, 271
- amenities, 55, 61, 64–7, 76
- Androgenic Anabolic Steroids, 146
- anti-doping, 13, 120, 133–47, 164, 167
- Anti-Doping Administration & Management System (ADAMS), 136
- anti-doping code, 120, 134, 167
- anti-doping policy, 134, 137
- APC. *See* Australian Paralympic Committee (APC)
- Arnhem, 8, 31
- assistive technology, 159
- Athens, 198, 227, 228, 245, 246, 250, 258
- Athlete Biological Passport (ABP), 137
- athlete quotas, 181

Note: Page number followed by 'n' denotes notes.

athletes

ability, 2, 13, 113–15, 120, 122,
124, 163, 189, 195, 268,
273

eligibility, 8, 167

impairment, 2, 7, 8, 10, 11, 29,
51, 79, 114, 115, 117–19,
147, 159, 195, 204, 219,
226, 229, 247, 259, 272,
275, 277, 280, 281

village, 6, 225

Atlanta, 5, 8, 223–5, 269

audio described spectators services,
65

augmenting, 65, 142–5, 227

Australian Paralympic Committee
(APC), 75, 161, 175, 176,
182–5, 267

B

Barcelona, 2, 5, 13, 28, 50, 52, 95,
121n5, 222, 263

Beijing, 2, 50, 52, 98, 101, 141,
143, 176, 183, 184, 221–8,
258, 264, 265, 270

bidding, 2, 4, 5, 12, 23, 26, 28, 35,
37, 42, 50, 52, 56, 82, 162,
171

boosting, 4, 140–2, 147, 163

British Paralympic Association, 27,
27n1, 144, 145, 158, 275,

broadcast rights, 224

C

Canadian Paralympic Committee
(CPC), 31, 40, 161, 274,
275, 279, 281

Candidature Acceptance Procedure,
52

capabilities of athletes with a
disability, 244

CAS. *See* Court of Arbitration for
Sport (CAS)

Cerebral Palsy International Sport
and Recreation Association
(CP-ISRA), 38, 115

changing attitudes towards disability,
103

cheating scandal, 28

Chef de Mission, 14, 34, 175–89

classification

Ataxia, 9

Athetosis, 9

classifiers, 118, 126, 128

code, 120, 164, 167

disability Specific, 119, 120

functional, 31, 119, 121, 121n5

Hypertonia, 9

Impaired muscle power, 9

Impaired passive range of
movement, 9

intellectual impairment, 9, 117,
118

Leg length difference, 9

limb deficiency, 9

Short stature, 9

by sport, 10, 31

System

technology, 118, 121

visual Impairment, 9, 117, 118

community engagement, 102

Convention on the rights of persons
with disabilities, 6, 49, 58,
195

corporate image, 271

corporate social responsibility (CSR),
272

Court of Arbitration for Sport
(CAS), 147, 164, 167

CRPWD. *See* Rights of Persons with
Disabilities (CRPWD)

D

Deaflympics, 27, 27n1

degree of functional capacity, 119

disability, 2, 49, 79–81, 97, 113,
138, 157, 195, 217, 251–9,
264, 290

disability awareness training, 67, 79,
208

disability community, 82, 219, 223,
225, 273, 281, 282, 291

Disability News Service, 229

disability sport, 2, 26, 28, 30, 31,
38, 40, 42, 52, 61, 81, 98,
106–8, 146, 217, 218, 220,
222, 223, 225, 228, 232,
234, 241, 242, 244–52,
256, 258, 259, 264, 265,
268, 272

disciplinary dispute, 168

doping, 13, 55, 120, 133–47,
163–5, 167, 168, 170, 291

Doping Control Agents (DCA), 138

drug testing, 13, 134–8, 144, 147,
196

E

endorsements, 4, 123

ethic excellence, 163

F

football world cup, 6, 7, 13, 267

G

governance, 24, 29–31, 98, 102,
105, 166, 180, 184, 292

H

handcycles, 159

hearing impaired, 65, 69, 72, 74, 76,
79

Heidelberg, 8

hockey sleds, 159

host cities, 2, 4, 6, 12, 13, 50, 52–4,
56, 57, 59, 61, 70, 72, 78,
81–3, 94, 95, 97–9, 101–4,
106–9, 157, 166, 167, 171,
197, 268, 270, 291

host city, 2, 6, 12, 13, 32, 33, 35, 50,
52, 53, 56, 57, 59, 61, 70,
81, 83, 94, 99, 101, 102,
105–7, 157, 166, 167, 171,
251, 270

hosting, 5, 6, 23, 33, 35, 36, 42, 43,
52, 93–5, 98, 101, 103–5,
107–9, 166, 171, 185, 194,
292

human rights, 58, 83, 98, 101, 106,
108, 109, 157, 163, 165,
224, 233, 259

I

inclusion, 5, 30, 41, 43, 50, 51,
53–5, 58, 59, 69, 74, 78,
79, 82, 99, 101–3, 105,

- 108, 109, 157, 158, 165,
166, 195, 205, 208, 264,
273, 280
 - infrastructure
 - accessible, 97, 204
 - investment, 6
 - Inspiration Porn, 248–9
 - International Blind Sport Association (IBSA), 38, 115
 - International Day of Sport For Development and Peace, 165
 - International Federations, 3, 22, 36–8, 180, 229
 - internationally accepted standards for accessibility, 53
 - International Olympic Committee (IOC), 4, 21, 26, 30–3, 35, 36, 42, 52, 58, 94, 95, 97, 106, 116, 162, 164, 167, 171, 180, 194, 268–71
 - International Organizations of Sport for the Disabled (IOSD), 29, 30, 38, 39, 42, 115, 117, 119–21, 125
 - International Paralympic Committee's (IPC), 1–4, 6–9, 11, 13, 22, 29–30, 33, 36–8, 51–4, 56, 58–61, 75, 78, 94, 113, 122, 134, 156, 157, 160, 161, 163, 164, 166–9, 180, 181, 193, 194, 219, 242, 248, 252, 264, 270
 - International Sports Federation for Persons with Intellectual Disability (INAS-FID), 115
 - International symbols of accessibility for mobility, hearing and vision, 70
 - International Wheelchair and Amputee Sport Association (IWAS), 38, 115, 117
 - IOC. *See* International Olympic Committee (IOC)
 - IOSD. *See* International Organizations of Sport for the Disabled (IOSD)
 - IPC. *See* International Paralympic Committee's (IPC)
 - IPC Media Awards, 255
 - IPC press releases, 163, 254–5
 - IWAS. *See* International Wheelchair and Amputee Sport Association (IWAS)
- L**
- The Last Leg, 228, 257
 - leadership
 - authentic, 178
 - charismatic, 179
 - ethical, 178
 - situational, 178, 188
 - theories, 177, 178
 - transactional and transformational, 179
 - legacy
 - cultural, 14, 43, 49, 54, 81, 95, 96, 98, 101, 103, 106, 108, 157, 194
 - economic, 14, 49, 50, 57, 94, 95, 102
 - educational, 103

infrastructure, 6, 43, 50, 53, 57,
81, 95–7, 101, 102, 105,
107, 109, 204, 205
Legacy Cube, 96
organisational, 102
 planning, 6, 102
social, 53, 101, 104, 196, 210
sport, 3, 13, 50, 53, 54, 93–109
strategic and operational, 99–101
technical, 99, 101
Legal and Ethics Committee, 166
les autres, 7, 117
Lexi, 227, 252, 257
local building codes, 53
London, 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 12, 15, 21–3,
28, 41, 53, 81–3, 102, 103,
105, 141, 168, 170, 181,
183, 194, 197, 199, 200,
208, 227–34, 244, 246,
251, 256–9
London 2012 Games Organising
 Committee, 168
Los Angeles, 5

M

marketing, 15, 35, 36, 50, 107, 116,
162, 166, 183, 185, 206,
225, 227, 252, 254, 257,
263–82
marketing rights, 270
mascots, 108, 209, 269
master plan, 6
Measuring Up, 103, 104
media, 6, 14, 115, 116, 158, 217,
221, 223, 225, 227–33,
241–59, 264, 265, 277–8,
280, 292
media coverage, 6, 14, 22, 115, 116,
158, 217, 221, 223, 225,
227, 228, 233, 241, 244,
246, 248–50, 252–3, 256,
259, 264, 265, 278
media management, 14, 219, 220,
222, 224, 227–34
media value, 57, 94, 100, 116, 179,
197, 225, 226, 241, 250,
268, 272, 292
medical permission, 136
medication, 136
micro-dosing, 137
micro-targeted sponsorship, 268
minimum disability criteria, 10, 114,
118
minimum standards, 53, 54

N

National Olympic Committees
 (NOC), 180
National Paralympic Committees,
1–4, 6–9, 11, 13, 22,
29–30, 33–8, 51–4,
56–61, 75, 78, 94, 97,
113, 134, 156, 157, 160,
161, 163, 164, 166–9,
175, 180, 181, 193, 194,
230, 242, 248, 252, 264,
267, 270
national pride, 32, 176, 200, 221
National Union of Journalists (NUJ),
258
Neoclassical economist definitions,
23
New York, 5, 8, 218

O

OCOGs. *See* Organizing Committees for the Olympic Games (OCOGs)

Olympic Charter, 94, 171, 180

Olympic Games, 1, 4–7, 11, 13, 14, 22, 23, 26, 32, 33, 35–6, 74, 93–5, 97, 98, 106, 116, 134, 147, 158, 162, 163, 165, 166, 169–71, 176, 187, 193, 198, 218, 225, 234, 246, 250, 263, 267–71, 278, 281, 292

online traffic, 263

organisational accessibility, 103

organising Committees, 106, 170

Organizing Committees for the Olympic Games (OCOGs), 26, 35, 36, 82, 98, 99, 196, 205

Oscar Pistorius, 226

P

Paralympic Games, 1–15, 21–43, 49, 50, 52, 54, 55, 58, 67, 69–73, 78, 81, 82, 93–109, 115–17, 119, 121, 123, 125, 128, 134, 135, 138, 139, 155–9, 161–71, 175–91, 193–213, 217, 218, 225, 229, 231, 234, 241, 242, 244–97, 263–82, 291, 292

Paralympic Movement, 3, 6, 8, 13, 15, 21–3, 28, 29, 32, 34, 39, 41, 94, 97, 100, 106, 109, 114, 117, 119, 128, 138, 146, 155, 157–62,

165, 169, 170, 194, 195, 199–201, 204, 207, 210, 213, 224, 234, 242, 252, 255, 264, 267, 268, 273, 274, 278, 281, 282, 292, 293

Paralympic paradox, 219, 223, 232, 272–4

ParalympicSport.tv, 169, 253–4

practice community, 114, 119–28

prosthetic limbs, 144, 159, 290

Prosthetics technology, 156, 290

psychic benefits, 61

purchase intentions, 271

Q

Qantas, 75

R

racing wheelchairs, 159, 280

rehabilitation, 22, 33, 143

revulsion, 245

Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPWD), 49, 51, 58, 83

Rio, 1, 14, 52, 57, 74, 75, 78, 83, 93, 115, 135, 157, 161, 162, 166, 194, 220, 234, 257–9, 264, 267, 275

role model, 78, 226, 244–6, 251, 264, 273

Rome, 1, 4, 22, 218, 221–7, 232

S

Salt Lake City, 94, 116, 226, 265, 271

Seoul, 5, 8, 31, 116, 218, 224

sign language interpretation, 65, 69
 Sir Philip Craven, 32, 156, 234, 264, 273, 276
 sit-skis, 159
 SLEEPE principle, 155
 Sochi, 30, 52, 57, 162, 170, 194, 197, 199–201, 208, 228, 233–5, 251, 256–9, 276
 social innovation model, 103
 social media, 2, 169, 228, 230–2, 254, 263, 277–8
 social networking profiles, 231
 Special Olympics, 28, 266
 sponsors, 12, 22, 27, 35, 36, 123, 145, 155, 160, 161, 170, 175, 184, 222, 223, 267, 270–5, 277, 278
 sponsorship, 35, 36, 115, 123, 125, 160, 161, 166, 176, 196, 257, 263–82
 sport sociology, 14
 stakeholders
 attributes, 25, 272
 definition, 22–4, 56
 theory, 21, 23, 24, 26, 42, 168
 typology, 25, 26
 STEEPLE framework, 14, 155–72
 Stoke Mandeville, 4, 5, 7, 8, 12, 38, 75, 108, 218
 strategic plan, 22, 161, 162, 252, 253
 supercrip, 158, 265, 278, 282
 superhumans, 257, 273
 Sydney, 6, 8, 13, 15, 28, 41, 52, 58, 64–7, 69, 74, 78, 82, 100, 146, 176, 198, 225–7, 246, 249–51, 271
 Sydney 2000, 15, 78, 82, 100, 198

T

tactile ground surface indicators, 65, 66, 74
 technodoping, 144, 145
 technological advancements, 156
 Therapeutic Use Exemption, 136, 291
 ticket sales, 1, 15, 76, 170, 196, 226
 Tokyo, 4, 75, 116, 218, 221, 224
 Torino, 184, 197, 228
 Toronto, 38, 41, 281
 transportation
 accessibility, 53, 61, 70, 72, 76
 integrated, 70

U

UNESCO, 165
 unfair performance advantage, 134
 United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, 6
 United States Olympic Committee (USOC), 278
 universal design criteria, 51
 Universal Design principles, 101, 157

V

Vancouver, 32, 105
 Vancouver 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games Organizing Committee (VANOC), 100, 104, 194, 196, 205, 208, 209, 269, 270

Venue

accessibility, 55, 61

construction, 55

vision impaired, 7, 63, 65, 69, 74,
76, 78

visual representations, 100, 245–6

wheelchair turning circles, 62

Winter Olympic Games, 116, 276

Winter Paralympic Games, 2, 3, 32,
251, 253, 257, 277

World Anti-Doping Agency, 13,
134–5, 164

W

WADA's Prohibited List, 135–7, 142

wayfinding, 51, 56, 65–7, 70

Y

year of disability, 257