

A Sociological Critique of the Legacy of the London 2012 Paralympic Games

by

Shane Kerr

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## **Abstract**

This thesis presents a sociological critique of the concept of legacy as it surrounded the London 2012 Paralympic Games. A sociological approach was adopted to challenge much of the 'spontaneous sociology' that surrounds the ascendancy of 'legacy' within the Olympic and Paralympic space. Legacy, disability and the Paralympic Games are the predominant structures of the research problem. The literature review attempts to present a sociology of the sociological approaches in these fields. Underpinning the research design is Bourdieu et al.'s (1991) epistemological hierarchy which consists of and proceeds from 'the break', the construction of a conceptual framework to the empirical design. This hierarchy contributed to the repositioning of legacy from the pursuit of cause and effect, or rather away from the pursuit of legitimacy and illegitimacy, of London 2012 to a study of the proposed and imposed causes and effects, legitimations and illegitimations of it. Aligned to this repositioning is the primary collection of data through interviews with five different institutional fields: government, media, corporate sponsors, disability sport and disability institutions. The research findings present a positional analysis of the inter- and intra-relations of these respective fields. In the discussion key symbolic struggles and issues are presented for each field with particular attention given to the development of the positive leaning and legitimising best ever 'Paralympic narrative' and to the commercial and political legitimacy of the London 2012 Paralympic Games. It is concluded that legacy is ultimately a symbolic struggle of different visions of respective agents and institutions that are unable to achieve these absolute visions or ends.

## **Keywords:**

London 2012; Paralympic Games; Paralympics; Olympic Games; Legacy; sport; International Olympic Committee; International Paralympic Committee; Bourdieu; sociology of sport.

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## Abbreviations

BOA	British Olympic Association
BPA	British Paralympic Association
BSAD	British Sports Association for the Disabled
BT	British Telecom
CP Sport	Cerebral Palsy Sport
DCAL	Department for Culture, Arts and Leisure
DDA	Disability Discrimination Act
DSNI	Disability Sport Northern Ireland
DSW	Disability Sport Wales
DWP	Department of Work and Pensions
EFDS	English Federation of Disability Sport
FMCG	Fast moving consumer goods
INAS	International Sports Federation for Persons with Intellectual Disability
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IPC	International Paralympic Committee
ISMWSF	International Stoke Mandeville Wheelchair Sports Federation
ISOD	International Sports Organization for the Disabled
LOCOG	London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games
NDSO	National Disability Sport Organisation
NGB	National Governing Body
NPC	National Paralympic Committee
ODI	Office for Disability Issues
P&G	Proctor and Gamble
SDS	Scottish Disability Sport
Sport NI	Sport Northern Ireland
UPIAS	Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation
UKDPC	UK Disabled People's Council
UKSA	United Kingdom Sports Association for People with Learning Disability
WCA	Work Capability Assessment

## Contents Page

<b>Chapter 1: Research Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter 2: Literature Review .....</b>	<b>10</b>
Legacy .....	12
'Disability' .....	18
The Sport <i>and</i> Disability Sport Fields.....	27
The Paralympic Field .....	32
Corporate, Media and Government Fields.....	39
<b>Chapter 3: Methodology and Methods .....</b>	<b>43</b>
Philosophy of Science.....	45
A Sociological Methodology.....	46
Sociological Craft.....	49
<b>Chapter 4: Research Findings – Document Analysis .....</b>	<b>66</b>
Bid Document Objectification.....	66
UK Government Disability Legacy Document Objectification.....	71
<b>Chapter 5: Research Findings – Field Interviews .....</b>	<b>76</b>
The Corporate Field.....	77
Channel 4 and the Media Field.....	98
Government Field .....	117
Disability Field.....	129
Disability Sport Field.....	139
<b>Chapter 6: Discussion.....</b>	<b>159</b>
Fields of London 2012 .....	159
Symbolic Struggles .....	172
Legacy .....	181
<b>Chapter 7: Conclusion .....</b>	<b>186</b>
<b>Reference List .....</b>	<b>193</b>
<b>Appendices .....</b>	<b>206</b>

## Chapter 1: Research Introduction

A thesis traditionally begins with assertions of its particular focus, disciplinary approach, methods employed, empirical evidence collected, major points of analysis and perhaps a statement of its unique contribution to knowledge. This introduction meets all of these conditions but an important preliminary point needs to be made in relation to the delicacy of the foremost requirement, the statement of the research's focus. The reason for this delicacy stems from the recognition that the very focus of this research is at contest in the social world. Therefore to simply state the focus of this research without acknowledging this would be to unknowingly base it on the pre-constructions, presuppositions and vast struggles of the social world. There are the more practical assertions of this point. Mills (1959) stated: "Do not allow public issues as they are officially formulated...to determine the problems that you take up for study" (p. 248). While Bourdieu et al. (1991) proclaimed "the social fact is won against the illusion of immediate knowledge" (p. 13). With these clarifications it can now be stated that this thesis is a sociological study of the 'Paralympic-disability' legacy politics of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. The remainder of this introductory chapter will clarify and elaborate the constitutive elements of the thesis' statement of focus, provide an overview of the research's methodological design and round off with an outline of the thesis' structure.

### A sociological thesis

Declaring that this is a *sociological* thesis is not made wilfully but rather is stated with real intent, requiring the elaboration of a number of points. The first is that to declare the thesis to be sociological has the effect of declaring what it is not. To better explain, sociology as a field within the fields of 'science' must be positioned against its necessary opposing accomplice that is natural science, and against other social sciences. On a broad level Kuhn (1970) argued that scientific 'paradigms' that had achieved the capacity, at least implicitly, to determine the problems and methods of a field must be 'sufficiently unprecedented' and 'sufficiently open-ended'. In this sense sociology stands in contrast to the 'natural' or 'hard' sciences and to social sciences, such as economics, which are positioned as *the* most objective and therefore *the* most legitimate. However, Kuhn's (1970) question, "what parts of social science have yet acquired such paradigms at all?" (p. 15), reveals the challenge of legitimacy all social sciences, whether that is sociology or economics, face. This positioning is not intended to denigrate social science but rather simply aims to bring recognition to the contest of scientificity that sociology is engaged in with natural and other social sciences. A second point is recognition of the translation of this tension between the 'hard and soft' sciences into a struggle within the social sciences, requiring the selection of sociology to be justified against other social sciences and the

selection of Bourdieu against other sociological approaches. Theoretical and methodological dissensus in the social sciences magnifies the difficulty of this task. As such principal justification<sup>1</sup> for these selections comes from the twofold epistemological and methodological efficacy (and ‘capital<sup>2</sup>’) of sociology, and specifically of Bourdieu’s sociology, for the research problem at hand. Another justification is that Bourdieu’s expansive theoretical (Bourdieu, 1977; 1984; 1986; 1989; 1991) and methodological (Bourdieu et al., 1991; Bourdieu, 1975; 1990; Wacquant, 2008) work offers a consistent and coherent sociological framework that is demanded by and of scientific research. This researcher is not naive enough to position Bourdieu as offering a definitive social theory and method but rather views Bourdieu’s sociology to be at the crest of the hierarchy of social theory. This point is especially important in relation to the denial of definitive forms of social knowledge by the social sciences.<sup>3</sup> However, the main point is that the consistent and coherent qualities of Bourdieu’s work stands in contrast and goes some way to ameliorating Kuhn’s (1970) aforementioned point about the paradigmatic dissensus within social science.

In order to transfer these qualities to this thesis Bourdieu’s work was integrated throughout rather than being simply applied to the analysis. A few specificities will aid comprehension of this and offer some preliminary legitimacy. Firstly, Bourdieu et al.’s (1991) *The Craft of Sociology* offered some important initial sociological guidance. Particularly important was the positioning of ‘legacy’ as an unreflexive preconstruction of the social world. Secondly, Wacquant (2005a) outlines how Bourdieu argued that sociological research must radically historicize not only the problem at hand but also the very discipline that studies it. In this way sociology is turned upon the academic literature of relevant subject areas, applying the same level of epistemological attention that is normally reserved to empirical analysis. As such, the literature review, rather than presenting a sociology of legacy, disability, the Paralympics and other structures, attempts to present a sociology of the sociology of these same structures. Thirdly, the methodological implications of Bourdieu’s monist philosophy (Wacquant, 2008) and the imperative assigned to reflexivity (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) means that the practice of collecting data cannot be separated from theory. As an example, Bourdieu (1996) argued, “If the research interview relationship is different from most of the exchanges of ordinary existence due to its objective of pure knowledge, it is, in all cases, a *social relation*” (p. 18; italics in original). Other related directives on the interview are equally applicable, such as it being strategic interaction (Goffman, 1970) between habitus’ of objective positions and

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Justification’ is positioned as a process of legitimation, as in to offer any justification of sociology and Bourdieu is in fact an attempt to construct legitimacy.

<sup>2</sup> Epistemological capital is better positioned as the ‘symbolic capital’ of sociology.

<sup>3</sup> The monopolising strategies of any field (Wacquant, 2008) apply equally to Bourdieu in relation to his attempts to dominate the space of sociology.

subjective dispositions (Bourdieu, 1984). Fourthly, Bourdieu's (1984) relational theory of social practice along with the inseparable concepts of habitus, field and capital offered a robust and flexible analytic framework for the research problem<sup>4</sup>. This short introduction offers a glimpse of the convergence of Bourdieu's 'methodological polytheism' (Wacquant, 2008) and sociological synthesism (Shusterman, 1999b). The implementation of this framework is outlined in much more detail in the subsequent chapters. Having laboured the point that this is a sociological thesis *in toto* (and not simply a thesis with a dash of sociological analysis), the introduction now turns to elaborating the rest of the research's statement of focus.

### **London 2012, Disability and Legacy**

London 2012 as the specific focus of the thesis is significant on two fronts. A simple but imperative argument is that contemporary studies put things into context (Essex & Chalkley, 1998). Similarly, Arendt (1994) argued that an event brings its own history to life. A second significance of London 2012 was its unprecedented emphasis and elaboration of legacy. Chappelet (2012) declared London 2012 to be "...the mega sporting event whose promoters have probably most used the 'L word' at both bidding and organising phases" (p. 77). This capacity to use and refer to legacy across the organisation of the Olympic and Paralympic Games is central to its semantic efficacy. It is also central to the problem of legacy's semantic opaqueness, which is exemplified by the question: 'what is the meaning of legacy?'. Such a question is reflective of the ambiguity of language more generally exemplified by Wittgenstein's (1969) question, "What is the meaning of a word?" (p. 1). Legacy's semantic opaqueness has been a persistent preoccupation of the sports field of late. A preoccupation magnified by its insertion into the Olympic Charter in 2003. Since this act of consecration a diverse range of definitions and approaches to legacy have been produced<sup>5</sup>. For this introduction however, as argued for by Mills (1959), the better sociological question to ask is 'why', that is, why is the meaning of legacy being pursued? Only then can one ask more normative questions of legacy, such as the 'what', 'how' and 'who' (Silk, 2012). In prioritising this more challenging 'why' question, this thesis is in part a study of legacy in itself. Wolf (1999) provides justification for such prioritisation:

A use of terms without attention to the theoretical assumptions and historical contexts that underlie them can lead us to adopt unanalyzed concepts and drag along their mystifying connotations into further work. Tracing out a history of our concepts can also

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<sup>4</sup> Bourdieu's social theory of practice has already been used to study the Paralympic Games (see Purdue and Howe, 2012; Purdue and Howe, 2013; Purdue, 2013) with Kitchin and Howe (2013) emphasising the 'relational' principle.

<sup>5</sup> These are examined in the literature review.

make us aware of the extent to which they incorporate intellectual and political efforts that still reverberate in the present (p. 21-22).

An additional argument, especially important given the government's involvement with the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, is that the political field is most adept at profiting from the polysemy of a word (Bourdieu, 1991). This heightens the need to challenge current conceptualisations, understandings and uses of legacy.

Beyond the pursuit of legacy's meaning, and the sociological questioning of this pursuit, there are a number of more academically legitimised reasons for its study. Firstly, Essex and Chalkley (1998) make the broad claim that historical studies of the impact of the Games offer potential comparative and evolutionary insights. In simpler terms Bloyce and Lovett (2012) argue that "it is important that analysis of proposed 'legacy' strategies is conducted, as well as post-event legacy analysis" (p. 363). If legacy is configured as the social utility of mega-events then Chalip's (2009) argument that there is no theoretical framework to study this utility has relevance. Others have argued that "...there has been a dearth of information on the actual processes involved in envisioning, framing and implementing Olympic legacies" (Girginov and Hills, 2008: 2092). Rounding off, support for the study of legacy is provided by Leopkey and Parent (2012) who noted the value of legacy case studies for Olympic governance and the importance of researching the interrelationships between different legacies. This last point on 'different legacies' brings the introduction to the legacy 'structure' of specific focus to this thesis that is the interrelation between the Paralympic Games and disability.

The London 2012 Games presented a complex conflation of disability and sport most explicitly observed but not limited to the Paralympic Games. This conflation produced a convoluted and contested array of relationships. For example, the difficulty of stating either disability legacy or Paralympic legacy should already be apparent. By approaching the study of legacy and London 2012 with a wide lens, 'disability legacy' is more often used, while legacies deemed specific to the Paralympics are signified as 'Paralympic legacy'. When demarcation is not so clear 'Paralympic-disability legacy' is specified. The reason for these intricate distinctions comes from the recognition that to state Paralympic legacy, as an example, is to subtly assign cause and effect, when in fact it is the imposed and proposed causes and effects that are the exact things under study in this thesis. It is also the reason why 'London 2012 Olympic *and* Paralympic Games' is specified in the research's statement of focus and not solely the Paralympic Games. As such, the research is also an examination of the interrelationship of two prominent structured and structuring structures, sport and disability.

Empirical studies or analyses of Paralympic-disability legacy are limited. Recently Misener et al. (2013) reviewed and consolidated the extant literature on legacy. They found that

research focused on infrastructure, sport, information education and awareness, human capital, and managerial changes. Others, such as Legg and Gilbert (2011), have offered more narrative and opinion based pieces which have been described by Weed and Dowse (2009) as an all too common feature of sport management Paralympic research. There is of course the broader Paralympic literature to consider. If legacy is positioned as history then there is much relevant Paralympic literature that is without the appendage of legacy<sup>6</sup>.

Underpinning the earlier point about the thesis' 'wide-lens' is recognition of the historical and contemporary significance of disability in the UK. Most notable is the UK's disability movement that began in the 1970s and from which espoused the autonomous academic field of disability studies (Oliver & Barnes, 2010). Disability and legacy share the traits of being socially and academically contested phenomenon and pose similar problems in the attempts to define, theorise and research them. For consistency it is important to ask 'why disability is being defined?' and 'why it was defined as a theme of London 2012's legacy?' before once again asking the more normative questions.

The final political element of the thesis comes from the recognition that each structural element it is analysing, and of society more broadly, is constituted by "a field of struggles and a field of forces" (Bourdieu, 1991: 171). For example, there are cross-disciplinary assertions of legacy's (Girginov and Hills, 2009), disability's (Oliver, 1990), Olympic (Hill, 1996) and Paralympic sport's (Howe, 2008a) inherent political struggles. Identification of questions like 'what is legacy?', 'what is disability?' and 'what is the Paralympic-disability legacy of London 2012?' as politically ambiguous, contested and contestable further exemplifies this position. The agonistic basis of these fields and the agonistic quality of these questions legitimises the inclusion of politics in the research's statement of focus. Politics, for now simply translated as struggles of and for power, is central to Bourdieu's (1986) social theory and is specifically inculcated in his conceptual theorisation of 'capital'. With Bourdieu's conceptual framework being fully outlined in the methodology chapter and having outlined each element of the research's statement of focus the introduction will now turn to describing the research's methodological design.

### **Research Methodological Design**

There are a number of important methodological intricacies of this research. The first step of the research was to conduct a historical contextualisation of the key structures, such as legacy, disability and the Paralympic Games. Historicisation of these structures and fields considered not only the historical academic literature but also major theoretical positions<sup>7</sup>. The inclusion of this as a methodological consideration comes from Wacquant's (2005a) outlining of the

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<sup>6</sup> See Scruton (1998); Howe (2008a); Legg and Steadward (2011); Purdue (2013).

<sup>7</sup> As per Bourdieu's methodological imperative (Wacquant, 2005a).

sociological position that is as epistemically reflexive of the academic literature as it is of the object under study. Strategies for this epistemic reflexivity include the logical, lexicological and genealogical analysis of concepts, problems and positions (Wacquant, 2005a; Bourdieu et al., 1991).

Another important methodological intricacy, proposed by Bourdieu et al. (1991), was the inversion of the study of legacy from the event to the institutions. The principal effect of this intricacy is the inversion of sociological research from the study of causes and effects to the study of the practices of institutions. It is in this way that Bourdieu's (1977) social theory of practice comes to prominence. Methodologically, it is the principles, as outlined by Wacquant (2008), underpinning Bourdieu's theory that are significant. These underpinning principles of Bourdieu's theory position social practice as agonistic, strategic and relational; all of which are underpinned by struggles of legitimacy (Wacquant, 2005). It is these principles that underpin the more widely recognised concepts of habitus, capital and the field. These methodological considerations and principles are integral to the research's methodological position on the truth of the social world; that is, "the truth of the social world is at stake in the struggles" (Bourdieu et al., 1991: 1975).

### **Research Design**

The research design may be described as being synthetic across two modes. The first mode is temporal in that it attempts to examine the development of disability as an element of London 2012's conceptualisation of legacy from the bid and planning phases through to the post-spectacle phase. Its second synthetic mode is across social space in examining institutions from the corporate, state and civil sectors of society<sup>8</sup>. This dual synthetic design, summarised below, is an attempt to follow Bourdieu's (1988) general principle of method which stipulates that "One thus must try...to construct a summary description of the totality of the space under consideration" (p. 156).

1. Temporal: Bid -> Planning -> Spectacle -> Post-Spectacle
2. Social space: State, corporate and civil sectors

As an initial empirical probe the research analysed 'Paralympic-disability' legacy in the Olympic bid documents from the last 10 years. The possibility of this initial empirical probe came only as an outcome of the increasing integration of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (Mason, 2002) resulting in the Paralympics being incorporated into the bid documents. A key feature of the bid documents is the prospective and therefore speculative basis of their production. As such the analysis positions the bid documents as reflecting the dialectic and

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<sup>8</sup> Gramsci (1971) legitimises these broad divisions of society.

strategic interaction between bid cities and the International Olympic Committee (IOC). The imperative of this initial analysis was to offer a provisional objectification of the space of possibilities of what may be considered to be Paralympic-disability legacy.

Directed interviews constituted the second but principal method of the research. The identification and recruitment of relevant institutions to interview was a perpetual feature of the research, initiated in the review of the literature and continually refined throughout the collection of data. Institutions were classified according to their position in society, that is as being within the corporate, state and civil fields of society. The corporate field was divided between corporate sponsors and media, with the selection of institutions being predetermined by their engagement with the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. For the state field, central government's involvement in the planning and part financing of the Games lead to a focus on central government departments and the Cabinet Office. As with the corporate field, the civil field was split but between disability and disability sport specific institutions. This overview is purposely vague and abstract. The adopted sociological framework will, in due course, illuminate the importance of this division of society. For now the conceptualisation of a field as a space of struggles and forces, and thus this research being the study of a multitude of these spaces, will suffice.

Specifically inculcating the second synthetic mode of the research design, in the directed interviews respondents were asked questions relating to their institution's position and relation with the London 2012 Games, "its legacy", institutions in its own field and institutions in other fields. The interviews also inculcated the first temporal synthetic mode by asking the subjects how their institution's position, relations and strategy had changed before and after the Games. Underpinning the research's analysis were the aforementioned principles: relationalism, agonism, strategy and legitimacy. As such the practices and calculations of the fields and subjects were positioned as relations, struggles, strategies and issues of legitimacy. Here the concept of capital (Bourdieu, 1986) came to the fore in understanding the strategic practices of each field as attempting to convert, conserve and accumulate capital. A specific form of capital, symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986), is central to understanding the *symbolic* relations within and between the different fields being analysed in the research and also in objectifying the different sources and methods of legitimacy and challenges of legitimacy to the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games.

## **Aims**

A primary aim of the research is to offer a sociologically and methodologically consistent and coherent analysis of the 'Paralympic-disability' legacy politics of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. It is through the aforementioned methodological and sociological directives

of Bourdieu that this aim is pursued. Specifically corresponding to the use of Bourdieu's sociology is the aim to make a sociological theoretical contribution to the study of legacy. More specifically, the research aims to make empirical contributions to the study of Paralympic-disability legacy. In the analysis of the bid and government documents the aim is to offer a preliminary objectification of the space of possibilities of what may be considered to be 'Paralympic legacy'. Being fully aware of the epistemological and political caveats of such an analysis this is the single and simple aim of the bid and government document analysis. The utility of this exercise being the empirical consolidation of the visions and divisions of Paralympic legacy.

The second and more substantive empirical offering comes from the interviews with institutions from the corporate, media, disability, disability sport and government fields. An examination of the institutions was pursued in opposition to being politically led into a study of the legacy aims of the spectacle. This inversion had deep repercussions for the aims of the research in presenting an account and analysis of the contemporary relations, struggles, and strategies of the different fields as London 2012's disability legacy. Taken together the goals of the research are to offer a theoretically and empirically grounded study of 'Paralympic-disability legacy'.

### **Outline of Structure**

Having introduced the research's statement of focus and its contingent elements, the rest of the thesis will proceed in the following order. Chapter 2 presents a sociology of the literature pertaining to the key structures of the research: legacy, disability, disability sport and the Paralympic field. Following this, chapter 3 presents the research's underpinning philosophy and its sociological methodology. In chapter 3 the theoretical and conceptual framework, as constructed from Bourdieu's sociology, is also presented. From here the thesis continues by outlining the findings of the research. Chapter 4 presents a short analysis objectifying Paralympic-disability legacy in the Olympic bid and UK government disability legacy policy documents. It is chapter 5, however, which presents the more substantive data source of the research, the field interviews. The presentation of the interviews corresponds to the five different fields around which the research was structured: the corporate, media, government, disability and disability sport fields. Each is presented in turn. Chapter 6 presents an analysis and discussion of three discrete elements. First is an assessment of each of the five fields and their interrelations. This is followed by an examination of the most symbolic struggles of London 2012. These include the Paralympic narrative, the commercial legitimacy of the Paralympic Games and the politics of disability and Atos. The third, and closing, element of chapter 6 is a broad analysis of legacy. It is perhaps appropriate to finish with this subject given

that legacy was the original trigger of the research. Chapter 7 presents a summary and the concluding arguments of the thesis.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

Whenever an event occurs that is great enough to illuminate its own past, history comes into being. Only then does the chaotic maze of past happenings emerge as a story which can be told, because it has a beginning and an end (Arendt, 1994: 319).

Structures are nothing other than the objectified product of historical struggles  
(Bourdieu, 1988: 157).

### Introduction

If Bourdieu (1988) was right in his argument that “sociologists of sport are in a way doubly dominated, both in the world of sociologists and in the world of sport” (p. 153) then it can be proposed that disability sport, as a dominated subject within the sociology of sport, is in a way triply dominated. This is epitomised by assertions of the lack of quality and quantity of Paralympic related research (Weed and Dowse, 2009) and by assertions of its marginalised heritage (Brittain et al., 2012). The point then is that this sociological thesis on the Paralympic-disability legacy politics of London 2012 is using a historically dominated epistemology to examine a historically dominated subject. From this position the intention is to contextualise legacy, disability, disability sport and the Paralympic Games on the premise that “All sociology worthy of the name is ‘historical sociology’” (Mills, 1959: 162-3). Supporting this position Maguire et al. (2008) have argued:

In adopting a form of historical sociology or sociological history, it is possible to probe both how the meaning, structure, organization, production and consumption of the Beijing Olympic Games have emerged out of the heritage of the past and what legacy trends are evident for the future (p. 2055).

Whilst referring to the Beijing 2008 Games Maguire et al.’s (2008) statement applies equally to the London 2012 Games with the underlining thread being that history puts the different elements of ‘legacy’ under investigation into perspective. A historical grounding also raises doubts over the novelty of contemporary legacy rhetoric<sup>9</sup>. Complicating the complexities of studying Olympic history Booth (2004) notes the problems of divergent approaches, interpretations and sources, even pointing to the lack of reflexivity in the capitalisation of the word ‘Olympic’. A particularly problematic approach is the historical explanatory paradigm (Booth, 2004) chiefly because of the disparity between the cause(s) and effect(s) of historical events (Arendt, 1994).

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<sup>9</sup> For example, Dawson (2011) stated that “The similarities between the anticipated legacies of the 1954 Games in Vancouver and those of other Commonwealth Games held in these settler societies between 1950 and 1990 are striking” (p. 788).

While noting these caveats this historical contextualisation and literature review is underpinned by Bourdieu's (Wacquant, 2005a) methodological imperative that positions the disciplines that claim to study a subject as fruitful sources of sociology in and of themselves<sup>10</sup>. This position, essentially of the sociology of knowledge, requires sociology to scrutinise itself as it does with society. From this chapter 2 attempts to present a genealogy of relevant fields and concepts. These include legacy, disability, disability sport, and the Paralympic Games. Aligned to this is an attempt to objectify some of the major theoretical positions of each field, particularly of disability in which three canonical texts will be examined. Supporting the cross-disciplinary review of literature is Bourdieu's synthetic approach to sociology (Wacquant, 2013). To aid the structure and analysis of the literature review Bourdieu's (1984) notion of the 'field' is drawn upon and its central conceptualisation that any field is the product of intertwined internal and external struggles (Wacquant, 2008). This conceptualisation will be used to identify and relate the internal and external struggles of each academic field as objectified in the extant literature.

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<sup>10</sup> This methodological point is elaborated by Wacquant (2005a) but in relation to democracy and the academic discipline political science.

## Legacy

Contemporary notions of legacy are recognised as originating from the 1980s (Leopkey and Parent, 2012) and the 1990s (Chappelet, 2012; Andranovich & Burbank, 2011)<sup>11</sup>, yet it was not until 2002 when the IOC started to formally conceptualise legacy (Girginov and Hills, 2008). Legacy was subsequently inserted into the Olympic Charter in 2003. For reference Rule 2.14 of the Olympic Charter stipulates: “The IOC’s role is...to promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games to the host cities and host countries” (IOC, 2011). The insertion of legacy into the Olympic Charter is arguably a momentous event because any alteration to the Olympic Charter should be viewed as the IOC reconfiguring its very constitution. Its significance is also anecdotally observed in the growth of legacy related research and legacy ‘expert’ consultants (MacAloon, 2008).

An important prelude to legacy’s insertion into the Olympic Charter was the International Olympic Symposium held in Lausanne in 2002, entitled ‘The Legacy of the Olympic Games 1984-2000’. The Symposium convened the actors of the Olympic field specifically around the topic of legacy. Legacy’s symbolic efficacy was evident from the sheer number and variety of academic papers presented. A summary of the conclusions of the Symposium are included below, and they structure the rest of this section which aims to contextualise legacy:

- Difficulties of defining legacy
- Relevance of legacy at all stages of Olympic Games
- Tangible and Intangible legacies
  - Economic impact
  - Cultural considerations
  - Social debate – interculturality
  - Sporting legacy
  - Political legacy
- Evaluation of legacy dimensions of bids (IOC, 2002).

### Defining legacy

Legacy is difficult to define, complex, ambiguous, multi-faceted, and contentious (MacRury, 2008; Agha et al., 2012; Chappelet, 2012; Malfas et al., 2004; Bell and Bradley, 2012). The predicament of legacy’s semantic opaqueness is most evident in attempts to answer the question, what does legacy mean? Despite much research academic definitions and evaluations of legacy continue to be contested (Leopkey and Parent, 2012). To exemplify the contemporary

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<sup>11</sup> Debate over the periodization of legacy has been further complicated by academics. See Essex and Chalkley (2007), Gold and Gold (2007a) and Dawson (2011).

persistence of legacy's semantic difficulty, Lord Harris of Haringey, the Chairman of the House of Lords Olympic and Paralympic Legacy Select Committee<sup>12</sup>, posing, "What does legacy actually mean?"<sup>13</sup>, as his opening question to the second oral evidence session provides some anecdotal evidence. Further evidence of the problem, that is of producing a *definitive* definition of legacy, can also be found in the academic literature. Preuss' (2007) sub-heading, 'Towards a Definition of Legacy', or Chappelet's (2012) description of his legacy definition as a 'working definition' offer some anecdotal evidence.

Despite the difficulty there have been numerous attempts to define legacy. In the IOC's 2002 symposium legacy was defined as:

multidisciplinary and dynamic- changing over time - and is affected by a variety of local and global factors. Therefore, whilst being difficult to define, it is a local and global concept, existing within cities, regions and nations, as well as internationally. Moreover, it is fundamental in the understanding of the mission of Olympism in society (IOC, 2002: 1).

Being slightly more specific Cashman (2003) argued that the definition of legacy that proliferates emphasises that which is left or remains. For example, Chappelet (2012) defined legacy as "*all that remains and may be considered as consequences of the event in its environment*" (p. 77; italics in original)<sup>14</sup>.

Rather than accepting one of these definitions of legacy as a 'best-fit', or producing a composite definition, an alternative approach was sought to transcend these semantic peculiarities<sup>15</sup>. This approach started from the proposition that "the logical critique of spontaneous sociology would no doubt find an invaluable instrument in the nosography of ordinary language that is at least sketched in the work of Wittgenstein" (Bourdieu et al., 1991: 22). McFee's (2002) affirmation<sup>16</sup> further supported a reading of Wittgenstein (1969), the product of which is here outlined.

A principal consideration of Wittgenstein's (1969) was that many philosophical problems were linguistically and not philosophically based. From this starting position Wittgenstein (1969) offered a number of substantive points to this analysis of legacy. The first point related to the problem of defining legacy, on which Wittgenstein (1969) stated: "We are

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<sup>12</sup> The Olympic and Paralympic Legacy Select Committee was appointed on 16<sup>th</sup> May 2013.

<sup>13</sup> Uncorrected evidence available online: <http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/lords-select/olympic-paralympic-legacy/publications/>

<sup>14</sup> See also Legg and Gilbert (2011) and Homma and Masumoto (2013).

<sup>15</sup> Legacy is not positioned as being unique in this 'definitional' problem but rather as one that is shared by other related words; for example, Allison (1986) concluded that the diversity of 'family resemblances' preclude a definitive definition of 'sport'. Disability could also be added here.

<sup>16</sup> McFee (2002) affirms Wittgenstein's work for being drawn upon by sports scholar and the social theorist Giddens, and in relation to his own engagement with Wittgenstein.

unable clearly to circumscribe the concepts we use; not because we don't know their real definition, but because there is no real 'definition' to them" (p. 25). Major implications of this statement are a call for a heightened critique of the possibility of providing, or the 'need' for, a 'definitive' definition of legacy. Another implication is a questioning of the adequacy of definitions of legacy found in dictionaries<sup>17</sup> which have often been used to inform contemporary academic debates<sup>18</sup>. From all of this the act of *defining* legacy can be understood to be a contest in itself, thus to define legacy in this thesis would be to become embroiled in the very thing that is in contest; as Bourdieu (1975) wrote, "...it is precisely because the definition of what is at stake in the struggle is itself an issue at stake in the struggle" (p. 24). It is for this reason that any definition of legacy is self-constituting (MacRury, 2008) and self-legitimising. Another point raised by Wittgenstein (1969) is that we can ask, *or be asked*, questions which don't necessarily have or require an answer. As such questions like 'what is legacy?' or 'what is Paralympic legacy?', Wittgenstein (1969) might have argued, compel the production of answers and definitions that will never be completely satisfactory.

An important caveat of any linguistic analysis, such as that of legacy, is Wittgenstein's (1969) identification of a basic contradiction between our habitual use of language and the formal study of it. On this he wrote: "...we don't use language according to strict rules - it hasn't been taught to us by means of strict rules, either. *We*, in our discussions on the other hand, constantly compare language with a calculus proceeding according to exact rules" (Wittgenstein, 1969: 25). In a similar vein, MacAloon (2008) observed in his essay on legacy as brand rhetoric that "...even a properly semiotic analysis, can never get at the full range of meanings apparent only in the social contexts of speaking" (p. 2016).

All of these points support the decision to defer defining legacy, instead positioning it as an object of struggle in and of itself. Coupled with Wittgenstein's (1969: 66) statement, "Don't think, but look!", reiterates the position of this research as an investigation into the different proposed, imposed and self-legitimising definitions and constructions of legacy by different fields and institutions. As such it is clear that this position is the antithesis of the 'craving for generality'<sup>19</sup> (Wittgenstein, 1969) that is pursued by those seeking a *definitive* definition of legacy.

### **Legacy's Temporal Neutrality and Relational Efficacy**

MacRury (2008) argues that legacy "owes much of its semantic potency to its appeal to socially embedded (familial) economies" (p. 300). It is this family of economies that is of significance here to legacy's relevance to all stages of hosting the Olympic and Paralympic Games. First, it is

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<sup>17</sup> Bourdieu (1991) describes the process of normalization and codification of language in *Language and Symbolic Power*, with dictionaries being one explicit example of this process.

<sup>18</sup> See Gilbert and Legg (2011).

<sup>19</sup> See Wittgenstein (1969, 17-18) for his explanation of the causes of this 'craving for generality'.

important to note that legacy’s linguistic efficacy is contingent upon its *temporal* neutrality. This point simply means that legacy can be understood in both a prospective and retrospective sense (Girginov, 2012). Table 1 illustrates these dialectical senses of legacy, in somewhat pedantic fashion, and the structuring by time of the questions that may be ‘logically’ asked of legacy. As a simplistic language game it relates legacy to the timing of the spectacle, however it gives a false sense of mutual exclusivity between the different possible tenses when in fact their boundaries are not so easily delineated in practice. The fuzziness of these boundaries produces the following question: when does the shift from the future and present tenses to the past tense occur? In a more practical sense, when do the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games become an anachronism? This produces the struggle between those prioritising legacy’s prospective conceptualisation (Girginov, 2012; Bloyce & Lovett, 2012) and those arguing that “To grasp the power of legacies in the contemporary Olympic universe requires a retreat to the past” (Dyreson, 2008: 2118), that is in its retrospective form.

**Table 1. A language game of legacy.**

Pre-Spectacle	During-Spectacle	Post-Spectacle
What will be <i>the</i> legacy of <i>the</i> Games?	What is <i>the</i> legacy of <i>the</i> Games?	What was <i>the</i> legacy of <i>the</i> Games?

Legacy’s efficacy, as well as being owed to its relevance to all stages, is also dependent upon its relevance to all ‘spaces’ or fields of the Olympic and Paralympic Games. There are a number of things that exemplify this point. Firstly, there is the IOC’s (2002) consideration of economic, cultural and social, sporting and political aspects of legacy. There are also the diverse considerations on legacy in *The International Journal of the History of Sport’s* 2008 special issue of Olympic Legacy which further illustrates its broad relational relevance. More empirically, Leopkey and Parent (2012) identified the following legacy themes in their content analysis of bid documents: cultural, economic, environmental, image, informational/educational, nostalgia, Olympic Movement, physical, political, psychological, social, sport, sustainability and urban legacy (p. 931). All of this exemplifies the basis of legacy’s broad relational efficacy.

### **Evaluating, or Objectifying, Legacy**

The definitional struggle of legacy is accompanied by a struggle to produce an evaluation framework. Gratton and Preuss (2008) produced the legacy cube which encapsulated their definition of legacy as the “...planned and unplanned, positive and negative, intangible and tangible structures created through a sport event that remain after the event” (p. 1924). Offering another list of typological binaries Chappelet (2012) positioned legacy as:

positive or negative, tangible or intangible, territorial or personal, intentional or unintentional, global or local, short- or long-term, sport- or non sport-related, and can also be seen from the various event stakeholders' perspectives (p. 76).

Dickson et al. (2011) developed the legacy radar framework that produces tailored legacy 'profiles' of an event. From a historical perspective there appears to be more than a little theoretical reproduction to these different proposed means to objectify a spectacle's legacy. Chappelet (2012), for example, noted the *ad infinitum* possibilities of assessing what is left after such spectacles.

There are a number of purely epistemic problems in trying to evaluate 'legacy'. These include the 'classic counter-factual problem' (Essex & Chalkley, 1998: 203), the reconciliation of different legacies and different epistemologies, and the amount of appropriate time in which to assess it. This latter problem was specifically stated by Gratton and Preuss (2008) as a problem of the Olympic Games Impact (OGI) study which examined legacy until only two years after the event. The OGI has also been criticized for being an 'input-output' evaluation unable to examine the processual construction of legacy (Girginov & Hills, 2008). Another concomitant problem of evaluating legacy is the issue of causality (Girginov, 2012) with Chappelet (2012) asking: "what is really caused by a mega event, and what is not?" (p. 81). A last problem to note of evaluating legacy is "assigning *a priori* functions to sport" (Girginov & Hills, 2009: 167).

With all of these problems, evaluating legacy can be related to Pascal's (1958) philosophical conundrum of judging morals; he wrote, "We must have a fixed point in order to judge. The harbour decides for those who are in a ship; but where shall we find a harbour for morality?" (p. 105). From which we might ask, where shall we find a harbour for legacy? This philosophical question and lack of any 'real', or definitive, solution has been acknowledged by the IOC (Andranovich & Burbank, 2011). This acknowledgement brings forth the issues of legitimacy and the politics of legacy.

### **Legitimacy and the Politics of Legacy**

Academics have argued that "any legacy research is inherently political" (Girginov & Hills, 2009: 163) and "prone to political interpretation" (Malfas et al., 2004: 209). To support and further the understanding of the 'inherent' politics of legacy, the notion of legitimacy is drawn upon. Legitimacy is positioned as being central to the discussion of legacy, yet has lacked explicit reference in the literature.

The centrality of legitimacy to legacy can be evidenced in the sceptical assertions of legacy evaluations by academics. Andranovich and Burbank (2011) argued that the OGI study was initiated to overcome the shortcomings of "the positive 'spin' of boosters during the bidding phase and one-off impact studies" (p. 827). The issue of legitimacy also underpins the

scepticism others have of the 'true' legacy benefits of the Games and the host's position to properly, that is legitimately, evaluate it (Gratton and Preuss, 2008; Leopkey & Parent, 2012). Gold and Gold (2008) argued that if key aspects of London 2012's proposed legacy were not independently researched, and left to official sources, that an overly romantic picture would be produced. Further exemplifying this point is Gratton and Preuss' (2008) argument that in the 'organizer's world' negative legacies do not exist. The logic behind this is that for organisers to recognise any form of negative legacy is akin to institutionally recognising the partial or complete illegitimacy of their event (or product).

The interrelation of legacy and the legitimacy of the Games can also be evidenced in discussions of the 'bigger picture'. For instance, the institutionalisation of legacy has been argued to be a reaction to the increased costs of hosting the Games and potential increases in taxation (Essex & Chalkley, 1998), and also to improve their appeal after the fall in demand in the 1970s and early 1980s (Leopkey and Parent, 2013). Others have made grander statements of legacy as compensation "for the negative propensities of capitalist growth through the reconstruction of social order by tackling class, poverty, gender and age inequalities" (Girginov, 2012: 549; Girginov and Hills, 2008). Positioning legacy as a struggle of and for legitimacy is further supported by the argument that it is the local community that gains or losses as opposed to the organizers (Agha et al., 2012). The politics here concern the 'distributional' legacy of the Games as derived from Essex and Chalkley's (1998) discussion of their distributional effects. Essex and Chalkley (1998) put this discussion into historical context by noting: "... a history which began with a sharp focus on sport but which has recently grown to embrace so many wider considerations" (p. 204). Thus as the Games have grown and grow so too has the issue of its legitimacy.

Whilst having only really presented the *external* politics of legacy, it should be noted that the interrelation of legacy and legitimacy is also evident in the internal politics and struggles of the Olympic and Paralympic field. MacAloon (2008) provides an example describing how legacy discourse has provided international sports federations a means through which to demand more capital and resources for their sport, such as through their demands for permanent facilities in exchange for 'votes' for their bid. With the Paralympic Games now being more formally integrated into the Olympic space (Mason, 2002), disability, as a concomitant structure of the field, will arguably have a structuring effect on the politics of these fields. As such, disability is the next structuring structure to be reviewed.

## **'Disability'**

The politics of the Paralympic field, and notably its relation with the Olympic field, have been well documented by academics (Purdue, 2013; Howe, 2008a; Brittain, 2004, 2009; Bailey, 2008). A common thread of their work, and others<sup>20</sup>, is the adoption and application of the academic discipline of disability studies. This trend supports the examination of disability studies here but it is not the underpinning reason. Rather the more methodologically consistent and legitimate reason for its inclusion is to broaden the political scope of the research beyond the confines of the sports academic literature and to avoid the research being 'disabled by definition' as Aitchison (2009) argued about *leisure studies*. The aim, as such, is to broaden the scope of the research through a review, first, of the history of disability politics in the UK and, then, of some theoretical positions of disability studies. Together these elements, it is hoped, will offer the foundations for a holistic analysis of the contemporary politics of disability and legacy around London 2012.

### **An Abridged History of UK Disability Politics**

To better understand the contemporary position of 'disability' in the UK it is necessary to present an abridged history of it. The establishment of the Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) in the 1970s, described as Marxist inspired and creating 'year zero' (Shakespeare, 2006), is a critical moment in the history of disability politics in the United Kingdom (Oliver 1990; 2009). Its genesis and founding members are important in terms of its establishment and development as the embryonic disability activist group, and will now be examined.

To begin, UPIAS spawned out of the Disablement Income Group (DIG) (Oliver, 2009). Founding members of UPIAS, such as Victor Finkelstein and Paul Hunt, criticised DIG for becoming a lobby group of parliament whose only concern was benefits, and thus overlooked the broader oppression of disability (Finkelstein, 2001). Finkelstein's experience of disability and imprisonment for protesting against apartheid in his native South Africa provided him with an intimate understanding of social oppression in the form of racism and disablism. On disability Finkelstein (2001) has written:

Let's face it, disabled people face the most prevalent, world-wide, persistent, resistant to change and endemic form of apartheid, to put it mildly, of any human group throughout the world! (p. 2-3).

Although established some years prior, it was not until 1976 that the *magnum opus* of UPIAS materialised in the *Fundamental Principles of Disability* (UPIAS, 1976). The collective

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<sup>20</sup> See DePauw (2000).

experiences of Victor Finkelstein, Paul Hunt and other UPIAS members were reflected in these principles. Its central precept was the formation of a union of the physically impaired to raise a collective consciousness<sup>21</sup> of the social oppression of disability. An important underpinning principle of the union's doctrine was the exclusion of nondisabled people to prevent the subversion of its radical anti-segregation objectives (UPIAS, 1976).

The Union's motives to radicalise disability is argued as being anathema to the political actors of the time who promoted a more 'gradual' approach to change (Finkelstein, 2001). Aside from these principles and motivations the cornerstone of UPIAS' position was the inversion of society's doxic notions of disability in society, emphasising the social genesis and embeddedness of disability. This argument was positioned to contradict society's emphasis of the individual locus of disability. Objectifying this position was Finkelstein's (1980) monograph entitled *Attitudes & Disabled People*. Its central thesis was the positioning of disability as a paradox, or in Finkelstein's (1980) own words, "Attitudes may be held towards the individual who is impaired or towards the social barriers" (p. 5). Finkelstein (1980) further argued that the significance of changing attitudes towards disabled people was paramount "to free them from normative (able-bodied) physical standards and able-bodied activities" (p. 26).

An important backdrop to the naissance of the disability movement was the identification of British welfare policy being grounded in a theory of *personal tragedy* that is 'disabled' people were unable to work and therefore dependent and subject to the vagaries of the economy and state redistribution policies (Oliver, 1990). More recently, Shakespeare (2005) has argued that the disability movement "...has been riven by internal conflict and external controversy" (p. 157) while positing that its past successes could be corollary to its current struggles. One objectified form of these 'successes' is the emergence of a series of legislative developments. In the UK these include the 1995 and 2005 Disability Discrimination Act (DDA) and the Equality Act of 2010. It can be noted that the DDA was initially criticised for not positioning disability as a social construction (Thomas and Smith, 2009). On an international level there was the United Nation's 2006 Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. Evaluations of such policies and legislative changes fluctuate between a recognition of their positive impact (Howe, 2012), such as through "the removal of barriers to access" (Shakespeare, 2006: 30), to a sense that they promote a false consciousness of disability equality (Oliver, 2009). From this backdrop the academic discipline of disability studies is examined.

### **Disability Studies**

In the UK the academic discipline of disability studies emerged from the 1970s disability movement (Oliver and Barnes, 2010). The development of disability studies is an overt

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<sup>21</sup> Albrecht (1992) has also commented that disability rights movements reflected the development of 'group consciousness'.

manifestation of the creation of an autonomous field (Bourdieu, 1984), one arguably legitimised on the basis of disability's dominated position in society, as highlighted before in the abridged history of the disability movement. Within the field there are the self-sustaining struggles over exactly what disability and disability studies are. For Barnes (1999) disability studies is "first and foremost about political and cultural praxis" (p. 580) which Thomas (2004) described as its disciplinary distinctiveness. Aligned to this is the position of some disability studies academics who, just like the founders of the disability movement, attempt to maintain the autonomy of the field by positioning research by the non-disabled as illegitimate (Macbeth, 2010). These positions illuminate the strong relationship between disability studies and the political disability movement. From this it can be inferred that illegitimate or less legitimate forms of disability studies are apolitical, acultural and conducted by non-disabled people. Prime spaces of disability politics are language and theory, which brings forth a discussion of the linguistic struggles of disability, followed by a presentation of three divergent theoretical positions on disability. It is worth repeating here that this review of the literature is underpinned by Bourdieu's assertion that sociology must turn its lens on knowledge.

### **Linguistic Struggles of Disability**

Linguistic struggles are symbolic struggles *par excellence* (Bourdieu, 1991). LeClair (2011) has argued that language has been an inextricable part of the disability rights struggle. This renders the definitional process of disability complex and inherently political (Oliver, 1996). As such, disability as a division of the social world, along with its sub-divisions, presents an endless<sup>22</sup> contestation, which is often reflected linguistically. Linguistic demarcations of disability assume internal and external forms. The principal 'external' demarcation is drawn between the 'disabled' and non-disabled. It is a primary distinction because it determines inclusion or exclusion within this division, group or class of society. Internal demarcations of disability are perhaps more complicated, inculcating the interrelations of disability and impairment, mental and physical, congenital and acquired impairments, and disability and illness.

Whilst there are a plethora of definitions for all of these concepts and demarcations it is perhaps of greater importance to recognise the dialogical relation between them, as Corker (1999) proposed for disability and impairment. Shakespeare's (2006) attempt to balance the dialogical relation between disability and impairment is evidenced in his short statement: "people are disabled by society and by their bodies" (p. 56). Whilst Albrecht's (1992) proposal that disability and impairment are the "...product of the interplay between individuals and the physical, biological, and sociocultural environments that characterise their society" (p. 60) is

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<sup>22</sup> Wacquant (2008) outlines the notion of social life as being a space of endless battles.

also appropriate. These statements are strong examples of the conceptual and linguistic struggles in disability studies.

From this there is a need to recognise the reproduction of the linguistic struggles of disability and within disability studies. For example, the contemporary distinction between disability and impairment has a parallel structure to Nixon's (1984) distinction of disability as a neutral term between the 'organic' base of impairment and the 'social' base of handicapism. Another caveat is the possibility of over-analysing language in disability and creating "a diversion from making common cause to promote the inclusion and rights of disabled people" (Shakespeare, 2006: 19). Yet the gravest error lies in mistaking groups on paper, such as with disability, as a group in reality (Bourdieu, 1989). A problem which academics are susceptible to and must therefore reflectively recognise (Bourdieu et al., 1991). This thesis follows Titchkosky's (2007) attempt to study the 'meaning-making process' of disability whilst resisting the urge to define it. Concomitant to this meaning-making process of disability are the theoretical approaches of disability studies which will now be reviewed.

### **Theoretical Positions of Disability**

The importance of the question 'what is disability?', as considered above, is all the more heightened if it is raised outside of the confines of academic and linguistic objectifications and is positioned as a perpetually contested phenomenon. This fits with the Bourdieuan argument "that concepts be characterized not by static definitions but by their actual uses, interrelations, and effects in the research enterprise" (Wacquant, 2008: 5). It is also congruent with the recognition that social identities are varied and constantly changing which Hargreaves (2000) argues resulted from the critique of simple conceptualisations of 'single and fixed' identities. The urge and *force*, however, to define and theorise in academia offers a preliminary space in which to examine sociological positions on the question, 'what is disability?'. From the disability studies field the following three canonical texts were selected:

- Erving Goffman's (1963) *Stigma*
- Robert Murphy's (1987) *The Body Silent*
- Michael Oliver's (1990) *The Politics of Disablement*

Before justifying the selection of these specific texts, justification for such a review of disability itself is based upon the need for disability research to recognise the history and knowledge possessed by the disability studies field. The selection of these specific texts was based upon the aim of reviewing divergent yet complementary theorisations and understandings of disability. It is argued that, collectively, these texts achieve this by providing a holistic understanding of disability. Goffman (1963) offers, with his social interactive theory, an account of how agents

with stigmatising differences interact in the social world. Murphy (1987) offers an intensely personal experience of disability. Whilst Oliver (1990) offers a historical materialist approach. Each of these texts are aligned to key meta-structures of sociology. Murphy (1987) providing the subjective-agency approach, Oliver (1990) providing the structural and structured approach and, finally, Goffman (1973) providing the 'glue' that marries the other two. Reviewing these specific texts is intended to show the range of theorisations of and approaches to disability. It is by no means complete. Thus this section hopes to provide an abridged yet nuanced backdrop understanding of disability.

### **Goffman (1963) and Symbolic Interactionism**

For Goffman (1963) social interaction is "one of the primal scenes of sociology" (p. 24). Through his symbolic interactionist approach Goffman (1963) theorised about the social position and social interaction strategies of socially disparaged identities. A fundamental concept for Goffman (1963) was *stigma* which produced the division between the normal and the abnormal. This division between the normal and abnormal is arguably one of the most veritable in society with Goffman (1963) arguing that "Stigma management should be seen as a general feature of society, a process occurring wherever there are identity norms" (p. 155). Whilst Goffman (1963) asserted that stigma management is a pervasive force for all of society his text specifically focused on socially disparaged identities, for whom he distinguished between discreditable and discrediting social contexts.

For the stigmatised, discreditable contexts are those where the stigma is not immediately perceptible but can become so at any point during social interaction, while in discredited contexts the stigmatised assumes that their stigma is readily perceptible or already known about (Goffman, 1963). Interrelated with this space of possible contexts, Goffman (1963) conceptualised the social processes of normalization and normification. The former Goffman (1963) argued was "how far normals could go in treating the stigmatized person as if he didn't have a stigma" (p. 44), while the latter, *normification*, was the habitual practices adopted to be (mis)recognised as normal.

Another central element of Goffman's (1963) approach was the interrelation of signs and symbols through which agents attempt to mediate the force of societal norms. Goffman's (1963) distinction between 'prestige' symbols and stigma symbols is especially pertinent. Stigma symbols "are especially effective in drawing attention to a debasing identity discrepancy, breaking up what would otherwise be a coherent overall picture, with a consequent reduction in our valuations of the individual" (Goffman, 1963: 59). In contrast prestige symbols are those that are interpreted positively and bring 'honour'. A third type of sign are 'disidentifiers', which

actors can employ to have a positive effect thereby hopefully casting doubt on preconceptions of their social identity.

There are many criticisms of Goffman's (1963) *Stigma*. Some are substantive, others, such as Frank's (1988) critique of the historical nature of Goffman's text, are less so. A more substantive critique is Oliver's (1990) argument that *Stigma* goes against the principles of the disability movement's social model in individualising disability. This critique is correlated to Riddell and Watson's (2003) argument that prejudice should replace the stigma to invert the causality or basis of disability from the individual to society. Another critique is that the concept of stigma does not recognise self-acceptance, which Oliver (1990) argues occurred for many disabled people through the inversion of the disability paradox. A final critique of Goffman's (1963) text is its apolitical leaning. On this Abrams (2014) retorted that although Goffman (1963) is not political in the traditional sense, *Stigma* still offers a valuable approach to understanding the social politics of interaction.

### **Murphy (1987) and Phenomenology**

Robert Murphy's (1987) *The Body Silent* presents a phenomenological account of the internalisation of a regressive condition that greatly affected the author and ultimately led to his passing. Appositely, Diedrich (2001) argued that phenomenological accounts of disability "reveal not only something about what it means to be disabled but also something about what it means, simply, to be" (p. 228). Murphy's (1987) phenomenological account of disability can be contrasted to social constructionist approaches to disability. It has been argued that what is at stake in accounts like Murphy's (1987) is the 'moral experience' of disability (Kleinman & Seeman, 2000). Murphy's (1987) account reiterates the importance of asking and redressing fundamental questions of disability, like, for example, what is disability?

In *The Body Silent* Murphy's (1987) account of his experience provides an intimate and subjective description of disability. To descriptively reduce it to stages of paraplegia, quadriplegia and finally 'inertia', as he described, is inadequate. However, one of the more important ideas to draw from Murphy (1987) is the liminal state that impairment and illness imposes upon the human body. As such, Murphy (1987) argued that whenever illness or impairment afflicts the body it is no longer "taken for granted, implicit and axiomatic...it no longer is the subject of unconscious assumption, but the object of conscious thought" (p. 12).

Murphy (1987) also touches upon the notion of the 'supercrip', that is those who he argues are overzealous about sport and physicality, and positions it as the antithesis of most people who have a medical impairment or condition such as his own. Murphy (1987) stated that "this is how he shows the world that he is like everybody else, only better" (p. 95). There is a

vivid resonance here with Goffman's (1963) conceptualisation of the normification process. The notion of the 'supercrip' is considered later in more detail.

### **Oliver (1990) and the Historical Materialism of Disability**

In *The Politics of Disablement* Oliver (1990) sought to establish the foundations of an adequate social theory of disability. To this end Oliver (1990) approached disability with a social relational perspective arguing that "disability as a category can only be understood within a framework which suggests that it is culturally produced and socially structured" (p. 22). This approach does not deny the corporeal difference of impairment, instead it places an emphasis on the negative social effects, that is 'disability' (Thomas, 2004). Turner (2001) commented that the popularity of radical constructionism in sociology, such as that adopted by Oliver (1990), rested on its capacity to highlight the socially arbitrary practices of institutions.

Another position outlined by Oliver (1990: 2) is that "human beings give meanings to objects in the social world and subsequently orientate their behaviour towards these objects in terms of the meanings given to them". From this logic it can be inferred that negative connotations of disability will result in the direction of negative practices and relations toward anyone positioned as disabled. Accordingly, Oliver (1990) argued for an inversion of public policies. This inversion would require public policy to challenge the social oppression of disability instead of paradoxically positioning it as an individualistic problem of society. While public policy was positioned as needing to address the social oppression of disability, LeClair (2011) has argued that there was a correspondent refutation of the paternalistic culture of public policy development by the disability field.

From a theoretical perspective, the historical relativism of disability was an idea that particularly appealed to Oliver (1990). This was exemplified by the relation he drew between disability and capitalism. To make the connection Oliver (1990) adopted a historical materialist approach to highlight the interconnection between the mode of production and the centripetal orientation of society around values and ideologies that engendered 'disability' and its social oppression. Presenting the ideological construction of disability, Oliver (1990) used Gramsci's conceptualisation of hegemony to link the social structures and correspondent ideology that engendered negative relations to disability in society.

The hegemony that defines disability in capitalist society is constituted by the organic ideology of individualism, the arbitrary ideologies of medicalization underpinning medical intervention and personal tragedy theory underpinning much social policy. Incorporated also are ideologies related to concepts of normality, able-bodiedness and able-mindedness (Oliver, 1990: 44).

Oliver's (1990) positioning here of disability in a capitalist world of individualistic and medicalized hegemony is clearly distinct from the positions of the other two texts, although there is some connection to Goffman's (1963) demarcation of the normal and abnormal. The statement's introduction of the medicalization of disability brings forth a discussion of the theoretical dichotomy drawn between the social and medical model of disability. This dichotomy arguably formed one of the fundamental axioms of disability studies. However, the discussion that follows will focus on the social model for as Shakespeare (2006) argued with regards to the medical model, "when closely analysed, it is nothing but a straw person" (p. 18).

It can be argued that the defining product of Oliver's (1990) theorizing was the inculcation of the social model which was broadly a strategic tool to challenge the disabling forces and ideologies of society. In Oliver's (1990) own words the social model "is about nothing more complicated than a clear focus on the economic, environmental and cultural barriers encountered by people who are viewed by others as having some form of impairment" (p. 47). Shakespeare (2006) posited that the social model's repositioning of disability was akin to the feminist movement's repositioning of the social position of women in the 1970s. Similarly, the theoretical conceptualisation of the social model was evidently aligned with the political motives of Oliver (1990) and the disability movement for the emancipation of disabled people<sup>23</sup> and for greater control of institutions that had a direct impact upon their lives. However, as a theoretical caveat, it has been argued that the social model should not be mistaken for a holistic theory of disability (Oliver, 1996) but rather as a model to aid the understanding of the socio-cultural barriers that create disability (Barnes, 2003).

There are some criticisms of *The Politics of Disablement* (1990) to briefly consider. Many disability scholars took issue with the social model, particularly its omission of impairment (Shakespeare, 2006), or its leading to the disappearance of the body (Hughes & Paterson, 2006). The problem with such constructionist approaches, Turner (2001) contends, is that they are "either unable or unwilling to give an account of the experience of the condition, which is socially constructed, and the subjective consequences of disabling labels". This criticism of constructionism is a 'classic' problem of sociology (Bourdieu, 1977) in that it creates false dichotomies, such as between disability and impairment, which results in inaccurate research and omission of the 'in-between' (Corker, 1999). Feminist theorists argued that their approach can address such problems (Morris, 1991). On the other hand, quasi-phenomenological accounts of disability, such as Murphy's (1987) *The Body Silent*, although unable to wholly resolve the problems of constructionism, offer a position that possibly fills the 'in-between'.

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<sup>23</sup> The push for emancipation is something that has been drawn upon in disability sport research (Brittain and Humberstone, 2003).

Goffman (1963), Murphy (1987) and Oliver (1990) position and relate to disability through very different lenses. Their use here is not intended to provide a definitive objectification or theorisation of disability but rather a general overview of the area. To this end, Goffman (1963) provides an understanding of the interactions of and with disability in the social world; Murphy (1987) provides a highly subjective, internalised understanding of disability; while Oliver (1990) provides a broader historical critique of the social construction of disability and an understanding of how and why it has been positioned as an individual rather than as a societal problem. As with Bourdieu's sociology (Wacquant, 2008), the body, or the habitus, is the unifying cog to these different positionings and theorisations of disability.

## **The Sport *and* Disability Sport Fields**

Autonomy, and its struggles, is a central feature of any field (Wacquant, 2008). The fields of sport and disability sport illuminate external and internal struggles of autonomy<sup>24</sup>. In the recent past sports academics expounded the contradiction of the myth of the sport field's autonomy. This contradictory myth positioned sport as "somehow separate from society, that it transcended or had 'nothing to do with' politics and social conflict" (Allison, 1993: 5). However, and to illuminate the relational nature of the struggles of autonomy, the 'myth' of sport's autonomy can be inverted to position society's autonomy from sport also as a 'myth'. Allison (1993), in noting how the sports field positioned itself as above or below politics, illuminated the strategies adopted in these struggles of autonomy.

In the disability sport field, a predominant element of its internal struggles of autonomy relate to the representativeness of its institutions. In contrast to the origins and exclusionary policy of the disability movement (Oliver, 1990; Shakespeare, 2006) disability sport institutions, such as the English Federation of Disability Sport (EFDS), have had to introduce policy changes aimed at promoting the inclusion of disabled people within their organisation (Hargreaves, 2000). Such a strategy can be related to Howe's (2008) challenge to the autonomy of disability sport institutions and their representativeness of disability through his inversion of disability sport to 'sport for the disabled'. Bourdieu (1978), drawing upon Weber, argued that the autonomisation of a field occurs with its rationalisation. In this way the following section presents a short historical review of disability sport and can be read as the field's autonomisation and rationalisation.

### **A Sociology of Sport *and* Disability Sport**

Williams (1994) remarked over two decades ago that there was a complete lack of theory underpinning or informing disability sport. Since then there have been a number of examples of the adoption and use of theory by disability sport academics, such as the use of Foucault (Ashton-Schaeffer, 2001). While within the related study of the Paralympic Games academics have proposed (Kitchin and Howe, 2013) and used Bourdieu (Howe, 2008a; Purdue, 2013; Purdue and Howe, 2012) and Foucault (Peers, 2009; 2012). Despite this Macbeth (2010) argues that there is a lack of critical sociology research of the disability sports market. As has already been made clear this research is underpinned by the social theory of Bourdieu (1978; 1988). Structuring this literary review of disability sport is Bourdieu's (1988) positioning of this field within the cultural 'market'. As such, the struggles and relations of the academic field with the

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<sup>24</sup> Both the sport and disability sport fields have their own internal and external struggles of autonomy, however the examples used here are purely for ease of explanation.

sport and disability sport market are first presented before moving onto the intricacies of its supply and demand.

Sport as a 'field' or as a market is "the result of relating two homologous spaces, a space of possible practices, the supply, and a space of dispositions to practice, the demand" (Bourdieu, 1988: 157). In much the same way, sport consumed as a spectacle can be positioned as the product of these two homologous spaces. This distinction between the practices of consuming sport as a spectacle and the practice of it as an activity is significant. It also requires an understanding of the two distinct practices as being located within different cultural markets: the cultural market of practices and the cultural market of spectacles. Such a structuring is congruent with Bourdieu's (1987) pluralistic view of the social world, that is as a field of fields. However, it is arguably a naive proposition to assume that the practice of a sport translates into the consumption of it as a spectacle, or vice versa. The importance of the acquisition and socialisation of taste is central to understanding these dynamics (Bourdieu, 1978).

The linguistic struggle to define a word (Wittgenstein, 1969) is inextricably linked to the struggle of how a field is defined and defines itself. This struggle forms part of the sport field's struggles of and for autonomy (Wacquant, 2008). In sport, the internal and external struggles to define it were positioned by Bourdieu (1978) as inculcating the cultural struggles over *the* legitimate sporting practice and the legitimate uses of sport. From this, and once more positioning society as a field of fields (Bourdieu, 1987), these struggles of the sports field are part of the broader struggles of the cultural field over the legitimate body and the legitimate uses of the body (Bourdieu, 1978). There is a symmetry between these struggles, where the first relates to the struggles of legitimacy and autonomy, while the second relates to the struggles of something's *proper* use.

All of these conceptualisations apply in exactly the same way to the disability sport field but with the added structuring structure of disability. In this way the disability sport field is positioned as a market of markets where the space of possible sporting practices meets a space of structurally different dispositions<sup>25</sup>. Extending this conceptualisation positions this objectified group of structurally different dispositions as being equally engaged in struggles over the legitimate body and sporting practices, and *the* legitimate uses of the body and of sport (Bourdieu, 1978). As an example, Thomas and Smith's (2003) assessment of the media's preoccupation with able-bodiedness in their representation of the Paralympics reflects the cultural struggle over *the* legitimate body. Another intricacy is recognition of the internal and

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<sup>25</sup> An initial caveat and shortcoming of this conceptualisation is that disability is just one structuring structure which can influence the habitus and its cultural habits. Others might include class, race, gender and sexuality.

external dynamics of these struggles in the disability sports field. This caveat produces an understanding of the inter- and intra-relational struggles and dynamics of the field.

### **Struggles and Relations of the Supply Side**

Mediating the sport and disability sport markets in the UK is a huge array of institutions. These sporting institutions can be conceptualised as social structures, with the idea that such social structures are the objectified and institutionalised products of historical struggles (Bourdieu, 1987). In terms of their societal positions, sport and disability sport institutions, as market arbiters and mediators, inculcate the struggles to stimulate demand, improve supply and negotiate the price (Nixon, 2007) of the cultural practice of sport within both the market of sporting practices and within the broader cultural market of practices. This position of sport and disability sport institutions as market arbiters and mediators is arguably reflected in no better way than in the notion of 'management' and the academic field of sport management. For example, Misener and Darcy's (2014) 'Managing disability sport' journal article title could simply append 'market' to illustrate this point.

The historical development of both the sport (Lindsey and Houlihan, 2013) and disability sport fields (Thomas and Smith, 2009) in the UK are well documented. A key contemporary milestone in the sports field was the increased engagement of government alongside the increased allocation of public capital since the 1990s (Lindsey and Houlihan, 2013). While, going back a little further for the disability sport field, the establishment of the British Sport Association for the Disabled (BSAD) in 1961 by Guttman at Stoke Mandeville (Thomas and Smith, 2009) may be positioned as the field's 'institutional' genesis. From this genesis the disability sport field underwent a process of institutionalising and rationalising the different impairment groups. In this way, after the formation of the BSAD, Cerebral Palsy Sport (CP Sport) was formed in 1968, British Blind Sport in 1976, British Amputee Sports Association in 1978, the United Kingdom Sports Association for the People with Mental Handicap (UKSA) in 1980 and the British Les Autres Sports Association in 1982 (Thomas and Smith, 2009).

This constellation of institutions were collectively referred to as the UK's National Disability Sport Organisations (NDSOs). Since these institutional beginnings the field has been defined by struggles of and for institutional convergence and divergence. As an example of convergence, in 1990 the British Les Autres Sports Association and the British Amputee Sports Association merged to form the British Les Autres and Amputee Sports Association. Whilst one of the most symbolic struggles to maintain autonomy is arguably the English NDSO's rejection of the force to merge together into one institutional body. Throughout the UK, with the exception of England, the respective Disability Sport Councils imposed institutional merging on the regional NDSOs. In England, the EFDS still inculcates these institutional struggles of autonomy

and to be the monopolistic institutional representative of disability sport (Thomas and Smith, 2009).

A struggle that is central to the historical development of the disability sport field is recognition (Wacquant, 2008). The interrelated struggles *of* and *for* recognition can be easily related to the issue of mainstreaming in disability sport. An argument that can be made about the process of mainstreaming is that it is *really* about the centralisation and monopolisation of the sport field. It is this struggle that underpins the relations between the NDSOs of England, national governing bodies (NGBs) and Sport England (Thomas and Smith, 2009). Academics have examined these struggles in the sports of tennis, football, basketball, swimming (Thomas and Smith, 2009) and cricket (Kitchin and Howe, 2014). Sociologically, the *rites d'institution* (Bourdieu, 1982), which engender the rites of recognition and legitimation, are also evident in these relations, especially in the exchange of recognition between different institutions. As a simple example, Sport England's recognition of a particular NGB confers legitimacy to that institution's monopolisation of a particular sporting practice.

Whilst the politics of the supply side of the disability sports market and its institutions are important, so too are its relations to the demand side of the market. For example, in the past the position of disability was contrasted between a form of deviance to being a disadvantage: "...as *deviant*, disabled people may be seen as inadequate, incompetent, or morally inferior or reprehensible, but as *disadvantaged*, disabled people may be seen as victims worthy of our compassion and charity" (Nixon, 1984: 166). This positioning of disability as *disadvantaged*, which may have then seemed like progress from *deviancy*, is completely incongruent with the contemporary positioning of disability as a social construct (DePauw, 2000). Such changes in approach and positioning of disability, away from the personal tragedy theory (Thomas and Smith, 2009), are evident in the adoption of 'emancipatory' research approaches (Brittain, 2004) within disability sport studies and also through reflective recognition of the influence of the researcher's habitus on the research output (Macbeth, 2010). Disability sport institutions are also engaging in these changes, such as the EFDS's (2015) engagement with the social model of disability. In these ways the significance of the way that the disability sport field positions and relates to disability cannot be understated. What's more the lag in time that it took for the disability sport field to become infiltrated with the inversion of disability, as propounded by the disability field (Oliver, 1990), is a reflection of its autonomy<sup>26</sup>. The strength and broader relevance of this approach to the 'supply side' institutions of the UK disability sports market is heightened with an appreciation of other international perspectives. Reviews of the institutional development of the disability sport and Paralympic fields in countries such as France (Ruffié et

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<sup>26</sup> The autonomy of the disability and sport fields is also reflected, as Aitchison (2003) argues, in the lack of exchange between the two academic fields.

al. 2014), Israel (Brittain and Hutzler, 2009), the United States (DePauw and Gavron, 2005) and China (Sun et al., 2011) illuminate the dialectical struggles of the disability sport market in different geographies.

### **Struggles and Relations of the Demand Side**

Whilst this research largely focuses on supply side institutions, it is nonetheless important to present a brief overview of the academic literature relating to the demand side of the disability sports market. The academic literature broadly approaches the dynamics of the disability sport market's demand side from 'within and without'. Understanding disability sport from within means understanding the relations of disabled people to sport, whilst from without means understanding the relations of non-disabled people to disability sport. Exemplary of the former is the narrative research of the 'experience' of disability sport (Smith and Sparkes, 2002), the examination of 'identities' within disability sport (Huang and Brittain, 2006) and Purdue and Howe's (2012) critique of the Paralympic paradox. These approaches offer insights into the dispositions which are structured and positioned to engage in disability sport. Whilst there are many other examples of such dispositional research, an important structure that is anecdotally recognised (Rimmer et al., 2004), but arguably not well researched, is the structuring force that economics has on the engagement of disabled people in cultural practices, such as sport, and the cultural market more broadly. The second way that academics have examined the disability sports field is from without. Brittain's (2004) research of the influences of relations to disability on disability participation in sport is an example of this. A proposition of Brittain's (2004) analysis was that the internalisation of negative social relations to disability would negatively influence participation in sport. Such research focuses on the structure of impairment but there are many others. For example, disability sport research has examined gender as a structure that mediates the dialectical struggle between masculinity (Sparkes and Smith, 2002) and femininity (Guthrie and Castelnovo, 2001).

## The Paralympic Field

The Paralympic field can be positioned within the market of sporting spectacles which itself is part of the broader market of cultural spectacles. As already stated, sport as a spectacle is the result of the homology between a space of possible spectacles, the supply, and a space of dispositions 'consuming' it, the demand. The spectacle of the Paralympic Games, however, has two predominant structuring structures: sport and disability. A contextualisation of Paralympic history will necessarily describe the contours of this relationship.

Bourdieu (1978) has argued that "...the history of sport is a relatively autonomous history which, even when marked by the major events of economic and social history, has its own tempo, its own evolutionary laws, its own crises, in short, its specific chronology" (p. 821). This position can be combined with Panofsky's (1957) argument that "All modern writing on history is permeated by the ideas of evolution" (p. 21). Taken together, Olympic and Paralympic history often reads like a linear process of accretion and continual progression of the fields with each successive Games. Lenskyj (2000, 2002) identifies this reading as the 'Best Ever' Olympics rhetoric. The history of the Paralympics is also often banalized through the overly simplistic enumeration of the integration of the different impairment groups which preceded the formation of the International Paralympic Committee (IPC). These banal descriptions often fail to recognise the homology between the chronological order in which the different institutions were integrated and the internal hierarchy of the Paralympic field (Howe, 2008a) and of disability (Mastro et al., 1996) more broadly.

The institutional origins of the Paralympic field are recognised as originating in Stoke Mandeville Hospital under the auspices of Sir Ludwig Guttmann, a neurologist (Howe, 2008a; Legg & Steadward, 2011; Bailey, 2008). Peers (2009) has critiqued discourse glorifying Guttmann's paternalistic role for exasperating the positioning of disability as a 'personal tragedy'. Whilst acknowledging such subjective criticisms Stoke Mandeville provided the social conditions in which disability sport was autonomised and rationalised. The exact inception is described by Howe (2008a) as a "group of patients frantically moving in their wheelchairs outside their dormitory blocks using a puck and an upside-down walking stick" (p. 17). It is in this *first* cultural practice of wheelchair sport that the origins of the Paralympic field are recognised, with the first Stoke Mandeville Games taking place in 1948 (Guttmann, 1976). As a thesis on the London 2012 Games, the symbolic proximity between Stoke Mandeville and London is noteworthy. This tracing of the origins of the Paralympic field to Stoke Mandeville can be related to the invention and myth of the origins of other sports, such as baseball (Bloyce, 2004) and rugby (Dunning and Sheard, 2005). However, the argument is not that Stoke

Mandeville is so much an invented tradition or myth but more that it only constitutes the origin of one of the many impairment classes of the Paralympic field.

### **Paralympic 'Autonomy'**

Scruton's (1998) overview of the origins and development of the Paralympic Games essentially describes the creation of an autonomous cultural field. Hargreaves (2000) has argued that "it was not the sporting *abilities* of the athletes that was the *raison d'être* of competition, but rather it was their *disabilities* that created a sportsworld specifically for them – separate, spatially and symbolically, from the 'real' world of sport outside" (p. 181). In relation to Guttmann as the institutional founder of the field, Toll-Depper (1999) has argued that his "...dream was to incorporate sport events for athletes with disabilities into the sports movement for able-bodied athletes and into the Olympic Games" (p. 178). Analogous to this was Guttmann's (1976) attempts to maintain the autonomy of the Paralympic field, arguing that "...national, racial and religious prejudices and politics must be firmly and radically banned from sport" (p. 8). These dreams and assertions of political autonomy are contradicted by the British government's aim to reduce the cost of welfare by returning World War 2 veterans to work (Anderson, 2003).

Sherrill (1998) has described how Guttmann acted as the 'gatekeeper' of the early Paralympics by controlling who could compete through his positions as President of both International Stoke Mandeville Wheelchair Sports Federation (ISMWSF) and International Sports Organization for the Disabled (ISOD). With such control Howe (2008a) contended that Guttmann's autocracy paralleled that of the IOC<sup>27</sup>. As such, there is a stark contrast between the representative leaders of the early Paralympic and disability field. Of principal note is the contrast in leadership between Dr Ludwig Guttmann, as a non-disabled neurologist, and the likes of Victor Finkelstein and Paul Hunt, as 'disabled'. The exclusion of non-disabled people from UPIAS, a core principle of its constitution and anti-segregation imperative (Oliver, 1990), also contrasts to Guttmann's monopolistic control of the Paralympic field. These contestations over the representativeness of the Paralympics persist with academics highlighting the lack of representation of athletes, gender, geographical regions and race (Sherrill, 1998; Schantz and Gilbert, 2012).

Another juxtaposition of the Paralympic and disability fields is the medical origins of the former and the critique of the 'medical model' by the latter. A commonality between the two fields was the predominance of wheelchair users. As such wheelchair sport, as the first impairment to be institutionalised, occupied a dominant position in the Paralympic field. Howe (2011) has argued, "It was the IWAS system that was at the heart of the establishment of the Paralympic Movement and which all other impairment groups had to petition to join in the early

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<sup>27</sup> Guttmann could also, as a medical doctor, be positioned as a 'technocrat'. However, both titles, nevertheless, reflect his monopolisation of the positions of power within the early Paralympic field.

days of the movement” (p. 871). In this way, by determining access to the Paralympic field and its classification system, the IPC is intrinsically engaged in the aforementioned struggle over the legitimate body and the legitimate uses of the body (Bourdieu, 1978). However, this statement can be adapted to the IPC being engaged in the struggle over the legitimate *impaired* dispositions and the legitimate uses of *impaired* dispositions.

The 1980s were a significant period of change in the Paralympic field’s history. Most notable was the integration of the different impairment specific sports institutions and the creation of the IPC (Howe, 2008a). As already argued, the chronological order of establishment of the different impairment sports groups reveals the internal hierarchy of the Paralympic field (Sherrill, 1998). Integration of the different impairment institutions into the then ‘wheelsport field’ began with “athletes with amputation, and visual disabilities (Toronto 1976), with cerebral palsy (Arnhem 1980) and to the category ‘les autres’, the ‘other’ athletes with disabilities (Stoke Mandeville 1984)” (Schantz & Gilbert, 2012: 360). The stakes of integration for each impairment group can be related to struggles of recognition and legitimation. These institutional hierarchies are comparable to research, such as that of Mastro et al. (1996), whereby hierarchies of impairments are reified ‘hierarchies of stigmatisation’ which are also institutionally hierarchized. As such the pursuit of external recognition, from the IOC, was positioned as being in the ‘joint interest’ (DePauw and Gavron, 2005) of the different groups but only attainable through a single representative institution. In addition to the institutional developments of the Paralympic field, the 1980s and specifically the 1988 Seoul Paralympic Games are positioned as a watershed for the Paralympic Games (Howe, 2008a). It was at Seoul that they first “utilized the same facilities, housing, competition sites, etc., as the 1988 Olympics, and the opening and closing ceremonies were identical” (DePauw & Gavron, 1995: 85-86). All Paralympic Games since Seoul 1988 have followed suit, albeit to varying degrees of commitment and enthusiasm from the different organising committees (Howe, 2008a).

A central struggle and concomitant structuring force of the Paralympic field’s history and rationalisation is classification. The IPC’s classification system engenders the market struggles between the dialectics of supply and demand. On the one hand the different impairments and sports vie for their place in the programme, whilst on the other hand the IPC’s struggle is to ensure the legitimacy of the sporting competitions. Howe (2006) outlines the rationalisation of the process in stating, “Classification in sport for the disabled continually evolves to allow for equitable and fair competition” (p. 42). Although a corollary question to this is, equitable and fair competition for who? In the same vein, others, more aligned to the broader disability field, have also questioned the legitimacy of the Paralympic classification system (Braye, 2012). For example, a lack of equitable competition because of insufficient athletes results in the sports’ removal from the programme. In this way the classification system is

central to the Paralympic field's struggle for legitimacy. Analogous to the IPC's power to determine the inclusion and exclusion of different impairments is the structuring force that this has on the legitimacy of differently structured dispositions and the legitimacy of the cultural practices of these same differently structured dispositions.

According to Wacquant (2005a) the subjective objectifications within academic literature offers a fruitful source of sociology in itself. As such three subjective objectifications of the Paralympic field's contemporary position are presented below:

Philosophy shifted away from disability sport in order to derive medical or therapeutic values towards sport for sports sake (Sherrill, 1998: 25-26).

The cultural environment surrounding Paralympic sport has been rapidly transformed over the past twenty years. This transformation is a result of the Paralympic Games shifting from an athlete-centred event to one in which the desire for corporate financial backing has increasingly been the target (Howe, 2004: 164).

By replacing the traditional disabled sport that celebrated equality and participation over performance and by adopting the logic of high-performance sport, the IPC excludes a great part of the disabled community (Schantz & Gilbert, 2012: 371).

Sherrill's (1998) statement presents a sense of a shift in the field's philosophy, which illuminates the field's rationalised struggle for self-determination and to autonomise itself from its own history, especially that of the medical field and its determinations. Howe's (2004) statement, on the other hand, presents a sense of the Paralympic field's loss of autonomy to the corporate field, which can be related to Schantz and Gilbert's (2012) nostalgia for a past vision of the Paralympic field. A slightly unorthodox relation can be drawn from these positionings of the Paralympic field and the Paralympic athlete to Albrecht's (1992) positioning of agents classed as 'disabled' as the "raw materials" of the rehabilitation industry. Similarly, these agents can be positioned as the raw product of the Paralympic sports market.

These statements reflecting the interrelated struggles over the representation and position of the Paralympic field are equally evident in the academic debates over Paralympism. Paralympism, as a philosophy, has been recognised and legitimised by some and not by others. Landry (1995), on one hand, has argued that "Paralympism appears somewhat superfluous, pleonastic; Olympism is sufficient...it says it all" (p. 5). While Howe (2008a), on the other, argues against such (dis)integration, affirming that "the Paralympic Movement has a distinctive cultural history and resulting habitus to match" (p. 34). These dynamics reveal the positions of each academic, or as Wacquant (2008) theorised:

Every field is thus the site of an ongoing clash between those who defend autonomous principles of judgement proper to that field and those who seek to introduce heteronomous standards because they need the support of external forces to improve their dominated position in it (p. 8).

Conceptualised in this way, the positions of neither academic are necessarily 'right' but rather reflect the underpinning struggles of a field and the dialectical strategies adopted in order to either preserve or transform it.

### Olympic-Paralympic Struggles

Bourdieu (1998) argued that sporting spectacles hide their 'backstage' economic struggles. While this is more easily related to athletes and their position, it can also be related to the institutions, such as the IOC and IPC, which represent the sporting spectacles. The contrasting economic positions of the IOC and the IPC are supported by Sherrill's (1998) statement that "...the IPC is incredibly poor" (p. 20) and Hill's (1993) statement that "Now that the IOC is rich it has become accustomed to riches, and has learned to protect them" (p. 100). **Figure 1Error! Reference source not found.** below illustrates the persistence of these contrasting positions by comparing the total revenue of the IOC (\$) and IPC (€) for the past number of years. This comparison of the respective economic positions of the IOC and IPC establishes the backdrop from which their other struggles are examined.

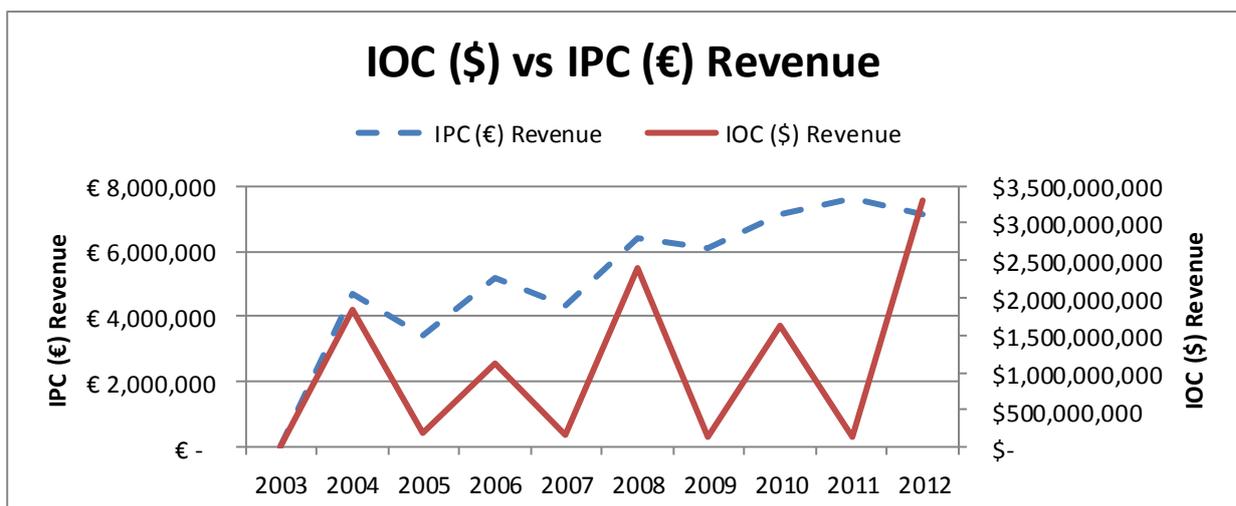


Figure 1. Total revenues of the IOC and IPC<sup>28</sup>.

The struggles between the Olympic and Paralympic fields are arguably of heightened significance for the latter given its dominated position. Further exemplifying the IPC's

<sup>28</sup> Source: drawn from respective annual financial reports of each institution.

dominated position is the labelling of the Paralympic Games as a 'spin-off' by Andranovich and Burbank (2011). These struggles of autonomy have been apparent from the very origins of the Paralympic movement with integration with the Olympic movement being at the fore of Guttmann's aspirations (Brittain et al., 2012; Howe, 2008a). The hierarchical struggles that are presented here between the IOC and IPC can be applied more broadly to the sports market. For example, Toll-Depper's (1999) positioning of the Paralympic Games as the second largest sports spectacle to the Olympics is by no means objective, but rather strategic. It is strategic in that all sports will arguably attempt to position themselves as high as possible to maintain their social and cultural significance.

Mason (2002) documented the status quo relationship of the IOC and IPC, outlining the Co-operative Agreements signed in the early 2000s. An argument proposed by Mason (2002) was that the cooperation was brought about by the increase in popularity and commercial appeal of the Paralympic Games. The current status of this struggle is one of heightening integration with the current joint agreement recently renewed until 2020 (IPC, 2012). Whilst these relations appear appeased on paper, Purdue (2013) has documented the ongoing political and economic struggles between the Olympic and Paralympic fields through the example of who would 'foot the bill' for the London 2012 Paralympic Games.

### **Turning Olympic Criticism on the Paralympic Field**

The Olympic and Paralympic fields are subjectively distinct, whilst simultaneously being objectively and structurally similar in both being positioned within the market of cultural and sporting spectacles. These homologies offer the opportunity to briefly consider academic critique of the Olympic Games, a literary field arguably more nuanced than the Paralympic field, and relate it to the Paralympic Games. Hill (1996) offered a critique of the Olympic Games relating to its gigantism, but in two senses. The first was that the size of the Olympic Games was seemingly unstoppable, growing with each event. This point is easily relatable to the Paralympic Games in terms of the issues of classification and the restriction of athletes which was one of the key factors in the Co-operative agreement negotiations with the IOC (Mason, 2002). In the second sense, Hill (1996) outlined the problem of the Olympics' 'gigantism in spirit' (Hill, 1996). This second sense can be related to the broader social goals of the IPC and its major NPCs, such as the British Paralympic Association (BPA).

There are other more principle and politically based critiques of the Olympic Games. For example, Lenskyj (2004) has argued that the Olympic Games threaten freedom of speech and other human rights. While Brohm's (2007: 13) political argument that "...the International Olympic Movement fully reflects the interests of Imperialism" is also noteworthy. Questions can be derived from these critiques as to whether the Paralympic Games threaten human rights, and whether it is a vehicle of imperialism? What's more, if these criticisms have any substance, does

the increasingly co-operative relationship between the IOC and the IPC make the latter complicit in such matters. A final simple economic consideration is the deliberation of whether the capital used to host the Olympics could be allocated better. The Paralympic field is arguably inseparable from this economic consideration given the current organisation of the two Games. There are many other criticisms of the Olympics which could have been considered here but the point is that they can all be positioned as challenges of legitimacy. The objective homology between the positions of the IPC and the IOC makes Olympic critique a fruitful source of future possible challenges of legitimacy for the Paralympic field.

### **Paralympic Criticism**

As seen above, Howe (2008a), Peers (2009) and Purdue (2013) present different constructions and conceptualisations of Paralympic critique. The aim here is to briefly consider the critique presented by Braye et al. (2012). In their research Braye et al. (2012) examine the relations of the disability field to the London 2012 Paralympic Games. 32 members of the UK Disabled People's Council (UKDPC) constituted their sample. This group presents a significant position from which to examine relations to the Paralympic Games, especially given the IPC's engagement in disability rights (Braye et al., 2013). What's more, the recentness and empirical basis of Braye et al.'s (2012) research makes it particularly noteworthy.

Braye et al. (2012) draw a number of arguments out of their research. Of principal note was the exclusion of disability activists from the Paralympic field. This autonomy between the two fields has already been noted, such as the Paralympic field's delay in inverting disability. Another significant criticism presented by Braye et al. (2012) is the argument that the disability activists positioned the Paralympic Games as being a 'hindrance' to equality. Braye et al. (2012) stated that "Our participants' overtly negative view of the Paralympics and its athletes clearly demonstrates a particular DPM stance that is dismissive of Paralympic sport as a vehicle for disability equality" (p. 11). A final and interrelated argument of Braye et al.'s (2012) research was that there was a disconnect between the Paralympics as a symbol of equality and the contemporary symbolic representation of 'ordinary disabled people'. From Braye et al.'s (2012) position, this disconnect and misrepresentation of disability by the Paralympic field was corollary to the misappropriation of the Paralympic Games by governments and the propagandization of disability equality. The next section reviews the government's engagement with London 2012, alongside that of the media and the corporate sponsors. Understanding the position of these fields and their positioning of London 2012 is important to later discussing some of Braye et al.'s (2012) arguments.

## **Corporate, Media and Government Fields**

As previously outlined there are five key fields to this thesis. It is necessary to ensure that there is at least some recognition of each in this literature review chapter. So far the disability, disability sport and Paralympic literature have been touched upon. This leaves the corporate, media and government fields, which will now be examined.

### **Corporate Field**

According to Howe and Jones (2006) “the Paralympics is well organized with a relatively high profile that attracts significant media coverage and commercial sponsorship like many other modern sporting spectacles” (p. 31). Despite this assertion Park et al. (2011) argue that there are a lack of empirical studies of the engagement of corporate sponsors with the Paralympic Games in the academic literature. This is all the more magnified if the Paralympics’ position is compared to that of the Olympic Games which have a much longer history of commercial engagement (Giannoulakis et al., 2008) and a more extensive literature field.

There are a range of different relations within the academic literature to the engagement of corporate sponsors with the Paralympic Games. Broadly, the marketing and management literature does not question the basis of the relationship, instead focusing on how the relationship can be made more efficient and profitable. To this end the sport management field has researched the influence of Paralympic sponsorship on consumer attitudes and purchase intentions (Nam and Lee, 2013; Park et al., 2011); the efficacy of Paralympic sponsorship on nondisabled people (Dickinson, 1996); and developed theoretical concepts such as sponsorship ‘congruence’ (MacDougall et al., 2013).

In contrast, the sociological and anthropological literature questions the fundamental basis of the relation and the effects of sponsorship on the cultural organisation of Paralympic sport. From this academics have questioned the concern for the financial stability of the Paralympics over the interests of the ‘practice community’ (Howe and Jones, 2006), the force to make them more ‘spectator-friendly’ (Peers, 2012) and the loss of the Paralympic athlete’s autonomy and independence (Peers, 2009). Howe and Jones (2006), drawing upon Morgan (1994), dichotomised the Paralympic field between internal and external rewards, where the latter is exemplified by financial remuneration and is diametrically opposite to the practice of sport as something in itself. Alternatively, Purdue (2013) recognises the importance of the sponsorship field for the Paralympic Games and its potential to offer a space through which Paralympic athletes may acquire and accumulate all forms of capital as conceptualised by Bourdieu (1986). All of these positions can be related to the symbolic struggle over the legitimate uses of sport (Bourdieu, 1978). What’s more, the discussion of the supercrip

literature can be related to the symbolic struggles over the representation of Paralympic athletes, Paralympic sport and disability.

### **Media Field**

The media field has been conceptualised as the site *par excellence* of the struggle for recognition and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1998). It is the convertible efficacy of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) into other forms of capital that heightens these struggles in the media field. Bias in media recognition has been a major struggle for disability activists (Golden, 2003). As such the growing levels of media recognition of the Paralympic field, which have been related to its contemporary commercialisation and professionalization (Thomas and Smith, 2009; Howe, 2008a), has attracted the attention of academics. Purdue (2013) identified the growing recognition of the media's importance by the IPC. The increased media recognition of the Paralympic field contrasts to Sherrill's (1998) identification of the historical lack of media attention, and Schell and Duncan's (1999) research of the Atlanta 1996 Paralympics Games which found that CBS broadcasted no live coverage. Sherrill (1998) considered relations to the Paralympics as not 'serious' sport, that is as illegitimate sport, to be the central issue. Another consideration, albeit subjective and historically unreflexive, in regards to the Paralympics' lack of media recognition was its lack of aesthetic appeal (Bertling and Schierl, 2008; Brittain, 2004). This reason is only valid insofar as aesthetic capital is related to the legitimacy of a sport, which in itself is a broader political struggle of the sports and cultural field (Bourdieu, 1977). Brittain (2004) has also cited the control of the media field by white middle class, non-disabled males, and the lack of 'intrinsic' and commercial value of the Paralympics as other reasons for its lack of media recognition.

From a different position Bertling and Schierl (2008) have argued that media recognition and coverage of disability sport inevitably runs into political and social issues. As such the growing media recognition of the Paralympic field has heightened academic consideration of the media field's symbolic representation of disability and the impact of this on relations to disability. This can be evidenced in Thomas and Smith's (2009) contemplation of the impact of the media field, and *de facto* objectifying the space of possibilities, and the polarisation of this impact between challenging and/or reinforcing current relations to disability. In such conceptualisations there is an implicit political element, that is relations of power, to the academic field's objectification of the media's representation of disability and impact on relations to disability. Pertinently, interpretations of the print media's representation of disability by academics, such as Thomas and Smith (2003), have polarised the images between conveying passive and active, and competitive and non-competitive postures.

In examining the hierarchy of media recognition of the Paralympic field Hargreaves (2000) highlighted the greater amount of recognition of males over females. Another structural

element identified as having a determining effect on the hierarchy of Paralympic media recognition is impairment. The structural complexities and intersectionality (Titchkosky, 2007) of impairment, such as its acquired and congenital forms, its degree of visibility and its position in the 'hierarchy of acceptability' (Nixon, 2007; Smith and Thomas, 2009), further complicate the objectification of the hierarchy of the media's recognition of the Paralympic field. These internal dynamics of the hierarchy of media's recognition of the Paralympics field can be related to Deal's (2003) examination of the 'hierarchy of impairment' or to the internal institutional hierarchy of the Paralympic field.

The concept of the 'Supercrip' in the Paralympic literature is significant as it engenders the symbolic struggle and representation of the inter- and intra-relations of disability and sport. These struggles are most overtly present within the mediated representations of the Paralympic Games and Paralympic athletes. Silva and Howe (2012) defined the supercrip as "a stereotype narrative displaying the plot of someone who has 'to fight against his/her impairment' in order to overcome it and achieve unlikely 'success'" (p. 178; italics in original). In this way, on the one hand, disability is related to prejudicial stereotypes and the 'othering' process, whilst, on the other hand, sport is positioned as a space where cultural capital can be accumulated. It is this combination, where elite Paralympic athletes achieve success and acquire symbolic capital in spite of their impairment, that Silva and Howe (2012) term 'achievement syndrome'. Hardin and Hardin (2004) have described the internal struggles between disability activists, who were critical of the dominant supercrip representation of disability in the media, and the wheelchair sport players who recognised the exposure that it brought to their sport. Within this example, and pervading much of the literature, there is a general tension between determining whether such a representation of disability and disability sport is either disempowering or empowering disability (Berger, 2008).

In summary, the aim here has been to recognise the struggles and forces of the media field and the academic field's engagement in these same struggles and forces. The predominant and interrelated struggles are the fight for media recognition and the political hermeneutics of the way that the Paralympic Games are symbolically represented and what they symbolically represent.

### **Government Field**

In this research the UK government is positioned as one of the central 'producers and enforcers' (Girginov & Hills, 2008) of legacy. The UK government's importance to London 2012 in this regard contrasts to Allison's (2005) argument that "... within the international system states are much less important than they were. In sport, they generally (and to a remarkable degree) compete with each other within agendas set by transnational corporations and global non-governmental organisations" (p. 2). This juxtaposition illuminates the debate over the role and

position of governments in the sport's field, and society more broadly. Going beyond these debates we can analyse the internal and external strategic use of sport by governments. Hill (1996) exemplified this point: "Governments do not merely use sport as a means of projecting a national image abroad, but in order to achieve social and political objectives at home" (p.2). Henry's (2007) conception of political governance is perhaps most pertinent to these considerations of the UK government's position.

In relation to the social and political legacy objectives of London 2012 Girginov (2012) argues that they were congruent with pre-existing strategies to use sport to remedy social issues, alongside the necessity to fulfil its legal agreement to host the Olympic and Paralympic Games. In the organisation and planning of the London 2012 Games 11 legacy related government boards were created (Girginov, 2012). Such institutionalised and bureaucratized products signify the importance of legacy to the legitimation of the Games. In their figurational analysis of London 2012 legacy related policies Bloyce and Lovett (2012) noted convergences and divergences with pre-existing policies<sup>29</sup>, the ready acceptance of legacy benefits without explicit responsibility or accountability and the 'repackaging' of legacy policies by the Coalition government. While Chappellet (2012) has criticised the Coalition government for cutting many of the original legacy policies. Aside from the publication of legacy policies Bloyce and Lovett (2012) identified the communication of 'good news updates' as a government strategy to legitimise their practices. Government engagement in matters of disability and disability sport reflects its position and relation to these markets, especially the exchanges of economic capital.

This chapter aimed to objectify a range of academic fields as relating to the key structures of this research: disability, sport, legacy and the Olympic and Paralympic Games. Central to overcoming the problem of synthesising such a broad range of structures, their histories and their academic fields has been the positioning of the academic literature as an abundant source of sociology in itself, rather than positioning it as definitive or absolute. In this way it was possible to provide a consistent sociological approach and analyses of the different structures. Such reflexivity reflects the methodological concerns and considerations of this thesis, which will now be described in more detail.

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<sup>29</sup> Bloyce and Lovett (2012: 372) state: "... arguably the publication of new plans and strategies is an example of how winning the right to host the Games has impacted on policy, but this 'change' is alongside continuity".

## Chapter 3: Methodology and Methods

### Introduction

Having outlined the underpinning academic literature of the research the thesis now turns to a description of how the research was conducted and its underpinning philosophical premises. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the methodology and methods of the thesis. Central to the beginning of this chapter is philosophy, specifically the philosophy of science. As a general overview philosophy has been defined as “...the study of the fundamental nature of knowledge, reality, and existence” (Oxford, 2014). This definition highlights two central elements of the philosophy of science that is ontology and epistemology. These two axioms structure the initial elaboration of the research’s philosophical position. In this philosophical discussion of ontology and epistemology there is recognition of the philosophical uncertainty that an advanced understanding of ontology brings to scientific research. At the same time it is recognised that it is the certainty of this uncertainty that lays the grounds on which scientific knowledge is pursued.

From this abstract and philosophical discussion the chapter goes on to outline the underpinning methodology of the research. Central was the decision to adopt and implement a sociological rather than a generic methodology. This decision stemmed from Kuhn’s (1970) critique of generic methodological directives. Kuhn (1970) specifically argued about the inadequacy and insufficiency of generic methodological directives “...to dictate a unique substantive conclusion to many sorts of scientific questions” (p. 3). The inadequacy of generic methodologies is magnified in the social sciences where methodologists have the difficult task of having to cover a wide range of disciplines. This results in generalised statements and directives for research. Bourdieu et al. (1991) underpin this by arguing: “Entirely occupied with the search for an ideal logic of research, the methodologists can only address themselves to a researcher abstractly defined by the capacity to achieve these standards of perfection – an impeccable, i.e. impossible or infertile, researcher” (p. 8). It is from this position that a generalised methodology is avoided with a sociological methodology pursued in its place.

By way of structure, the sociological methodology first considers the position of sociology (in society and as an academic discipline) and the sociologist, as well as their disposition, before moving onto a more substantive description of the sociological design of the research. Underpinning the sociological design is Bourdieu et al.’s (1991) epistemological hierarchy which consists of and proceeds from ‘the break’, the construction of a conceptual framework to the empirical design. This epistemological hierarchy will be outlined in full. It should be noted how Bourdieu et al. (1991) aligned this structure to Polanyi’s three floors of

science: meta-science, science itself and objects of science. Making 'the break', as the first epistemological step, involves breaking with the preconceptions and 'ordinary' presentation of a phenomenon (Bourdieu et al., 1991). In this sense the break can be related to, but at the same time goes beyond, the view of the sociologist requiring a 'critical' disposition. More theoretically, it can be related to Durkheim's (1982) fundamental principle to treat social facts as things.

Following 'the break', construction of the research's conceptual framework is the next step of the epistemic hierarchy. Underpinning the construction are the principles of Bourdieu's social theory of practice as outlined by Wacquant (2008) and his correspondent theoretical concepts: habitus, field and capital. A diagrammatic representation of this conceptual framework is presented in the chapter to aid comprehension but also to provide a useful overview for reference. The last step of the epistemological hierarchy, the empirical design, incorporates and inculcates all of the preceding methodological and theoretical commitments, and is composed of two discrete elements. First, there is the document analysis of bid and government legacy planning documents. The purpose of this element is to offer a preliminary empirical objectification of conceptualisations of Paralympic-disability legacy outside of the academic field. Following this is an outline of the construction and conducting of the interviews as the second and more substantive element of the empirical design. This chapter concludes with a note on the ethical considerations of the research.

In summary, this chapter begins with a discussion of the philosophy of science and a presentation of its ontology and epistemology. These lay the foundations from which the sociological methodology, in opposition to generic methodologies, is presented. The final element of this chapter is the outlining of the sociological design of the research. This sociological design, as described, is structured by the epistemic hierarchy proposed by Bourdieu et al. (1991).

## **Philosophy of Science**

Ontology is an open-ended question of the nature of being, or of “what is really real?” (Ford, 1975: 2). The only certainty of questions of ontology is uncertainty. It is on the certainty of this uncertainty that all social life is based. Social life is able to be based upon such uncertainty because the possibility of alternative realities does not foreclose the possibility of comprehending our taken-for-granted ‘reality’, or as Ford (1975) put it, “the ‘reality’ of here and now depends upon the ‘reality’ of normality” (p. 3). It is this ‘here and now’ that underpins the ontological position of this thesis where ontology is not a question of what it is to be but one of being (Wacquant, 2008).

In science questions of ontology are related to questions of the nature of knowledge, of which there are many divisions and visions. The methodological divisions between the natural and social sciences are most apparent in their distinctive ontological positions, namely objectivism and constructionism. In relation to social phenomena Bryman (2012) distinguishes these two positions on the basis of the independency or dependency of social phenomena and their meaning on social actors. This research’s ontology of knowledge positions phenomenon as being in a perpetual dialectical struggle between the independency and dependency of their meaning on social actors, recognising the indivisibility of this act. Implicit to this position is recognition of the reciprocity of the acts of discovery and refinement in the scientific process (Bourdieu et al., 1991). The underpinning principles of this position are agonism and monism (Wacquant, 2008). Agonism is the view of things in competition or contention, whilst monism is viewing the divisions of philosophy and social life as indivisible (Wacquant, 2008). Bringing these two principles together produces an understanding of philosophy, and of social life more broadly, as a space of ceaseless dialectical struggles. Wacquant (2008) argued that it is the perpetuity or constancy of these principles that means it is ‘struggles’ rather than ‘reproduction’ that is of central importance to Bourdieu’s sociology. The following passage further outlines this philosophical position:

Science is a product of the human mind, a product that conforms to the laws of thought and the outside world. Hence it has two aspects, one subjective, the other objective; and both are equally necessary, for it is as impossible to alter the laws of the mind as it is to change the laws of the Universe (Bourdieu et al., 1991: 157).

From this, a reconfiguring of Bryman’s (2012) division of ontology between objectivism and constructionism would produce something akin to ‘objectified constructionism’ or ‘constructed objectivism’.

Epistemology, like ontology, is an open-ended question about the nature of knowledge. Once more the opposing antinomies of natural and social science are evident but this time distinguished between positivism and interpretivism (Bryman, 2012), or absolutism and relativism (Bourdieu, 1989). These epistemological positions relate to the broader debate over subjectivism and objectivism. Subjectivism holds that the meaning of social reality lies with individuals and their interpretations, while objectivism holds that social reality is imposed upon individuals through and determined by objective relations and forces (Wacquant, 2008). With none of these epistemological polarities ever able to be definitive in themselves it is better to recognise the underlying tension over 'scientific legitimacy' within academia (Bourdieu, 1975). It is recognition of this tension that led Bourdieu (1989) to conclude that "Science need not choose between relativism and absolutism: the truth of the social world is at stake in the struggles between agents who are unequally equipped to reach an absolute, i.e., self-fulfilling vision" (p. 22). Going even further Bourdieu et al. (1991) positioned sociological science as one that must heighten the dialectics between the positions of relativism and absolutism.

These conclusions form the ontological and epistemological positions of this thesis, most notably the assertion that the truth of the social world is to be found in the perpetual struggles of society. In this epistemological sense this thesis is as a study of the objectively and subjectively defined stakes and struggles of the London 2012's disability legacy and the objective and subjective relations to these same stakes and struggles.

## **A Sociological Methodology**

The introduction to this thesis outlined the position of sociology within the broader scientific field. Here the focus of discussion is sociology and in particular Bourdieu's sociology to present a sociological as opposed to a generic methodology for the reasons already outlined. To begin, it is necessary to recognise that sociology's position is fundamentally complicated by having the social world for its object of study, and further complicated by the determination that it be scientifically, that is objectively, represented (Bourdieu, 1999). What's more, sociology is not only involved in a symbolic struggle with the natural and other social sciences but also with the broader political fields that objectify the social world (Wacquant, 2005b). Thus legitimacy can be understood as being necessary within and without of the field of sociology (Bourdieu, 1988). This is arguably why Sugden and Tomlinson (2002) demarcate investigative sports sociology from sports journalism on the grounds of pursuing objectivity in combination with being theoretically informed and generative. Such a demarcation can be positioned as the sociology of sport field's strategic pursuit of autonomy and distinction.

The sociology of sport field's need for legitimacy, from within and without, can be related to an understanding of the historical development of the broader sports field as

changing from within and without. Allison (1986) argued that the presuppositions of sport as a trivial, apolitical and autonomous subject were significant factors contributing to its subordinate position. Allison's (1986) 'historical' comments can now be juxtaposed to contemporary assertions of sport's economic, cultural and political significance (Houlihan, 2014; Henry, 2007). These external homologies that sport now shares have arguably contributed to sport's contemporary significance, the importance of the study of it and its position in the struggles of society.

The social study of sport can be polarized between the romanticization of sport, and its social utility, and the critique of this romanticization and social utility. This sets up the dialectical struggles (Gruneau, 1983) of the academic study of sport. The dialectical positions adopted in the contestation over the legitimacy of the Olympic Games is evident in the debates between Cashman (2001) and Booth (2001), and Henry (2012) and Lenskyj (2012). Inculcating this dialectical understanding of the fields that study sport, Sugden and Tomlinson (2002) pertinently argued that sport is "an ongoing narrative of struggle that blends individual and collective action or agency with political, economic and cultural flows and forces. It is to understand this narrative that is the key task for a critical sociology of sport" (p. 8). This interpretative battle can be understood and observed as a central and perpetual internal struggle of the sociological, or otherwise, study of sport. Within this internal battle the positioning of sociology as 'critical' is a well-established vision and is exemplified by Brohm's (1976) comparison of the space of sport to a 'prison of measured time'. In the academic literature to be critical is to be sceptical of authority (Sugden & Tomlinson, 2002) or of *à la mode* ideas (Bourdieu et al., 1991). Lenskyj (2002) however describes the difficulty of this position because the 'profits', material or symbolic, of studying and researching sport are more often tied up with the broader 'corporate' sports field, thereby censoring full and proper critique.

Another point on sociology and the sociologist is identification of the privileged position occupied by the sociologist, one which has been argued to propagate scholastic fallacies (Bourdieu, 2000). Wacquant (2008) argued that "...the sociologist necessarily assumes a contemplative or scholastic stance that causes them to (mis)construe the social world as an interpretive puzzle to be resolved, rather than as a mesh of practical tasks to be accomplished in real time and space" (p. 12). The scholastic fallacy, then, is a lack of critical self-awareness of one's position as a sociologist, forming the basis of much epistemological error and illegitimacy.

Inseparable from the sociologist's position is their disposition, a subject dominated by the notion of the 'sociological imagination'. Young and Atkinson (2012) argue that the interrelation of the sociological imagination with ontology and epistemology is a prerogative of qualitative research. Describing the sociological imagination Mills (1959) argued that it "...in

considerable part consists of the capacity to shift from one perspective to another, and in the process to build an adequate view of a total society and of its components” (p. 232). So for Mills (1959) it was about perspective and a holistic understanding of society. Ford’s (1975) take on the sociological imagination was to position it as a prerequisite to transcending<sup>30</sup> the normalised organisation of social life. On a more primitive level Arendt (1994) simply described imagination as being central to ‘understanding’. Being theoretically based the final characterisation of the sociologist’s disposition goes to Bourdieu et al. (1991) who described the sociological habitus as “...nothing other than the internalization of the principles of the theory of sociological knowledge” (p. 5).

From these assertions it is timely to consider the principle of monism and the synthetic quality of Bourdieu’s sociology that have been integrated into this thesis. It is readily acknowledged that there are many other prescriptions of principles and qualities of sociology that go beyond these two<sup>31</sup>. The prerogative of prioritising Bourdieu’s principle of monism and the synthetic quality of his sociology (Wacquant, 2008) is to uphold the theoretical and methodological consistency that is persistently referred to. The philosophical principle of monism relates to Bourdieu’s sociological struggle to overcome the archaic divisions of sociology (Jenkins, 1992; Swartz, 1997; Robbins, 2000; Hugaard, 2002; Wacquant, 2008; Shusterman, 1999b), namely in the form of the dichotomies between subjectivity-objectivity, absolutism-relativism and agency-structure. It was the principle of monism that underpinned this pursuit, and can be more simply understood as an ‘anti-dualistic’ position (Wacquant, 2008). The application of this principle has already been evidenced in the elaboration of this thesis’ ontology and epistemology but it is further applied in the theoretical and empirical design which has yet to be outlined.

Another quality and principle of Bourdieu’s approach is of being sociologically and methodologically synthetic (Wacquant, 2008). As an example of being synthetic Bourdieu integrated the works of Durkheim, Marx and others into his work (Wacquant, 2002). Bourdieu’s capacity to do this was augmented by his early pursuits in philosophy (Shusterman, 1999a). Despite being far from theoretically synthetic, especially given the predominance of Bourdieu, this principle underpins this research and its design. However its synthetic quality comes in drawing together Bourdieu’s sociology and methodology and embedding it throughout the

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<sup>30</sup> “If science is the “discovery” of formerly unknown reality, is this reality not conceived of in a certain sense as transcendent? And is it not thought that there still exists something “unknown” and hence transcendent? And does the concept of science as “creation” not then mean that it too is “politics”? Everything depends on whether the creation involved is “arbitrary”, or whether it is rational-i.e. “useful” to men in that it enlarges their concept of life, and raises to a higher level (develops) life itself” (Gramsci, 1971: 245).

<sup>31</sup> This point recognises that the principles and qualities of sociology are being perpetually contested.

thesis. How this principle was applied to the sociological design of the research will now be outlined.

## **Sociological Craft**

Bourdieu et al.'s (1991) *The Craft of Sociology* provides a useful synthesis of methodological directives for sociological research. A defining directive was that the proper order of a sociological methodology is one that "subordinates validation to construction and construction to the break with self-evident appearances" (Bourdieu et al., 1991: 11). It is this epistemological hierarchy, listed below, that structured the empirical design of the research. Throughout the description it is important to bear in mind the research's statement of focus as a sociological study of the 'Paralympic-disability' legacy politics of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games.

1. Rupture with ordinary perception – 'the break'
2. Conceptual construction
3. Empirical design and methods

### **'The Break'**

The rupture with ordinary perception, or 'the break', relates to the abnegation of the prenotions and preconceptions of an object. 'Prenotions' and 'preconstructions' proliferate in what Bourdieu et al. (1991) labelled 'spontaneous sociology'. Initially constructed on the spurious question of 'what is Paralympic legacy?' this research could have easily produced such spontaneous sociology. The methodology presented here is an attempt to avoid committing this sociological 'cardinal sin' by making the break with the 'ordinary' presentation of the problem of legacy and thereby attempts to avoid perpetuating the spontaneous sociology that already flourishes on this subject.

To actualise the rupture "statistical measurement, logical and lexicological critique, and the genealogy of concepts and problematics" (Wacquant, 2008: 266; Bourdieu et al., 1991) are prescribed as appropriate methods. Not being conceptualised as a statistically measurable problem, this research made use of the latter two techniques. These techniques underpinned the literature review which attempted to problematize legacy, disability and the Paralympic Games logically, lexicologically and genealogically. Bourdieu's imperative requiring the radical historicisation of the discipline that claims to study a subject (Wacquant, 2005) further underpinned the literature review's approach. It can also be noted that the initial empirical objectification of Paralympic-disability legacy in the Olympic bid documents employed these techniques but this is outlined in more detail later.

An important and principal reason for making the rupture with ordinary perception is to engineer the principle of non-consciousness. According to this principle “...the cause of social phenomena is to be found, not in the consciousness of individuals, but in the system of objective relations in which they are enmeshed” (Wacquant, 2008: 266). This principle contributed to the inversion of the research problem, that is ‘legacy’, from the event to the institutions. Other factors contributing to this inversion are outlined in due course.

### Conceptual Construction

Having made the initial break, the second stage of Bourdieu et al.’s (1991) epistemological hierarchy required the construction of a conceptual framework. For consistency the conceptual framework was constructed from the vast array and continuous theoretical elaborations Bourdieu (1977, 1979) made to his social theory. Supplementing Bourdieu’s own writings are sociological elaborations and overviews by Wacquant (2002, 2008, 2013). The complexity of the interrelationships of the theory justifies the somewhat ‘rigid’ diagrammatic representation presented below. However, this aesthetic rigidity should not be mistaken for theoretical rigidity in that the concepts of the framework are characterised by their fluidity and reciprocity. This diagrammatic representation of the conceptual framework will now be outlined.

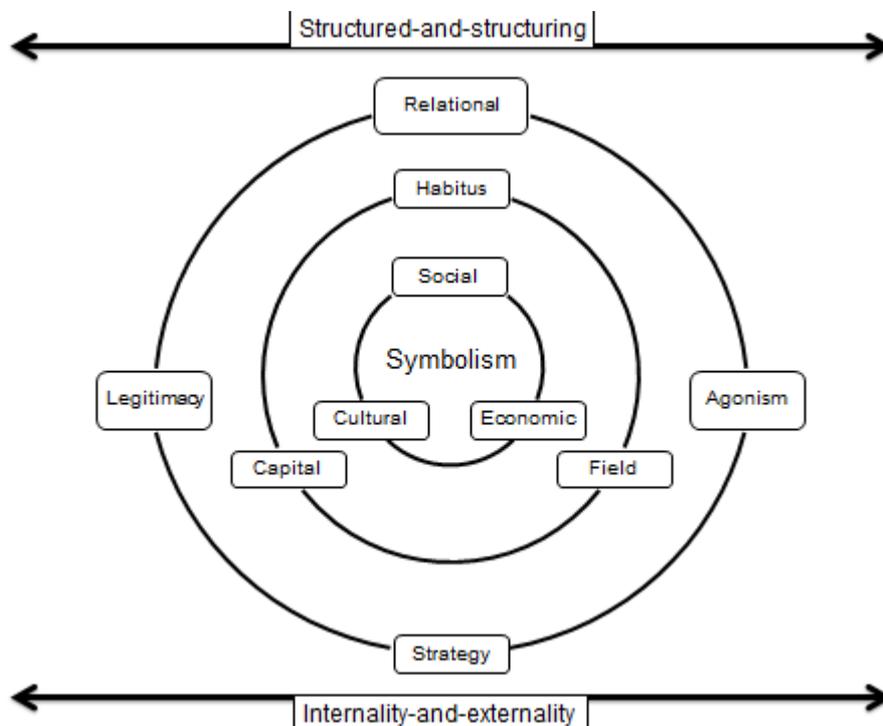


Figure 2. Principles and theory of practice. Partially adapted from Wacquant (2008).

A primacy of the conceptual framework is given to the upper and lower continuums of the conceptual framework as they relate to each other and to the concepts of each layer. The upper continuum recognises the dialectic between the past, that is the historical constitution of

the present, and the immediacy of the present-future. It is in this sense that Bourdieu (1979) refers to the continuity of the structured and structuring forces of social life and practice. Correspondently the lower continuum, that is the 'internality-externality' continuum, recognises the dialectics between the internal and external dynamics and relations of the concepts that underpinned Bourdieu's social theory. Both continuums highlight the anti-dualistic struggles that Bourdieu's social theory pursued.

### **Strategy, Agonism and Relationalism**

The outermost layer is composed of three key principles of Bourdieu's social theory and the underpinning struggle of legitimacy (Wacquant, 2008). A foremost principle is that practice is fundamentally strategic (Haugaard, 2002; Wacquant, 2008), that is not mechanistic (Bourdieu, 2004). Analogous to this is the emphasis of social life being agonistic at an ontological level (Wacquant, 2008) but more pertinently in social, cultural and economic ways which cumulatively form the symbolic struggles (Bourdieu, 1986) of the field of fields that constitute 'society' (Bourdieu, 1987). Of note is the fundamental relation between these struggles to 'legitimacy' and 'recognition'.

A third underpinning principle of Bourdieu's sociology is relationalism (Wacquant, 2008). Relationalism gives primacy to relations, although this extends beyond the confines of 'social' relations as emphasised by DePauw (1997), instead extending to all inter and intra, subjective and objective, social, cultural, economic and symbolic relations. It is also relationalism that underpins the interrelationship of Bourdieu's concepts that is habitus, field and capital. While noting its critical potential Schinkel (2003) declared that "Whoever makes use of a relational logic, places the convictions and beliefs of those he analyses between brackets and concludes that these are merely a socially constructed *docta ignorantia*" (p. 78-79). Schinkel's declaration could be misconstrued as diminishing the 'realness' and significance of these beliefs but it is this exact quality that underpins the critical potential of relationalism. Another caveat of the relational approach is found in turning it on itself, realising the impossibility of the "view from nowhere" (Schinkel, 2003: 90). Drawing all of these elements together social practice is positioned as the structured and structuring, internal and external dynamics of relations, strategies and struggles.

Although legitimacy is positioned in the layer with the other principles, consideration of it as a principle is problematic. Thus, rather than necessarily needing to define it, it is positioned as a concomitant struggle and force of any field (Wacquant, 2008). It is in this way that the research will examine the struggles and force of legitimacy within and between the different fields.

## Habitus and Field

The habitus is the essential mechanism through which agents engage and are engaged by society. Conceptually it is the congealing component of Bourdieu's social theory and of social life in that it is through the habitus that subjects internalise the external and externalise the internal (Bourdieu, 1977, 1979). This relational dialectic is illuminated in Berger's (1963) statement that "...society defines man, and in turn is defined by man" (p. 176). Wacquant (2005c) reaffirms the dialectics between the internality and externality of the production of the habitus' disposition which structures the 'spontaneous' generation of practice and habits within a social context. This interplay between the habitus (the 'internal') and the field (the 'external') requires acknowledgement of the fact that despite being distinct concepts, they are incredibly interrelated. It is the complexity of this interrelationship that creates society's own complexities and perplexities.

The habitus has also been described as "historically constituted, institutionally grounded, and thus a socially variable, generative matrix" (Wacquant, 1992: 19). Providing a summative characterisation of the habitus Bourdieu (1984) described it as one that is inculcated, structured, durable, generative and transposable. The latter two qualities are important in pre-empting criticisms of Bourdieu's theory for being deterministic. Of note is the affinity of Bourdieu's habitus with Giddens' practical knowledge consciousness or Foucault's 'épistemes' (Haugard, 2002). However, Bourdieu (1989) more often related his work to Goffman whose statement, 'sense of one's place, sense of the place of others', is particularly pertinent to the *sens pratique* that underpinned Bourdieu's theory

Interrelated with the habitus, Bourdieu (1987) constructed the 'field' to comprehend the 'plurality' of social space, thus conceptualising society as a field of fields. Defining the field, Bourdieu (1998) stated: "A field is a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and others who are dominated" (p. 40). Similarly, Wacquant (2008) highlights three key elements of a field as a space of positions, of internal and external struggles, and defined by its 'degree of autonomy' to define itself. Booth's (2004) argument for a deconstructionist approach to Olympic history resonates with the internal and external struggles of a field in stating: "...each group has its own unique perspective and faces its own struggles and, moreover, that every group is subjected to internal pressures and tensions" (p. 18). The struggle of a field for autonomy to define itself assumes these same internal and external dynamics. These features of a field are particularly important and apparent when two or more fields come together, as in this research. Further expanding the conceptualisation of the field, Wacquant and Bourdieu (1992) argue that it is:

...a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situations (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relations to other positions (p. 97).

A final simpler description of the field is as “...a structured and objective network of social relations where agents are engaged in a contest for resources and positions” (Kitchin and Howe, 2013: 124). It is the emphasis here of the ‘profits’ and the ‘contest’ that brings Bourdieu’s (1986) conceptualisation of ‘capital’ to focus. However, before outlining the concept of ‘capital’ it is necessary to quickly reiterate the relation of the field and habitus to the structured and structuring, internal and external dynamics of the continuums of the conceptual framework. Consideration of all of these interrelations produces a complex conceptual framework to understanding practice. It understands that the field and habitus have internal and external dimensions while at the same time being structured by the past and structuring ‘present-future’ practices. What’s more Wacquant (2008) highlighted the inadequacy of isolating the habitus from the field and vice versa to making sense of practice, rather arguing that it is in the space and ‘relationship between’ that is of sociological significance. It is in this space ‘between’ that the social and mental, that is social positions and mental dispositions, meet to generate practice.

### **Capital: Social, Cultural and Economic**

Bourdieu (1986) argued that it was “impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory” (p. 46). At a fundamental level then capital can be related to power as a more common descriptor. However, capital assumes a much broader meaning for Bourdieu (1986) in being conceptualised as “a force inscribed in objective or subjective structures...the principle underlying immanent regularities of the social world” (p. 46). The objective structures that Bourdieu refers to here relate to one’s position, while the subjective structures relate to one’s disposition. Although in his research Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) enjoyed playing with the method of objectifying the subjective and subjectivising the objective<sup>32</sup>. The final part of Bourdieu’s (1989) statement relates to the structured, that is the historical constitution, and the immediate determining and structuring force of capital.

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<sup>32</sup> The method of objectifying the objective is described here by Maton (2003: 57): “Bourdieu’s epistemic reflexivity comprises of making the objectifying relation itself the object for analysis; the resultant objectification of objectification is, he argues, the epistemological basis for social scientific knowledge”.

These objective and subjective structures of capital assume three principle forms: social, cultural and economic (Bourdieu, 1986). Each of these forms can be further atomised, however any other form is necessarily a derivative and subordinate to these three. “Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu, 1986: 51). The second form, cultural capital, is an embodied capacity to do something, with the efficacy of this capital dependent upon the level of mastery and the level of demand (Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural capital can be objectified and institutionalised (Bourdieu, 1986). The medals of the Olympic and Paralympic Games are exemplary objectified and institutionalised forms of recognition of cultural capital. Economic capital is perhaps the most easily comprehensible of the three, being objectified and institutionalised in the form of cash but it includes all forms of monetised or monetisable assets (Bourdieu, 1986). A fourth type of capital, superlative to the others, is symbolic capital. This type of capital is the form through which the efficacy of the other three forms of capital is transmitted and recognised (Bourdieu, 1989). Wacquant (2008) argued that “Symbolic capital, designates the effects of any form of capital when people do not perceive them (other forms of capital) as such” (p. 268). It is in this way that symbolic capital works to simultaneously obscure the arbitrariness of the social world (Haugaard, 2002) and to reproduce its hierarchies.

There are a number of other properties that further aid comprehension of Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of capital. First is the consideration of the volume and quality of a specific form of capital, with these qualities being concomitant to the mode through which the capital has been acquired (Bourdieu, 1986). These intricacies relate to the legitimacy and recognition of the symbolic capital of something or someone. For example, the protracted acquisition of any form of capital is usually recognised and legitimised above rapid acquisition; while the possession of greater volumes of capital usually confers distinction to the possessor. Together the volume and quality of capital and its uneven distribution underpins the practical hierarchies, struggles, strategies and relations of society (Bourdieu, 1986). A final important principle of Bourdieu’s capital is that it is only recognised by and for those disposed and predisposed to recognise it (Wacquant, 2008). Legitimacy of capital is once more interrelated with this point on ‘recognition’. For example, just as “legitimacy derives from people’s beliefs in legitimacy” (Beetham, 1991: 8), so too does the legitimacy of any form of capital derive from people’s recognition of that capital. Furthermore, the questioning of the legitimacy of a particular form of capital is not just a question of the possession of that species of capital but a question of the legitimacy of that form of capital in itself.

The ‘symbolic’ element at the centre of the conceptual framework assumes a greater meaning than being solely related to capital. It is placed at the centre of the conceptual

framework for the reason that it encapsulates and envelops all of the other concepts, whether that be the symbolism of relations, strategies and struggles or the objectified and subjectified symbols of the habitus, a field or capital. As a conceptual framework, symbolism at the centre offers a fluidity that is congruent with the underpinning ontology and epistemology. It also becomes clearer now how the conceptual framework adds a deeper complexity to the research's broader statement of focus as a study of Paralympic-disability legacy politics. The translation of the conceptual framework into a practical research design will now be outlined.

### **Empirical Design and Methods**

So far this chapter has presented a philosophy of science and a partial sociological methodology through the description of the 'break' with prenotions and the conceptual framework. What follows is a presentation of the research's overall empirical design as the third and final stage of Bourdieu et al.'s (1991) epistemological hierarchy as underpinned by all previous steps. This discussion incorporates a description of the methods used to collect data for the research, namely document analysis and directed interviews, and some methodological and practical considerations of these same methods.

### **Empirical Design**

Two synthetic modes transpired from the conceptual framework to structure the overall empirical design. Synthetic simply meaning the merging of different elements. These synthetic modes operate across time and social space. The first synthetic mode, time, relates to the upper continuum of the conceptual framework, that is the structured and structuring of social practice. In the literature the temporal continuum can be related to the prospective and retrospective conceptualisations of legacy (Girginov, 2012). For the empirical design, this translated into a temporal comparative analysis of the different elements of the conceptual framework. More simply, the relations, strategies and struggles of the different fields were examined and compared *before* and *after* the Games. In practical terms this temporal component translated into the analysis of relevant documents (their relevance and selection is yet to be described) published *before* the Games occurred and the construction of interview questions that captured how the struggles, strategies and relations of the different fields had changed from the *prospective* to the *retrospective* stages of London 2012.

The second synthetic mode of the empirical design is social space, and can be evidenced from the interviewing of agents from the corporate, state and civil sectors of society. There are a number of justifications for this second synthetic mode. On a methodological level the examination of institutions is justified on the grounds that:

If research is turned towards the 'institution' and not towards the 'event', towards the objective relationships among phenomena and not towards the intentions and the ends

that are conceived, it is often the case, in reality, that the fact being studied is attained not through a mind, but *directly* (Bourdieu et al., 1991: 117; italics original).

This inversion from the event to the institutions is aligned to the previously mentioned principle of non-consciousness. On a theoretical level the examination of the range of institutions from different sectors of society is supported by Bourdieu's (1987) conceptualisation of the plurality of society as a field of fields. It is in this sense that the research is an examination of the plurality of the space engendered by the phenomenon of Paralympic-disability legacy. Finally, and on a more practical level, the range of different actors that have come to shape the legacy of a Games has been argued to be illustrative of "a changing polity where state, market, non-state and global actors are involved in social steering" (Girginov, 2012: 544). Once more this reiterates the plurality of the space under investigation. From this dual synthetic design it is now appropriate to outline and detail the exact methods deployed to collect empirical data.

### **Empirical Methods**

A central and recurring feature of Bourdieu's sociology is the objectification of the space of possibilities. A pertinent example of this is Bourdieu's (1988) objectification of sport as a cultural practice amongst the broader space of possible cultural practices. This point relates to research methods, the topic at hand, in that it is no different in being an objective space of possible methods, simultaneously structured and infinite<sup>33</sup>. In as much as it is important then to recognise the efficacy of a particular method for a particular problem it is equally important to recognise the selection of a method because of the capital it has accrued historically or alternatively because of the potential distinctiveness it offers as a 'new' method. These are methodological considerations that often go unrecognised. Their recognition here challenges the view of research methods as all being of equal weighting. In this regard it is proposed that the space of possible research methods has its own internal hierarchies.

Another important consideration at this juncture between methodology and methods is the identification of a tension between 'methodological perfection' and 'epistemological vigilance' (Bourdieu et al., 1991: 9). In this way the use of interviews and documents is by no means methodologically perfect but can at least be validated on the grounds of epistemological vigilance. This epistemological vigilance is to a degree exemplified in this sociological methodology but is exemplified more robustly by recognition and appreciation of the limitations of the claims that can be made from these methods and sources. All of this is driven by need to avoid the propagation of scholastic fallacies (Bourdieu, 2000) and spontaneous sociology (Bourdieu et al., 1991).

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<sup>33</sup> A research methods textbook would illustrate the currently predominant methods of the space.

### **An initial empirical probe – document analysis**

An examination of Paralympic-disability legacy in the Olympic bid and UK government planning documents formed the initial probe of the empirical design. The reason for this initial probe was to objectify the space of what may be considered to be Paralympic-disability legacy. Before discussing the specific details of the documents and how they were objectified there are a number of epistemological imperatives that need to be first outlined.

A principal imperative is recognition and vigilance of the conditions of the production of the documents (Bourdieu et al., 1991). With this in mind the bid documents are positioned as symbolic of the objective relations between the IOC and bidding cities, while the government's position is defined by its role as 'patron' in underwriting the financing of the Games. Another imperative is recognition of the epistemological translation (or transmutation) that documents undergo when objectified under the 'scientific lens'. This brings forth the point that in analysing documents it can be tempting to ask questions that they were never intended and never will be able to answer (Wittgenstein, 1969). What the bid documents cannot tell us is as equally important as what they can. For example, the bid documents do not reflect the 'informal politics' (Emery, 2002) of their production. Informal politics being those acts outside of the recognised political process to influence political decisions.

While acknowledging these imperatives, for the purposes of this thesis the Olympic bid and government planning documents fit within its epistemological design in offering initial sources through which 'Paralympic-disability' legacy can be objectified. The accessibility of the bid documents, which dates back to the transparency reforms resulting from the Salt Lake City scandal, and their use by other academics to identify legacy claims (Andranovich and Burbank, 2011) and to trace legacy's institutionalisation (Leopkey and Parent, 2013) further substantiates their use in this way. However, a definitive justification is the fact that the bid documents and the UK government's legacy planning documents have not yet been used to examine Paralympic-disability legacy.

A total of 24 (the number available at the time of the project) bid documents were collected for the analysis. Due to issues of access only five of the documents were from the 2020 applicant phase, while the rest (19) were candidate city documents distributed as such:

- 2010 Paralympiad: Vancouver;
- 2012 Paralympiad: London, Madrid, Moscow, New York and Paris;
- 2014 Paralympiad: Sochi, Pyeongchang and Salzburg;
- 2016 Paralympiad: Rio de Janeiro, Chicago, Madrid and Tokyo;
- 2018 Paralympiad: Pyeongchang, Munich and Annecy;
- 2020 Paralympiad: Tokyo, Madrid and Istanbul.

The uneven distribution of applicant to candidate phase documents has no material impact on the output as the aim to objectify the documents, all of which were produced under the same conditions, remains the same.

There were two government disability legacy documents sourced with both being entitled “London 2012: a legacy for disabled people”. They offered a similar opportunity as the bid documents to objectify prospective conceptualisations of Paralympic-disability legacy but within the context of being produced by a host city actually planning their Games. In assuming the same methodological considerations the analysis of the government documents copied that of the bid documents.

The analysis of the documents was underpinned by Bourdieu’s (1988) method of objectifying the space of possibilities. In this particular case, the aim was to objectify the space of possible conceptualisations of Paralympic-disability legacy. Recalling the aforementioned methodological considerations, and avoiding the temptation to theorise, the analysis was curtailed to a simple descriptive presentation of the data. Generic methodologists discuss the identification of ‘themes’ in their prescriptions on document analysis. However, maintaining the sociological methodology of this research, ‘structures’ are argued to be a better descriptor. As such, the identification of structures was driven empirically by the conditions under which the documents were produced. In simple terms, the analysis of the bid documents was structured by the understanding of them being produced according to a fairly rigid framework provided by the IOC. This meant that it was relatively easy to identify common structures in the bid documents. Given that both the bid documents and government documents were produced in the same ‘prospective’ period meant that the same structures were identifiable in the government documents. The data from this exercise of objectifying the space of possible conceptualisations of Paralympic-disability legacy forms the initial section of the empirical presentation.

### **The Interviews**

Directed interviews constitute the principal method of this research. Berg (1998) defines an interview “...as a conversation with a purpose” (p. 57). More fundamentally an interview may be considered to be a linguistic exchange. Bourdieu (1991) positioned linguistic exchanges as “relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualised” (p. 37); here the researcher is representative of the academic field and the interviewee representative of their respective field. Goffman (1967) emphasised a similar point arguing that interaction, such as that of an interview, must be positioned within the broader social world. Analogous to this is recognition of the internal subjectivity of social interaction. This subjective quality can be harnessed rather than denigrated and used to debase

the legitimacy of the method as positivists do (Bourdieu et al., 1991). Drawing all of these assertions together this research positioned an interview as a dialectical social relation between agents of subjective dispositions and objective positions (Bourdieu, 1979).

The empirical basis of the interview can be positioned within the interactionist domain of social science, where meaning is found in the responses of those interviewed. A potential problem of this position is that the researcher's pre-constructions are replaced with the pre-constructions of those interviewed, bringing the illusion of 'immediate empiricist gratification' (Bourdieu, 1989). Instead it is necessary to establish the methodical dialectic between these two sources of pre-constructions (Bourdieu et al., 1991). As with the researcher's pre-constructions Bourdieu et al.'s (1991) epistemological hierarchy and prescribed methods can be applied to the respondent's pre-constructions.

Goffman is not widely recognised as a methodologist, however his position as a symbolic interactionist in sociology and the continuous assertion of the sociological methodology underpinning the research gives substance to his directives. For example, Goffman (1970) argued:

There will be situations where an observer is dependent on what he can learn from a subject, there being no sufficient alternate sources of information, and the subject will be oriented to frustrate this assessment or facilitate it under difficult circumstances. Under these conditions gamelike considerations develop even though very serious matters may be at stake. A contest over assessment occurs. Information becomes strategic and expression games occur (p. 13).

The key analogy here is of interaction as a 'strategic game'. Goffman (1970) has also raised the point of the subject's awareness and management of being observed with the researcher being involved in a process of assessing the authenticity of the subject's frankness. As such both researcher and subject are in a constant state of calibrating and recalibrating their 'sense' of the interaction, and their sense of the questions and their responses.

Given the symbolic importance of the interviews and the stakes of the social interaction to the research the researcher must balance displays of over-involvement and dis-involvement (Goffman, 1967). In addition to maintaining a balanced involvement, during the interview, as in all social interaction, it is also necessary to maintain involvement while avoiding alienative forms of misinvolvement (Goffman, 1967). Alienative manifestations of misinvolvement include external preoccupation, self-consciousness, interaction-consciousness and other consciousness (Goffman, 1967). From all of this, in this research the interview is positioned as a strategic game where the stake is not only information, but also legitimacy and autonomy, as related to the conceptual framework and social theory.

## Interview Sample

The interview cohort was broadly structured along the lines of the corporate, civil and government demarcations of society. This structure reflects the institutional focus and synthetic aim of the research. It also maintains the theoretical positioning of society as a ‘field of fields’ (Bourdieu, 1987). The division of the fields and the fields within these fields is both methodologically and theoretically consistent. Listed below are the fields of the research:

- Disability field
- Disability sport field
- Media corporation
- Corporate Sponsors
- Government field

The disability field was composed of civil institutions, such as charities and representative councils. Disability sport governing bodies constituted the bulk of the disability sport field institutions. The media field was limited to Channel 4, the Paralympic broadcaster. Corporate sponsors were determined by their engagement with the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. Whilst the government field was formed of representatives from relevant departments.

The actual sample of this research may be described as ‘elite’. Mills’ (1959) text, *The Power Elite*, offered a classical example of a study of ‘the elite’ which Lukes (1986) noted highlights the relations of power and responsibility in society. A primary reason for using an ‘elite’ sample is the identification of the limitation that can be placed on an interaction by a lack of knowledge and competency (Goffman, 1970). Burnham et al. (2004) more simply noted elite interviewing to be “...the most effective way to obtain information about decision-makers and decision-making processes” (p. 205). All of these positions legitimise the ‘elite’ sample of this research, which, for the most part, consisted of the Chief Executives of the respective institutions<sup>34</sup>. Pseudonyms have been used to protect the identity of the interviewees and also because of the emphasis placed on their position over their disposition. There is a slightly moot sociological point that could be made about the recognition given to the research as symbolised by the acceptance of the interviewees to participate in the research.

Media	2
Corporate	5
Disability	3
Disability Sport	11
Government	4
Total	25

**Table 2. Distribution of interviews across fields.**

<sup>34</sup> See appendix 2 for a full list of the interviewees.

Table 2 above presents the distribution of the 25 interviews across the different fields. Interpretation of Table 2 can take two forms. On the one hand it can be interpreted as showing that the research received unequal recognition from the different fields, or on the other that each field did not have the same depth of potential interview candidates. Both interpretations were evident in the recruitment process. Most notable of the former was the lack of 'a sense of place' conveyed by the disability field when asked to participate in the research. More often the respondents from these institutions referred to specific disability sport institutions as being better placed. Rather than being a limitation it places the disability sport field at the top of the empirically substantiated hierarchy. The second factor, that is the lack of depth of potential interview candidates, is most evident with the media field, however this was of explicit design. Much research had already been conducted on media and the Paralympic Games. Thus the field was limited for this reason and with an appreciation of the practical limitations of the research. The methodological emphasis of objectifying objectifications means that the interview analysis is not so dependent on the size of the interview sample.

There are a few other practicalities of the interviews to note. Firstly, the majority of interviews took place face-to-face, as opposed to telephone, for the reason that the former are deemed more effective and habitual. The effectiveness of face-to-face interviews is directly related to the importance assigned to non-verbal information exchanged in social interactions. In the directed interviews of this research, such non-verbal information was key to improving the quality of the data collected. With all of this being said, telephone interviews still offered an accommodative alternative. Secondly, identifying and recruiting interviewees was a perpetual element of the research, from the literature review through to the interviews themselves where 'snowballing' formed a substantial element of the recruitment strategy. For some fields this was more successful than others. Thirdly, the interviews took place between April 2013 and April 2014. Fourthly, all but one of the interviews was recorded and transcribed in verbatim. The single exception came through a technical fault with recording. The total recording time of all interviews was just under 18 hours.

### **The Interview Script**

The interviews are described as 'directed' which is to say that for each interview there was a prepared set of questions. Presentation of Goffman's (1970) *Strategic Interaction* in the previous section gives an appreciation that subjects will perform strategies of information management during interactions regardless of whether or not one is purportedly doing 'structured' or 'unstructured' interviews. It is for this reason that the interviews are described as directed. However, as already argued, to avoid scholastic fallacies (Bourdieu, 2000) and the

importation of preconstructions in the questions, there was a heightened vigilance involved in the production of the interview script.

Just as there is no neutral recording, so there is no neutral question. A sociologist who does not subject his own questioning to sociological questioning will be incapable of making a truly neutral sociological analysis of the answers it receives (Bourdieu et al., 1991: 41-42).

The heightened vigilance called for here by Bourdieu et al. (1991) simply required an extension of the epistemological vigilance that had been embedded throughout the rest of the methodology. To this end, the formulation of the interview questions was structured by the two continuums of the conceptual framework: the structured and structuring, and internality and externality continuums. The structured and structuring continuum meant asking questions that would get the interviewees to create a comparison between the past (the structured) and the present-future (the structuring). For example, interviewees were asked, “what were your expectations of the London 2012 Paralympic Games?”, and, “what are your evaluations of the London 2012 Paralympic Games?”. The internality and externality continuum had the structuring effect of producing questions which would get the interviewee to provide a sense of their own field (the internality) and their sense of the other fields (the externality). In this regard interviewees were asked questions to get at their sense of their own position and then questions to get at their sense of the position of the other fields. Together these continuums produced a structured matrix of questions which could be tailored to each field and allow the interviewees to present the intricate subjectivities of their position and relations whilst simultaneously providing a structured means of objectifying (‘coding’) the responses.

It should be noted that Bourdieu et al.’s (1991) epistemological prescription produced the difficult task of translating the interview scripts into the parlance of the interviewees to avoid creating alienative (Goffman, 1967) interaction. This translation took two predominant forms, namely, structural and theoretical. Structural, in the sense of having to relate the questions to before and after the Games and adjusting them to the positions of the institutions and their respective field; and theoretical, in the sense that the questions were translated to get at the struggles, strategies and relations of all of the different institutions from the different fields. To exemplify this, the use of ‘struggles’ as a theoretical objectification of social life was avoided during the interviews because of its somewhat negative philosophical misinterpretation in ordinary language. In much the same way, the other principles underpinning the conceptual framework, such as strategy and legitimacy, had to be translated into ‘ordinary’ language.

## **Objectifying ('Coding') the Responses**

While producing a complex myriad of interrelations an advantage of the conceptual and empirical structuring of the questions was that it made the process of coding the interviews relatively straight forward. A discrete series of steps was followed for each field. The first step required the objectification of the interviews to identify the calculations, strategies and struggles of each field *before* and *after* the Games. This process was completed for all fields, producing an objectification of each field's sense of itself and how this had changed through the course of the organisation and hosting of the Paralympics. The second major coding step was to synthesise all of the external relations to each specific field. For example, the disability, disability sport, corporate and media fields were all asked questioned about the government field. The responses were collated to produce a synthetic 'external' sense of the government field and how they compared from before and after the Paralympics. Doing this for each field produced a complex picture. This coding structure and process is summarised below:

1. Calculations, strategies and struggles of each field before and after the Games
2. Relations of judgement of, and between, the different fields before and after the Games

There main issue of this coding process actually related to the positions occupied by the interviewees. For example, some fields did not feel that they were appropriately positioned to give an assessment on some of the other fields.

The presentation of the empirical analysis is structured by the five different fields and this simple division of the coding. For example, for the corporate field the calculations, strategies and struggles of the field before and after the Games are first presented, followed by the relations of the other fields to corporate field. It is through this structure that the internal and external dynamics of the respective fields are presented, discussed and analysed.

## **Mixed methods or mixed sources?**

The empirical design presented here might be positioned by generic methodologists as a mixed methods design. It is argued, however, that the examination of documents and conducting of interviews is more a difference in source than a difference in method. Positioning the difference in this way overcomes many of the epistemological considerations that generic methodologists philosophise over. Such philosophising is of course important in the conducting of research. However the staunch sociological methodology of the research positions an understanding of the conditions under which the data was produced and the epistemological implications of this above the philosophising of generic methodologists. The outcome of this is to move the debate

beyond a discussion of the efficacy of the methods to a discussion of the epistemological limitations of the sources.

This argumentation was embedded into the research's methodology. Taking the bid documents first, the analysis was limited to a simple mapping of the space of possible Paralympic-disability legacies as conceptualised by bidding cities. The analysis was limited to this because the research did not examine the production of the documents. This could have been achieved, for instance, by interviewing those behind their production or the IOC who constructed the framing of the bid documents. Limiting the analysis in this way is an example of the epistemological vigilance of the research's sociological methodology. Turning to the interviews, the sociological positioning of them as social exchanges contrasts to their positioning as a method by generic methodologists. The analysis of the interviews is the objectification of this social exchange on the markets and fields discussed. Whilst the interviews are positioned as the more substantive data source, the technical issues raised by generic methodologists was not enough to debase the value added to the research by the bid document analysis, the arguments for which have already been presented in this chapter. From all of this it is argued that the consistency of the sociological methodology and recognition of what sources represent empirically allay the research inhibiting philosophical debates regarding mixed methods perpetuated by generic methodologists.

### **Ethics**

The research was approved by Loughborough University's Ethical Advisory Board. Subjects were given a full brief of the research, its background, purpose and future uses. They were also informed of their right to remove themselves and any collected data from the study at any point without the need for explanation. Prior to the interview participants were asked to sign the university's consent form to show that they acknowledged all of these requirements (Appendix 4: Information Sheet and Consent Form).

The ethical considerations regarding the participants were minimal. All participants were adults, with none being recognised as vulnerable. Each participant was made aware that their interview was being recorded. More considered ethical issues regarded the safe storage and protection of the recordings and the transcripts. The recordings and transcripts were placed into password protected folders. A related ethical issue was the maintenance of the confidentiality of the participants. The principal measure adopted to ensure this was the anonymization of the participants. This required the assignment of an alias to each participant. For all documents but a master sheet the participant's alias was used. A password was used to protect the master sheet.

## Summary

There are a number of summative points that need to be reiterated about this methodology and methods chapter. Of principal note are the ontological and epistemological positions of the thesis that assume social life to be a struggle of being and a struggle of knowing this being. This translates into the assumption that the truth of the world is to be found in the perpetual struggles of society (Bourdieu, 1989). The outlining of this philosophical position was then aligned to the sociological methodology which was selected over generic methodological directives. Kuhn's (1970) critique and the attempt to be synthetic of Bourdieu's sociology throughout the thesis supported this decision. The sociological methodology considered the position and disposition of the sociologist, and some of the engendered problems.

Following the presentation of the sociological methodology was the epistemological hierarchy of Bourdieu et al. (1991). This hierarchy prioritises 'the break' with preconceptions before the construction of the conceptual framework, and this before empirical validation. A primary result of 'the break' was to invert the problem of legacy from the event to the institutions with this having a profound effect on the rest of the research. The conceptual construction drew together the underpinning principles of Bourdieu's social theory, relationalism, agonism and strategy, as outlined by Wacquant (2008), and its core concepts, field, habitus and capital. Symbolism was placed at the centre of the framework, not only as the superlative and congealing form of capital but to also give a theoretical fluidity and reciprocity to the broader underpinning principles (relationalism, agonism and strategy).

Together the 'inversion' of the problem and the conceptual framework underpin the sociological design of the empirical design of the methods used to collect data. Methodological considerations of these methods were discussed within the presentation of the empirical design. The epistemic vigilance of the empirical design and the methods was reiterated. Such vigilance is necessary to avoid the production of scholastic fallacies and the overstatement of claims that can be made from these sources. This methodological framework and considerations underpinning the analysis of this research which will be first presented through the bid and government document analysis and then through the presentation the interviews.

## **Chapter 4: Research Findings – Document Analysis**

In this chapter the research moves from detailing theory and design to a presentation of the empirical data collected. The previous chapter outlined two discrete elements of the empirical design: the document analysis of Paralympic-disability legacy in relevant Olympic bid and government documents, and the interviewing of representatives from different fields. It must be reiterated that the aim of the document analysis is limited to simply objectifying Paralympic-disability legacy because of the already mentioned epistemological limitations of the source. As such the interviews assume a more substantive part of the research's empirical contribution. This first research findings chapter presents the analysis of Olympic bid documents and the UK government's disability legacy planning documents.

The structure of the document analysis is broadly split between an objectification of Paralympic-disability legacy in the Olympic bid and the UK government's disability legacy planning documents, and follows this order. Before presenting the objectification of the Olympic bid documents, extant literature on the politics of the Olympic (and Paralympic) bid process, legacy and London 2012's bid are first considered. The document analysis of the Olympic bid documents published since the early 2000s is then presented. Following this is the objectification of Paralympic-disability legacy in two UK government legacy policy documents from 2010 and 2011. Their relevance is exemplified by their shared title: "London 2012: a legacy for disabled people". The analysis of these government documents assumes the same structure and objective of the bid analysis.

### **Bid Document Objectification**

#### **The Politics of Bidding**

The Olympic, and now Paralympic, bid process may be described as 'a rite of passage' for cities and nations around the world. It is recognised as being a complex and expensive activity (Toohey & Veal, 2000) beset with politics (Hill, 1992). The politics of past Olympic bids, successful and unsuccessful, are well documented, for example: Toronto 1996 (Kidd, 1992), Sydney 2000 (Booth & Tatz, 1994), Cape Town 2004 (Padayachee, 1997; Swart & Bob, 2004), Toronto 2008 (Tufts, 2004), Berlin 2008 (Alberts, 2009), London and New York 2012 (Shoval, 2002). These analyses of past bids illuminate the 'politics of the day'. As a process bidding for the Games must be positioned as a dialectical relationship between the IOC and the bidding cities. In this relationship Booth and Tatz (1994) identify the double process of consensus 'engineering' and censorship involved in the bid process. This dialectic between consensus engineering and censorship for the bidding cities is compounded by the knowledge that the IOC

conducts its own assessment of the public opinion of the prospective candidate city and nation (MacAloon, 2008: 2065).

The politics of the bid process are further complicated by Francois Carrad's, ex-Director General of the IOC, statement that "...it is important to convince with facts, not to try and charm with fantasy" (IOC, 2001: 4) alongside the expectation that "... all Applicant Cities and their NOCs bear in mind at all times, that this is an Olympic competition, to be conducted in accordance with the best Olympic spirit, with respect, friendship and fair-play" (IOC, 2001: 4). All of this exemplifies Emery's (2002) distinction between the formal and informal political rules of the bid process.

An important watershed for the Olympic movement occurred just before the bid for the 2012 Olympiad. This watershed came in the form of the Salt Lake City corruption scandal and was the symbolic preface to the structural reforming of the IOC and, importantly here, of the Olympic bid process (Wenn & Martyn, 2006). On the reforms the IOC (2001) stated:

The changes adopted by the 110th Session in December 1999 must not be looked at as only formal procedural amendments. They are much more: a most significant part of a fundamental reform process undertaken by the Olympic Movement (p. 4).

There is a grouping of developments around the turn of the century that are important to note: the IOC reforms, the increased IOC-IPC integration (Mason, 2002) and the insertion of legacy into the Olympic Charter in 2003. The development of legacy within the Olympic and Paralympic field must be positioned in light of these reforms and conditions. They also permit this analysis of Paralympic-disability legacy in the bid process.

### **Bid and Legacy**

The importance of legacy to the IOC can be explicitly found in the following passage:

Legacy is a concept that has gained importance over the past few years. Today no event, whatever its size and complexity can avoid a vision of its legacy. The Olympic Games integrate this concept from the early stages of the bid phase, encouraging the bid cities to develop a unique vision for the legacy of their Games. Throughout the lifecycle of the OCOG ending up with its dissolution, Legacy aspects are considered part of the decision making process. The IOC monitors the legacy vision, its management and the post-Games effectiveness of it (IOC, 2011: 14).

In this initial analysis it is the conceptualisations of legacy in the early bid stage that is being considered. The importance of this is grounded in the argument that political decisions made in the bid and planning phases have significant implications for the legacies that can be legitimised

after the Games (Andranovich & Burbank, 2011). As such legacy's development in the bid and other phases can be positioned as an exploration and expansion of the space of legitimising strategies. For example, in their bid document content analysis Leopkey and Parent (2012) identified the following themes: "cultural, economic, environmental, image, informational/educational, nostalgia, Olympic Movement, physical, political, psychological, social, sport, sustainability and urban related legacy" (p. 931). In addition to this plethora of legacy themes it has been identified that pre-event evaluations emphasise planned, positive and tangible legacies thus revealing their biased position (Gratton and Preuss, 2008). Before considering the literature on the Paralympic Games in the bid process it is worth examining the literature relating to the London 2012 bid process.

### **London 2012's Bid**

There are a number of noteworthy remarks on London's bid for the 2012 Games in the academic literature. Firstly there are the assertions that legacy (Gold & Gold, 2008) and political support from Tony Blair and Ken Livingstone (Bloyce and Lovett, 2012), the then Labour Prime Minister and Labour Mayor of London respectively, were central to the bid. Tomlinson (2012) has described London's tradition of weighing in with 'Lords' when bidding for the Games, a tradition that was evident once more in the London 2012 bid. Lord Sebastian Coe's engagement in the bid epitomises Tomlinson's (2012) argument.

Summarising the overt political motivations of London 2012's bid Girginov (2012) argued that "The UK government's justification for backing the London bid was a classic example of state-society exchange – a massive investment of public funds in return for sustainable cultural, economic and sporting legacy for the whole country, and a mandate for action" (p. 551). It was the sporting participation legacy that is argued to have given London the vote ahead of the forerunning favourites, Paris (Chappelet, 2012; Gold and Gold, 2008). Contrastingly, MacRury and Poynter (2010) have argued that London's bid for the 2012 Olympiad should be put in the context of the UK's involvement in the 'internationally condemned' Iraq war and its attempt to improve its international reputation. With acknowledgement of these varied political considerations, the position of the Paralympic Games and its political dynamics within the bid process will now be reviewed.

### **Paralympic Games**

At the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the cooperation and partnership between the IPC and the IOC became formally recognised in signed agreements (Mason, 2002). The first agreement guaranteed the hosting of the Paralympic Games parallel to the Olympic Games and is known as the 'one bid, one city' practice (Legg and Gilbert, 2011). Beyond the contractual minutiae of the 'one bid, one city' practice the agreement is arguably symbolic of the increased integration and

cooperation between the Olympic and Paralympic fields. Before these agreements the hosting of the Paralympic Games in parallel with the Olympic Games was largely unofficial and unguaranteed, corresponding to its historical omission in the bid and planning process (Howe, 2008a). Although there were instances when Olympic organising committees took it upon themselves to engage with the Paralympic field, such as Sydney 2000's '60-day' festival (Howe, 2008; Cashman, 2006).

The Paralympic Games' acquisition and status of full recognition from the IOC, along with the contractual obligation to be held analogous to the Olympics, has arguably had a positive effect on the position of the Paralympic field. For example, on the agreement and the bid process Sir Phillip Craven, the current President of the IPC, commented: "Not only are we reaping the benefits of fully integrated Organizing Committees now, but also all Candidate Cities are fully integrating the Paralympics into their bids which is hugely beneficial to the Paralympic Movement" (IPC, 2012). With the contextualisation and relevance of an examination of Paralympic-disability legacy in the bid documents being made it is now timely to present the data.

### **Bid Document Analysis of 'Paralympic Legacy'**

The basis of this method of analysis has been outlined under the heading 'An Initial Empirical Probe' in the methodology and methods chapter. It is however important here to make a quick remark about the process and the documents, and to reiterate the purpose of the analysis. The Olympic bid process is composed of two reductive phases, first the applicant phase and then the candidate phase. Being secondary the candidate phase documents generally offer a much more detailed outline of the bidding city's plans. It is the details specific to the Paralympics and disability in the bid documents that form the basis of the analysis. In the candidate documents bidding cities are required to detail and articulate their Paralympic plans. However it was not until the bid for the 2020 Olympiad that the Paralympics were required to be detailed in the applicant phase documents. As such a greater amount of the analysis is derived from the more detailed candidate phase documents. Finally, the central aim of the examination of the bid documents is to offer a preliminary objectification of the space of 'Paralympic-disability' legacy. Acknowledgement of the incompleteness of these sources is readily recognised but at the same time they open a space for future comparative research. The three themes produced by the analysis will now be presented:

1. Vision and di-visions of Paralympic legacy
2. Space of possible benefits
3. Space of possible methods

These themes were apparent in all of the bid documents because of the way that the IOC structured the production of the bid documents. The IOC's produce applicant and candidate bid document guides which require bidding cities to define their vision of their Paralympics, the benefits of hosting the Paralympics and how these benefits would be achieved.

### **Visions & Di-Visions of Paralympic Legacy**

The visions of the bid cities, relating to the Paralympics, emphasised the promotion of the Paralympic movement, equality of experience between the Olympics and Paralympics and the celebration of both Olympic and Paralympic ideals. 'Change' came through as a strong family resemblance<sup>35</sup> with cities stating that they want to achieve excellence and inspire the entire world, inspire change, accelerate progress and change society for the better. The change they envisioned, in relation to disability, was to change global perceptions of people with impairment, change attitudes and behaviour towards disability, improve social awareness, understanding and sensitization of disability, creating equal opportunities, fostering social inclusion, independence and self-determination, and becoming a model for other cities, regions and countries. From a materialistic position cities sought to promote barrier-free living and to improve the living conditions of people with an impairment.

### **Space of Possible Benefits (Legitimacy: the 'why' and the 'why us')**

The second set of family resemblances relates to the identification of the benefits for the Paralympic movement, disability and for the host city. Cities proposed a broad range of benefits from the improvement of environmental access and universal design, the passing of legislation, compliance and adoption policies, increasing the accessibility of transport and infrastructure, improved image, awareness and understanding of disability, and equal job opportunities. Symbolic profits for the Paralympic movement included commitment to Paralympic sport, reaching new audiences, increased awareness of Paralympic values, raised awareness of Paralympic sports, Paralympians promoted as role models, building respect for the achievements of Paralympians and providing the same world class environment for the Paralympics. Previous hosts of Paralympic sport expressed sentiments for hosting previous Paralympic/disability sport events, while others without a Paralympic history expressed their wish to begin theirs and to develop experience to host more Paralympic/disability sport events in the future. Broader benefits for Paralympic and disability sport included the improvement of sporting opportunities, improved Paralympic sports performance and participation, the promotion of accessible sporting activities for all and the training of coaches. Cities also

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<sup>35</sup> Family resemblance was a phrase used by Wittgenstein (1969) to describe related words with similarities or overlaps in meaning.

emphasised the benefits of inspiring athletes to new achievements, motivating disabled and non-disabled to be involved in sport, and to aspire to elite performance.

### **Space of Possible Methods**

The third set of family resemblances related to the implementation, or the 'how', of these visions and benefits. Primary to their implementation was the shared experience of the Paralympic Games by athletes, workers, volunteers, spectators and the whole Paralympic family using media and marketing resources to build excitement and develop awareness. The marketing campaigns would tell "the heroic and inspiring performances of the Paralympians will help ensure a sustainable and lasting legacy" (Moscow 2012 bid) and highlight the powerful stories of Paralympians (NY 2012 bid). Methods related to the Paralympic movement but broader included the education of the Paralympics in school curriculum, the organisation of Paralympic Youth camps, the organisation of Paralympic classification workshops/seminars, and the establishment of new (National) Paralympic Headquarters. The development of partnerships with governments and NGO's, the funding of relevant programmes and initiatives, the development of information technology systems and the funding of research to develop specialised materials and new technologies were also proposed. A last set of methods included the integration of people with impairment into professional and corporate sectors, the incentivisation of sponsors to employ people with a disability, enhancing public policies, planning and action, certification of disability 'friendly' tourism, and the creation of new and renovation of pre-existing buildings. With this marking the end of the bid document analysis, the UK government disability legacy planning documents will now be examined.

### **UK Government Disability Legacy Document Objectification**

In much the same way as the bid document analysis, this section examines two pertinent documents produced and published by the UK government in March 2010 and April 2011. Both documents were jointly produced by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and the Office for Disability Issues (ODI). In addition both were entitled "London 2012: a legacy for disabled people". Building upon the bid document analysis the purpose of this examination is to further objectify the space of what may be considered 'Paralympic-disability' legacy. There are however a few difficulties and intricacies of the analysis that should be noted before presenting the findings.

A primary difficulty of objectifying the two documents related to the change of UK government in May 2010 from the Labour to the Coalition administration<sup>36</sup>. The March 2010 publication was produced by the Labour government whilst the Coalition government produced

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<sup>36</sup> The Coalition was formed by a Conservative majority and a Liberal Democrat minority.

the April 2011 version. It is worth introducing the three headline themes of each document to highlight the most superficial changes that this produced. In the May 2010 version the three headline themes were:

1. To bring lasting change to society's behaviour to disabled people;
2. To increase disabled people's participation in sport and physical activity;
3. Improving the facilities and services that businesses offer to disabled people (ODI and DCMS, 2010).

Whilst the three headline themes of the April 2011 publication were:

1. Change perceptions of disability, particularly their economic contribution to society;
2. Support opportunities to participation in sport and physical activities;
3. Promote community engagement through the Games (ODI and DCMS, 2011).

A notable divergence between the two documents is the third theme from a business to a community focus<sup>37</sup>. Related to this change of headline theme was a noticeable stylistic change. These two features meant that direct comparison was not possible. The analysis used the struggles, fields and strategies that the government documents list for its structure. For example the headline themes of each document can be read as struggles'. Before presenting the analysis it is worth reiterating that the purpose of this section is to simply objectify the space and the strategies of government rather than critique them; and to expand upon the bid document analysis and the space of what may be considered to be Paralympic-disability legacy. It is to this end that an overview of the analysis is presented, being structured by the three themes: changing society's relations to disability; increasing disabled people's participation in sport and physical activity; and business, tourism and transport.

### **Changing Society's Relations**

In both documents the theme listed first was to change society's relation to disability although it was referred to as changing society's perceptions, behaviour and attitudes towards disability. Notably in the April 2011 version society's economic relation to disability was added as an appendage. The listing of this theme first arguably gives it an implicit prioritisation especially if this space is looked upon hierarchically. A range of strategies and fields to engage were listed under this theme.

A principal strategy to change society's relations was to host an accessible and inclusive London 2012 Games. To do this the government proposed the strict following of equality

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<sup>37</sup> This semantic change offers a space for interpretative analysis, however this is beyond the aim of this section.

recruitment practices for the employed and volunteering workforce of London 2012. What's more it was proposed that volunteering opportunities should be expanded and extended beyond the actual Games. Also listed as a strategy to hosting an accessible Games was the establishment of the Built Environment Access Panel. This panel was established to ensure the inclusive design of the Olympic Park during and after the Games.

The media was highlighted as another field which the government could engage and support the change of society's relations to disability. Here government stated it would engage with Channel 4 and other media organisations. The promotion of inclusion and disability through broader cultural events was another facet of the government's strategy. In 2009 they launched the 'Unlimited' campaign as part of the cultural Olympiad promoting disability arts, sport and culture. In addition the 'Inspire' programme was also highlighted as a campaign that recognised social projects committed to inclusion and accessibility. As a generational group the government's strategy targeted 'young people' domestically and internationally. The 'Get Set' education programme was implemented domestically and included the Paralympic Games and Paralympic values in its content. International Inspiration was the international element of this strategy which promoted international co-operation through sport and physical education (Charity Commission, 2015). The promotion of disability sport internationally formed part of their inclusive strategy.

### **Increasing disabled people's participation in sport and physical activity**

Increasing sport and physical activity participation was the second common theme between the two government policy documents. The promotion of these cultural practices through the Paralympic Games was a central feature of the government's strategies. As part of their promotion strategy the policy documents detailed the government's plans to engage with a number of other institutional partners. One example was the plan to engage with the Physical Activity Alliance to build links with disabled people's organisations. Another was the interrelationship between the Greater London Authority, NHS London and Interactive UK to produce and implement the 'Inclusive and Active' strategy. The NHS was further incorporated into this promotional strategy through their physical activity strategy called 'Let's Get Moving'. Within these promotions an aim was to highlight existing good practices.

As a broad overlap the government documents referenced their £135million sports legacy strategy. Its disability related elements included tackling barriers to participation, increasing opportunities, supply of accessible facilities and mainstreaming disability sport. Once more children and young people were particularly emphasised as a generational group target. In relation to this both the Department of Education and Health were noted to be funding the School Games competition and other opportunities for children and young people. Sport England, the British Paralympic Association and the Youth Sport Trust were highlighted as

being well positioned to help increase sporting opportunities and to improve the talent pathways. Also highlighted was the government's investment in the Change4Life sport clubs based in primary and secondary schools.

A final element of the government's aim to increase sport and physical activity was to increase the supply of opportunities and accessible facilities. Here Sport England's investment in inclusive sport and the Inclusive Fitness Initiative were highlighted. The latter engaged with the fitness industry to improve its inclusivity of disability. There was also the establishment of the 'Equality Standard for Sport' which recognised the 'equality and diversity' practices of sport related institutions.

### **Business, Tourism and Transport**

This final thread amalgamates the elements of the government's policy document that do not fit like the previous two. The first to be examined is the government's aim to engage the business field on disability. A principal feature of this was to promote to the business field the benefits and opportunities of engaging with disability. The improvement of access to their goods and services was a key starting point. Part of the government's strategy was to produce a 'How to' guide for businesses. Like the 'Equality Standard For Sport' the National Equality Framework was established to recognise good 'equality' practices of a business. As well as improving their engagement with disability in relation to their services government also sought to improve the equality and diversity of business recruitment practices. Here the policy documents stated the aim to incentivise disability employment opportunities. Related to this the government documents also recognised the internal opportunities London 2012 presented. Here the aim to have a representative workforce and volunteer group during London 2012 Games was emphasised. In addition the presenter roles at Channel 4 and internships at International Management Group (IMG), a global sport and media business, were also highlighted.

Another thread of the documents was the strategy to use the Paralympic Games to promote accessible tourism. On the demand side the strategy aimed to improve information on inclusive hotels, restaurants, pubs, shops and museums. Information on accessible tourism in London was especially emphasised. The policy documents also referred to the Accessible Tourism Stakeholders Forum established in 2008. On the supply side the provision of staff training formed part of the strategy. A final element of the government's overall legacy strategy related to transport and infrastructure. The ongoing improvement of the accessibility of transport was related to improvements of London's underground, the national network of railway stations and the increasing of blue badge parking. Again the dissemination and communication of travel information was emphasised.

This chapter presented the initial empirical probe of the research. It began with a review of relevant literature to contextualise the politics of the Olympic bid process and of London's

bid, and the growing emphasis placed on legacy. After this the document analysis of the bid documents and, as a natural follow on, the UK government's legacy policy documents was presented. The overriding aim of this chapter was not to speculate over the politics of legacy but rather to map the space of possible conceptualisations of legacy, its visions, divisions, purported benefits and the means through which these same benefits can be achieved. The thesis now turns to a discussion of the interviews that were conducted with the five fields.

## Chapter 5: Research Findings – Field Interviews

This second findings chapter presents the field interviews of the research. It aims to present a positional analysis of the different fields. There are two possible ways of assessing the position of the different fields examined in this research. The first is from within, and the second is from without. To elaborate this, 'from within' relates to the field's own sense of its position in relation to the London 2012 Games. In this way London 2012's symbolic significance as a sporting spectacle is examined from the position of the various relevant institutions. Put simply, the overarching aim is to get at the institutionally and structurally different positions. The other way of assessing the position of the various fields in the context of London hosting the Olympic and Paralympic Games is 'from without'. This is achieved by examining the inter-relations of the different fields. For example, the centrality of the disability sport field to the calculations and strategies of the government, corporate and media fields illuminate the reciprocal relations of the system. This structure and consideration of the different fields from within and without, it is hoped, will produce an intra- and inter-relational analysis. The interviews will be presented in the following order:

- Corporate field
- Media field
- Government field
- Disability field
- Disability sport field

While the aim for each field is to present its unfolding dynamics from within and without, a greater weighting is given to a field's internal dynamics to permit a fuller elaboration of its sense of its own position. 'Dynamics' in this research encapsulates the institutional relations, calculations, strategies and evaluative assessments of a field. What's more, the emphasis on the *changing* dynamics relates to the transformative nature of these various elements across the timespan of the event, that is from the knowledge that London would host the 2012 Games to the period after the spectacle. This examination of *dynamics* applies equally to the inter-field relations. For reference a list of the interviewees (and their pseudonyms) and the interview guide can be found in Appendix 2 and 3. Summary profiles of the main interviewees of each field are provided at the start of each sub-section for ease of comprehension.

## The Corporate Field

### Introduction

The corporate field is the first field to be presented. It is crudely organized into three parts. The first two parts present the corporate field's strategic calculations, relations and practices *before* and *after* the Games. This structure is aligned to the conceptualizations of legacy in both its prospective and retrospective (Girgingov, 2012) sense. In the prospective period the corporate fields' sense of position is assessed through the following: their initial strategic assessment of the Paralympics' position, the rationale and legitimation of their engagement, the risks of this engagement, the composition of the corporate field itself and finally the initial struggles the corporate field had with other fields. Following this is a consideration of the corporate field's sense of place in the retrospective period, or post-London 2012. Broadly, the corporate field's assessment and evaluation of the Games are presented alongside a consideration of their future strategic practices. The third and final element of this corporate field section synthesizes the different positions and relations of the other fields to the corporate field. It is through this structure that the intra- and inter-dynamics of the corporate field are examined, albeit with a methodological recognition of its incompleteness. For reference, the corporate field was made up of corporations that sponsored London 2012. The interviewees included a broad range of these corporations:

Alias	Organisation	Description
Gerald	Cisco	London 2012 Network Infrastructure Supporter
John	Sainsbury's	London 2012 Paralympic-Only Sponsor
Shaun	BP	London 2012 Oil and Gas Partner
David	Proctor & Gamble	World Olympic Partner
Michelle	BT	London 2012 Communications Partner

Most prominent in this list of interviewees are Sainsbury's and BT. Sainsbury's was a Paralympic only sponsor, whilst both were the official sponsors of Channel 4's Paralympic broadcasting. Their occupation of such pivotal positions in the organization of the London 2012 Paralympics gives their contribution to the research significant weight.

### Initial Calculations

Michelle described an initial encounter of the corporate sponsors of London 2012 and her call for their engagement:

I remember at the first meeting for the Paralympic World Cup in 2009. I remember getting up and speaking to all of the other sponsors and saying you need to get involved

in this, if you don't get involved in this it's not going to work, and they were all kind of 'Eh ... ok'. And no one did until two years before the Games really.

Related to this was Michelle's assessment of the calculated risk that she was taking with, what she described as, an under exploited brand and the effort that was required to make the London 2012 Paralympic Games work. Elaborating this Michelle said that BT worked very closely with the BPA when they were going through 'quite a hard time' in 2008. Michelle described this relationship as being unorthodox compared to a traditional sponsorship relationship until 2010. The expansion of the BPA's sponsors was cited as aiding this 'normalization'. This process of 'normalization' can be theoretically related to the restoration of the autonomy of the BPA as an institution, in the sense that the BPA had developed their own marketing department, independent of BT.

These opening remarks can be related to the varied levels of experience of the different corporate sponsors with not only past Paralympics but also past Olympics. For some their engagement with London 2012 was their first experience of the Paralympic Games. Sainsbury's is an example of this, and is unique for being a Paralympic-only corporate sponsor. John of Sainsbury's described their position in the field:

...we realised actually that our unique presence in that space, as Paralympic only, and the first supermarket ever to be part of the Olympic or Paralympic movement, meant that we had more of an obligation to play an active role, so our sort of vision statement began with 'We will help to make the London 2012 Paralympic Games the best ever' as opposed to just sit back and leave it to LOCOG (London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games).

From this position John explained that Sainsbury's active, as opposed to passive, engagement assumed a two-pronged approach in attempting to draw internal support from their workforce and external support in creating a Paralympic fan base, that is to stimulate demand, through their customer base. These initial remarks outline some of the calculations of the corporate field's engagement with the London 2012 Paralympics Games. Their rationalisation and legitimisation of their engagement will now be explored further.

### **The 'Logic' of Corporate Engagement**

In the interviews with the corporate field there were a number of proposed reasons as to why they engaged with the London 2012 Paralympic Games. A primary reason, not so much of volition but of 'force', was LOCOG's expectation that the corporate field would engage with the Olympics and Paralympics equally. The corporate field readily recognised this force but it was often convoluted and contorted with assertions of their own internal recognition of the

importance of the Paralympics. As one interviewee put it: “it was clear to us from the outset that the Paralympics have a very special and separate identity of its own and it's a very powerful movement. So we made a decision right from the outset that we would treat the Olympic and Paralympics in so far as we could with parity”. Determining the difference of importance between LOCOG as a force and the corporate field's internal recognition as a force for the field's engagement is a difficult task. It is easier to argue that both were necessary in establishing the basis for the corporate field's engagement and symbolic recognition of the Paralympic Games. This engagement and recognition was and is positioned as symbolic of 'equality' by the various fields. Going beyond this, the corporate field's strategic assessment of the Paralympics' position and the structuring of their engagement strategies will now be presented.

A principle strategic calculation of the corporate field's engagement with the Paralympics was to leverage their overall investment and engagement with the Games. In a very practical sense the corporate field recognised that the Paralympics doubled the length of the event and *de facto* the length of time in which they could leverage their investment and engagement. The demand for this was heightened by the recognition of the cost of their engagement with the Olympics and its relative brevity. Another strategic calculation of the corporate field's engagement was to leverage the Paralympics' position and association with the Olympics and the blurriness of this relationship. As Michelle stated, “...one of the reasons we got involved in the Paralympics was because *people don't separate them*. So if you see an athlete you think 'Oh athlete BT Olympics' because Olympics is more in your head than Paralympics. I used that deliberately, Sainsbury's used that deliberately”.

Aside from being strategically used to leverage their overall investment the Paralympics were also construed as being a better investment in and of themselves. As Michelle described:

So it wasn't that we bought it because it had a certain set of values, and did a certain set of things and would do this for BT. We looked at it as the Olympics and the Paralympics together, and we said one of them is massively competitive and I can't come through and I'm not going to be able to make a mark. The other one which is just as valuable, just as exciting. *It's basically the same, is really underexploited and very cheap as a result of that and I can massively cut through. That was our logic.*

The corporate field's internal struggle for recognition and the favourability of the position that the Paralympics occupied for them to 'cut through'. Michelle's logic exemplifies the relational conception of what the Paralympics offer as an opportunity. Correlating to Michelle's description of the Paralympics as 'underexploited' was John's positioning of them as representing an opportunity for Sainsbury's to 'make a bigger difference'.

It should be noted here that both BT and Sainsbury's occupied the monopolistic position of being the only two sponsors of Channel 4, the London 2012 Paralympic broadcaster. The effect of this on BT's and Sainsburys' relation to the Paralympics cannot be understated. A caveat to the acquisition of this monopolistic position was that, although Michelle described the Paralympic Games as 'very cheap', the decision to award the broadcasting rights to Channel 4, and not the BBC, produced an unanticipated and additional cost. With already being fully committed to the London 2012 Paralympics Michelle described how Channel 4 leveraged their position against BT:

And you know there were moments like when Channel 4 got the broadcast rights, so to play that out. I bought the rights for the Paralympics I thought it would be on the BBC. I thought I had done all my paying for stuff. I thought it was going to be free now. And then BBC don't get the broadcasting rights, Channel 4 turn up and say you need to give us a stack of cash or we can't afford to broadcast the Paralympics or it's going to be rubbish because we won't have enough money to make it good. Well I've already got my name all over it. I've told everyone that I'm involved in it. I've made a choice to build my strategy around it. I think it's going to be on the BBC ... So there were moments like that when you go 'Uh'. You know, I knew it was too good to be true almost. And Channel 4 have done brilliantly but we've put huge amounts of money in.

These assertions give some perspective to the economic capital that was needed to produce the London 2012 Paralympic spectacle and the subsequent efforts and discussion of 'Paralympic-disability legacy'. They also give an insight into the institutional relations and internal struggles between broadcasters and the corporate sponsor field.

From these initial calculations both John and Michelle described how through their engagement they became aware of the homology between their company values and the values and narrative of the Paralympics. Describing this transition Michelle said: "I think as we got slightly further forward it became obvious that the values, the human values, a lot of the thing that BT believes in, almost come across stronger with the Paralympics than they do with the Olympics". Related to this John described how the 'force' to engage with the Paralympics was generated from within the company through their initiative that allowed employees to propose ideas and activities that Sainsbury's could support. In addition to the homology between 'values' there was also the important homology between the Paralympics and the extant initiatives that the corporate sponsors were already engaged in. For example John highlighted the congruency between Sainsbury's decision to become a Paralympic-only sponsor and their long running Active Schools initiative. These homologies ultimately bolstered corporate engagement with the Paralympics.

Another reason cited by the corporate field for engaging with the Paralympics related to the broader economic conditions at that time, namely 'the recession'. One corporate interviewee explained how sponsoring the Olympics could have appeared as too extravagant with these backdrop conditions. The same interviewee went on to explain that "sponsoring the Paralympics was always going to look like a really good thing ... so at the very beginning we played up the Paralympics because no one would ever criticize you for that". This example illustrates the symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1989) of the Paralympic field and its use to disguise the commercial basis and 'extravagance' of the event. Similar to this, discussing the reasons contributing to the success of the Sydney 2000 Paralympics, Darcy (2003) postulated that there was more demand because the Paralympics were not perceived to be a 'corporate' event like the Olympics. A unique feature of the Paralympics, although not considered in the initial reasons for engaging with them, but nonetheless significant, was their circumvention of the anti-bribery and corruption laws in the UK. Gerald of Cisco described how Olympic tickets were too expensive to be accepted by many of their clients, especially public servants, instead he said the relatively lower prices of Paralympic tickets offered an alternative opportunity that was within the legal boundaries.

In the corporate interviews some described the importance of producing internal justification and legitimacy for their engagement. From this they described the reasons for their engagement with the Paralympic field that they included in their internal business case reports. Within these reports the corporate sponsors explained that the legitimacy of their engagement had to ultimately be based on the possible and potential commercial and economic benefits. As one interviewee put it: "So all those things are good but actually ultimately will you sell more stuff". One of the most significant possible commercial benefits for the corporate field was the symbolic capital that their commercial brand could garner from the engagement with the Paralympics. An important caveat of this was that for the majority of the corporate sponsors brand (symbolic) recognition was not a determining factor because their brands (symbols) were already well recognised. Rather their primary strategy was to improve the relations and associations to their brand and translate this into increased consumption of their products.

The structure of the corporate sponsors meant that the possible economic benefits and strategies were more complicated than simply being a matter of 'selling more'. For example, Michelle described the difference between top-down and bottom-up strategies. The former seeks to increase the business' share price, while the latter attempts to increase sales. The latter is further complicated in relation to the corporation's target market, that is whether it is oriented to consumers or other businesses. Notably, the strategies of both BT and Sainsbury's, the two most prominent sponsors of the London 2012 Paralympics, and through their relationship with Channel 4, focused their practices on their consumer relations.

As a side note, when discussing their internal business cases one corporate interviewee simply stated that the process was by no means 'an exact science' (Shaun, BP). Another said "ultimately it is an impossible task in many ways, you end up creating a number of different scenarios and ultimately do you believe in one or other of those. You have to bridge the gap between a business case and a belief". The significance of the emphasis of 'belief' in these assertions is illuminated by a historical appreciation of the lack of corporate engagement with the Paralympic field. It is only then that it becomes apparent that this 'belief' was historically missing and that the question of how this 'belief' has been produced can be examined.

An important consideration in this discussion is recognition that not all of the corporate sponsors engaged with the Paralympics at the same time or to the same degree. This point was already highlighted in the opening citation of Michelle, however she also described how it was not until 2010 that many of the other sponsors really began to engage with the Paralympic field. The point here then is that these differences effect the position from which a corporate sponsor begins their engagement, and therefore how they legitimise their engagement. In this sense there were corporate sponsors that did not engage until they saw that the field was well-established and that it became more and more apparent that the Paralympics would be a 'success'. The following passage from a corporate 'late-comer' outlines this point:

I guess what we saw from both the way the organising committee were setting up the Paralympic Games but also the support that was already on board, Channel 4 and some of the other partners, it struck us, it's very easy in hindsight, but it seemed very obvious even then that...they would be a big big event and a big deal in the country.

This same 'late-comer' admitted to being frustrated at the lack of sponsorship products available with two years to go until the Games but at the same time accepted that their corporation was late to the table. Noteworthy from this is the latent demand for more Paralympic sponsorship opportunities. From this consideration of the corporate field's legitimisation of their engagement, the thesis now considers the risks that came with their engagement.

### **'Risks of Failure & Engagement'**

In the interviews with the representatives of the corporate field it was remarked that their investment and engagement with the Paralympic field engendered a number of risks which also formed part of their dispositional insecurities. The major risk noted by the corporate interviewees of their engagement with the Paralympics was that the event was not recognised as a success, with success being variably defined. This was coupled with the insecurity of not being in control of the actual production and delivery of the spectacle. What's more, the

Paralympics' lack of commercial success historically was positioned as a considerable source of risk and uncertainty by the corporate field. Nonetheless, and as a preliminary evaluation, John noted that these risks were ultimately relatively low by the time of the Games citing "the genius of LOCOG to create a single London 2012 Games, identity and brand".

While there may be some 'truth' in John's statement, it is still worth detailing the risks sensed by the corporate field. On a theoretical level Wacquant (2008) argues that in engaging in a field it is very difficult to remain indifferent to its politics. Related to this David noted that Proctor and Gamble (P&G) did not want to be seen to be just 'ticking a box', that is the 'Paralympic-disability box'. To avoid this David detailed how they ran their 'Nearest and Dearest Programme'<sup>38</sup> equally with both the British Olympic Association (BOA) and the BPA. Gerald of Cisco had a similar approach, which he described as the 'equity approach'. He also stated that this came through in the implementation of their marketing practices. Another corporate sponsor recounted the frustration and dismay of being targeted by disability campaign groups. This vexation was heightened by the lack of recognition from the disability groups of other corporate sponsors who were not engaging with the Paralympics at all. The overarching point here is to note the inextricability of risk-and-reward in the corporate field's position and engagement with the London 2012 Paralympic Games.

### **Corporate Field: Initial Struggles with Other Fields**

The way that LOCOG structured the corporate sponsor field meant that the sponsors came from different industries or sectors. David explained that this avoided internal competition within the corporate sponsor field instead allowing the external struggle to leverage and maximize their investment to be their predominant focus. This homology of focus and the overlap of industry that some corporations enjoyed allowed them to work together and collaborate in their engagement strategies. The relationship between Sainsbury's and other fast moving consumer goods (FMCG) related sponsors is exemplary of this, as John explained:

We actually worked very closely with other sponsors, because of the nature of the sponsorship rights mean that they are exclusive areas, and that you're not working with people who you might bump up against in terms of competition. So we worked really closely with FMCG sponsors, such as P&G, Cadbury's, Coke because we sell their products. We worked closely with BT because we were co-sponsors of Channel 4. We also worked closely with people like Deloitte for example. So in terms of analysing the current landscape of Paralympic sport and where we might make an intervention in

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<sup>38</sup> P&G's 'Nearest and Dearest' initiative was created around the idea of bringing recognition to the families of the athletes competing at London 2012.

terms of legacy, so, yea I think particularly in the Paralympic space, we found people willing to work together to create something more than individual sponsorships.<sup>39</sup>

These different strategic homologies between the Paralympic corporations arguably enabled them to bring more recognition to the Paralympic field, and specifically to the London 2012 Paralympic Games, and thereby increase the field's symbolic capital.

A field that the corporate sponsors struggled with at times was the disability field. This point relates to the already discussed 'risks of engagement', but to add to this one interviewee argued, "I don't think it's our job of as sponsors of the Paralympics to wade into disability rights". A reason they cited for this was that their corporation had an autonomous department that dealt with disability. Theoretically this can be related to the struggle of a field to maintain its autonomy. The same corporate sponsors further argued that they lacked knowledge about disability rights and that ultimately it would have slowed down the process of their engagement with the Paralympic Games. On further probing a more complex reason for the unwillingness became apparent:

I think the trouble with being a big corporate that gets involved in something like the Paralympics and the reason a lot of corporates don't is every lobbying organisation is looking for someone to throw rocks at. So if you're a massive company and you get involved with something like this, I mean chances are everybody now expects you to fix everything. And if you don't fix everything they're knocking on your door, sending you emails, complaining about you to journalists. Now I can't fix everything in disability sport. However much I might want to. So you have to choose how you engage...  
(Corporate interviewee).

In this relation between the corporate and disability field the demands and needs of both fields are evident. The passage also conveys the interviewee's sense of being unable to supply the resources to meet these demands. Together this intersection and the aforementioned risks of engaging with the Paralympic field for the corporate field arguably have the effect of limiting their engagement with the disability field. On this the corporate interviewees often stated that they preferred for their relationship with the disability field to be mediated through LOCOG, the BPA and the athletes. A final point highlighting the convoluted struggles engendered by the Paralympics was the description by a corporate interviewee of Paralympic athletes supporting them in the face of criticism from disability groups. It is at this point that the chapter transitions from the prospective to the retrospective sense of legacy in assessing the post-evaluations of the corporate field.

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<sup>39</sup> These assertions were supported by Nathan Homer from P&G.

## **Post-Evaluation**

An initial evaluation made by the corporate sponsors was the manner in which LOCOG organised the two Games. Shaun of BP said that LOCOG “integrated the Olympics and Paralympics more closely than any previous Games has integrated them and that made them very easy for a sponsor”. Michelle agreed with the favourable organization and positioning of the Paralympics by LOCOG allowing for the corporate field to fully engage. The significance of this is perhaps being understated here, but reference to the historical integration and organization of the two Games, such as the narration of Howe (2008a) or the Mason’s (2002) organizational analysis, gives a heightened appreciation of this. Of all of the other fields it was the disability sport field that recognised the historical significance of the corporate field’s engagement most, perhaps having a greater sense of the Paralympic field’s history than the others. From this historical appreciation of the corporate field’s engagement, Gerald of Cisco contextualizes the corporate field’s engagement and position with the London 2012 Paralympic Games:

The interesting thing which I think nobody anticipated was the general public's engagement and excitement around the Paralympics was you know almost the same as it was on the Olympics. So that made for the sponsors for the whole event just that much more special for people.

The subjectiveness of Gerald’s assertion here is self-evident. Nonetheless it is still worth noting the importance of the “public’s” recognition of and engagement with the Paralympics and the symbolic challenge that this presents to the Olympics.

In his evaluation of Sainsbury’s position as a Paralympic-only sponsor John said that they enjoyed the dual benefits of focusing all of their attention on the Paralympics and also ‘almost’ having a 100% share of the voice in the space. John also commented that Sainsbury’s was ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> out of all of the sponsors in terms of awareness. As noted earlier, it was not just about brand recognition but also brand favourability. Shaun of BP outlined this while at the same time drawing an interesting conclusion:

It's creating that association with the emotional connection of the Games and that works very well with the Olympics and it works you could argue even more strongly with the Paralympics. So it's one of the main attractions of the Olympics and Paralympics to a corporate sponsor (Shaun, BP).

Shaun’s insinuation here that the Paralympics produced a stronger brand association corresponds to John’s assessment that positive attributes around Sainsbury’s ‘brand warmth’ were the highest that they had ever seen. Discerning the validity of these insinuations and

assessments are not without their problems. However, they do reflect a heterodox possibility that may not have been considered before, that is the possibility and positioning of the Paralympic Games as a sponsorship opportunity that challenges the Olympic Games.

Symbolic capital is central to this discussion of brand favourability as it “designates the effects of any form of capital when people do not perceive them (other forms of capital) as such” (Wacquant, 2008: 268). In this way the corporate field’s evaluates their symbolic capital, before and after the Games, and the translation of this capital into other forms. Exemplifying this Michelle of BT stated: “...so something like 18% of people by the end of the Paras said they would be more inclined to buy from the sponsors of the Paralympic Games”.

In further evaluating their engagement with the London 2012 Paralympics corporate sponsors elaborated the capital and efficacy of the ‘Paralympic narrative’. Two quotations highlight this:

The Paralympians, the Paralympic athlete's stories are usually far richer and more accessible because they are often battling against financial odds and lack of support and still achieving extraordinary things and those things seem to resonate with the British public more (John, Sainsbury's).

...you know the back stories are often even more incredible and powerful so for us we definitely recognised as we worked through the programme that you know as we look to create content that consumers will engage with the Paralympic stories of Paralympians, they really did offer a fantastic way to leverage our campaign. And I don't think we realised that, genuinely I don't think we realised that at the start. As we started to see the stories we started to say wow the Olympic stories are good these are incredible (David, P&G).

There are a number of inferences to highlight from these two passages. Of prominence is the generic presupposition that the struggles of the Paralympian’s are greater than that of the Olympian’s, which translates into a greater distinctiveness of the ‘Paralympic narrative’. From this, if conceived as a hierarchical space of narratives, these corporate assertions of the symbolic capital of the ‘Paralympic narrative’ positions it above that of the ‘Olympic narrative’. This presents another example of how the Paralympic field, symbolically at least, challenged its Olympic counterpart at London 2012. Further elaborating these intricacies Gerald of Cisco described his experience of taking clients to the Paralympics and the difference in engagement that the Paralympics produced. He explained this in saying, “people got more emotional about it because when you see athletes who obviously are incredibly talented in terms of their performance but also doing it you know competing when they've got challenges that able-

bodied people don't have". This relation is drawn upon the distinction between the challenges, or struggles, of the Paralympic athlete's capital that they accrue from this difference. It is also underpinned by the preconception that the habitus of Paralympic athletes experiences greater challenges than the Olympic counterpart. Such relations can be easily related to, and critiqued by, the historical (Finkelstein, 1980) and contemporary (Oliver and Barnes, 2010) struggles of the disability field. However such criticism falls short of properly objectifying the space of possible relations. A provisional and simplistic attempt to objectify this space of relations is made and presented in the discussion chapter.

David from P&G pointed to the international resonance of the Paralympic narrative capital in that all of P&G's international divisions which engaged with the Paralympic field ended up doing bigger campaigns than initially planned. However this international resonance was not ubiquitous. Gerald of Cisco described how their UK corporate team, being predominantly of British nationality, were familiar with the Paralympics, "what it meant and how important it was". In contrast, he described how his US colleagues did not have the same recognition of this and consequently did not get as excited about them. The reasons for this, Gerald suggested, included their lack of experience and exposure but also the lack of media coverage of the Paralympics in their domestic market. This example illuminates the theoretical position that the efficacy of capital is dependent on the habitus being predisposed to recognise it (Bourdieu, 1986) and on the field propagating it. It is this confluence and intersection between the field and the habitus, as outlined in the methodology chapter, that we can understand the position and practices of Cisco's North American employees.

A struggle that came through in the corporate field's evaluation of London 2012 was the difficulty of defining 'what the Paralympics were and are'. Although this philosophical debate took on many subjectivities, it is still worth highlighting the most significant explorations of this struggle from the corporate position. An initial definition comes from David who said "... it really is about seeing incredible people doing incredible things and that you know there truly is no kind of barrier to what you can achieve at a personal level if you set your mind to it" (David, P&G). Another interviewee said that it had been described to him as "athletes come to the Olympics and become heroes, heroes go to the Paralympics" (Gerald, Cisco)<sup>40</sup>. For Sainsbury's their 'internal distilling' of the question reduced it to two things which John cited as resonating most with their customers, especially families, and with their employees:

The Paralympics is about *what you can do, not what you can't do*, I think everyone kind of gets that. It's about also *the sense of personal best*, so even if you don't succeed in a competitive field if you beat what you've done before then you've succeeded. So those

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<sup>40</sup> This reference can be related to Steadward and Peterson's (1997) book titled "Paralympics: Where Heroes Come".

two messages really hit home with colleagues, and they really hit home with families in our customer research (John, Sainsbury's).

It is worth noting the symbolicness and contestedness of these philosophical positions relating to the distinctiveness of the Paralympics and Paralympians. For example, these objectifications by the corporate field of the heroic and inspirational status of the Paralympics Games are contested by Paralympic athletes. Peers (2012) provides a vivid and recent example of this, with her discussion of Paralympic identity being structured by the underpinning struggle to define the Paralympic space.

Concomitant to the corporate field's struggle to define the Paralympics was the struggle over what was being pursued, which constituted a symbolic struggle over and between the capitals that were being sought. Exemplifying this most explicitly was one corporate sponsor's declaration that "it's not about the money". In contrast the corporate field more often emphasized the social and cultural capital, that is the changing of social relations ('perceptions') to disability and the attempts to increase sports participation that was being pursued. There is another symbolic struggle to note here over the legitimacy of the forms of capital being pursued.

In evaluating their engagement with and investment in the Games the corporations judged themselves against the other official corporate sponsors but also against their market competitors who had not sponsored the Games. The corporate sponsors also judged the internal dynamics of their engagement, for example with employees and customers. Highlighting this position John described how the Paralympics had left them with a renewed focus on disability in their customer service and their employment practices and conditions. The internal impact of their engagement with the Paralympics is something that a number of the corporate sponsors noted. This impact was often contrasted to their initial calculations and the importance assigned to it in their internal business cases. Michelle of BT referred to their internal research that found that "...staff morale was one of things that it [the Paralympics] really impacted", going on to say "...so that's my point about internal pride which was just massive". Similarly David of P&G said "we saw a totally unprecedented jump in the pride to work for P and G". This contrast in expectations and outcomes, and the internal opportunity presented by the Paralympics, is one of the major findings of the corporate field (David, P&G). Another internally related evaluation of the corporate field was that their engagement led to the expectation of continued engagement from their employees. Michelle of BT best exemplified this: "The other piece of data I've got is I think it's 85% of BT people want us to carry on sponsoring the Paralympics".

Another interesting element of the corporate field's evaluations of the Paralympic Games was the corporate hospitality practices. One interviewee described the corporate hospitality practices as mixed in relation to the levels of engagement with the Paralympics from

the corporate field. The same interviewee speculated that there may have been a greater divergence between Olympic and Paralympic corporate hospitality, and between consumer and corporate orientated sponsors. Gerald of Cisco stated that they carried their corporate hospitality strategy across the Paralympics and Olympics, although he noted that initially the Paralympics were not as appealing to their clients. As in other cases he referred to the lack of the international profile, or international symbolic capital, of the Paralympics. Gerald concluded, "although in actual effect when people went they were just as excited and enthralled by attending a Paralympic event as if they had been attending an Olympic event".

So far the evaluations of the corporate field have related to the institutional considerations and not so much to the event in itself. This focus on the institutions is a concomitant part of the thesis' methodology, that is inverting the problem from the event to the institutions. Nevertheless it is still worthwhile to consider the corporate field's post-Games assessments. To begin, Michelle of BT offers a summative evaluation of the London 2012 Paralympic Games:

Has anything fundamental changed? I think people's minds have changed, for sure. I think people's minds have changed. I think people's perceptions have changed. I think the athletes have changed. So Jonnie Peacock feels differently about himself. And I think the cash flow into the sport has changed. So, if legacy is, do people feel differently? Do they look at disabled people differently? Is the sport healthier? I think all of those things are true.

The validity of Michelle's evaluations is difficult to measure, instead, and sticking to the research's methodology, they can be positioned to identify the symbolic struggles of the Paralympic field. First is the postulation that relations ('perceptions') have changed to disability. This change was also emphasized by John of Sainsbury's: "... it is a fundamental shift in attitudes towards disability, and a recognition of what disabled people can achieve as opposed to, it's not about what they can't do it's about what they can do". This 'social' aim and change was one of the most prominently cited by the corporate sponsors that engaged with the Paralympics Games. It can be seen to be positioned to legitimize the corporate field's position, relations and engagement with the London 2012 Paralympics. Equally, the corporate sponsors, such as Sainsbury's, were keen to emphasize their cultural aspirations to increase the practice of disability sport.

Another significant element of Michelle's evaluation is the sense that the Paralympic athlete's position had changed. There is a presupposition here that the change is beneficial or positive, which theoretically then must be related to the accrual of more social, cultural and/or economic capital. In relation to economic capital Michelle's statement asserts that there is now

more in the Paralympic field as a result of London 2012. However, this flow of economic capital into the Paralympic field was recognised as not being evenly distributed and engendering internal struggles between fields such as the athletes, the National Paralympic Committees (NPC) and the UK disability sport specific institutions.

### **Post-Strategies**

Another element that was discussed in the interviews was the strategies of the corporate sponsors after London 2012. A primary strategy for the corporate field was to maintain and continue to leverage the institutional relations that they have developed, such as with the BPA. As David put it, "If you take the BPA or the BOA you know they're clearly long term relationships that we'll leverage certainly until 2020". As well as maintaining their current relationships for Shaun of BP and David of P&G their strategy going forward was to extend and expand their international field by developing relations with other National Paralympic teams. David highlighted the importance of the recent signing of the Paralympic-NBC deal for P&G's North American team. This deal, he said, gives the team the foreknowledge that there will be an increased demand for the Paralympics by the time of Rio 2016. As well as maintaining and developing their relationship with NPCs the corporate interviewees also asserted the importance of doing this with their athlete ambassadors. Other post-Games strategies included the funding of grassroots disability sport initiatives. For example, Sainsbury's had an inclusive school sports initiative and BT sponsored an initiative to fund disability sport clubs. On Sainsbury's school sport initiative John highlighted the benefits of early socialisation that their mainstreaming strategy and initiatives facilitated. Another more direct continuation of their engagement with the Paralympics is the corporate field's sponsoring of other events that either promoted 'mainstreaming' or were exclusive Paralympic-disability sports events.

A caveat to these evaluations and post-Games strategies of the corporate field was the difficulty of discerning legacy as cause and effect and as momentum. One corporate interviewee noted that many of their practices were a continuation of their pre-existing sports initiatives and not additional as a result of the Games. Pertinently, David of P&G admitted, "I could argue yes we've got the legacy programme at all of our sites around the UK and Ireland but they kind of had them beforehand". This concludes the first two elements of this section, the relations of the other fields to the corporate field will now be presented.

### **On Corporations**

Having presented the first two elements of this chapter on the corporate field, it is now time to consider the position and relations of the other fields to it. The disability sport field is first considered and presents the positions of the disability sport councils, the BPA and the Special Olympics. A brief presentation of the media and government relations with the corporate field

will follow this. The disability field is not examined in depth because of the lack of engagement with the corporate field. Instead, closing the chapter is a presentation of the issue of Atos as a corporate sponsor of London 2012 whilst at the same time being contracted to perform the government's welfare assessments.

### **Disability Sport and the Corporate Field**

The disability sport field presented a number of interesting relations with the London 2012 corporate sponsors. Of principal note was the mediation of this relation by the BPA. Elizabeth of the UKSA made a number of points about the position occupied by the BPA and the internal struggles of the disability sports field it engendered. Firstly, she stated that the BPA was 'wax lyrical' about the funders and corporations that were involved. A second point made by Elizabeth was that she would have liked to have seen the BPA use their relations with the corporate sponsors throughout the course of the Games to look at the possible benefits, for the sponsors and the BPA, to engage with the broader disability sports field. From Elizabeth's position it was important the benefits and capital of the BPA's relations with corporations were distributed throughout the performance pathway, especially to the grassroots. Related to this, Elizabeth also made a point about the strategic funding of sports development projects stating: "we just need to make sure that it goes into the right, the right sustainable projects, so that we do see a real change, rather than investing in the same sort of thing that has gone before and it's not actually achieving that increase in participation". A final point, easily related to Elizabeth's position within the UKSA for People with Learning Disability, was her emphasis that it wasn't just about physical impairment and called for greater engagement with the UKSA.

Somewhat contrary to Elizabeth's argument for a greater distribution and engagement from the corporate sponsors with the broader disability sports field was an opportunity created by the BPA a year prior to London 2012 for the four disability sport councils to propose sport initiatives to the corporate sponsors (Dermot, DSNI; Peter, SDS). Dermot of DSNI explained that although the needs of the corporate sponsors were being met in terms of their engagement with the Paralympic Games and the Paralympics GB team they were not engaging with the grassroots of the disability sports field. Peter of SDS describes the opportunity:

Well I think courtesy of the BPA just probably I think a year before the Games we got the opportunity as the four home nations to present to some of the headline sponsors that were going to the Games so you know that in itself was a good opportunity to you know to almost offer or inform those sponsors of grassroots options for them in terms of investment.

An important element of Dermot's strategy for his initiative proposal was to identify the values and the space in which the corporate sponsors were already engaged in. As he said: "you need to do the groundwork to really understand the space you're going to try and approach". In this sense his proposal of the 5 Star sports development initiative identified the educational space in which Sainsbury's, as one of the corporate sponsors, was already engaged in, and this allowed them to "connect with their values" (Dermot, DSNI). A caveat to the opportunity and a stumbling block for the disability sport councils was that it was organised just one year out from the London 2012 Games. This meant that the larger projects proposed by the four disability sport councils were met with the following response from Sainsbury's: "we're kind of too far down the route with other things" (Dermot, DSNI). In saying this, Dermot (of DSNI) explained how Sainsbury's showed an interest in the teacher training element of their proposal which ultimately received funding. Evaluating the initiative Alex of DSW said: "I think it was a good example of a project that was that you could say it was genuinely inspired not in terms of what we needed to do but in terms of inspiring it through a partnership with a London 2012 based provider". Also, and in addition to the identification of the monopolistic position occupied by Sainsbury's (and BT) as sponsors of Channel 4, Seth of Sport England highlighted how Sainsbury's had effectively positioned themselves as being the corporate organisation that engaged and engages with the Paralympic and disability sport fields. There were other corporations whose engagement was noted favourably by the disability sport field, such as Deloitte's Parasport initiative.

The interview with Denis of the BPA offered a number of noteworthy points. Of principal note was his supporting of the greater efficacy of the Paralympic narrative, as he explained: "a lot of the sponsors, who thought to be honest when they bought the Olympic rights they were kind of getting one free with the Paralympics ended up finding that the stories of the Paralympians were the ones that resonated most with their customers". Denis noted here the relationship that Sainsbury's had developed with Ellie Simmonds, and made a similar point to Ian of Channel 4 in saying that Ellie was now more recognised and fitting in this space than other sports symbols such as David Beckham and Jessica Ennis. Denis described the BPA's continued engagement with their corporate sponsors since London 2012, and specifically highlighted that seven of the corporate sponsors had decided to continue their engagement with the BPA. From this Denis argued that it showed that their needs had been met by the relationship. What's more, and as a contrast, Denis pointed to the fact that only two, Adidas and BP, of the seven corporate sponsors of London 2012 continued their engagement with the BOA. Whilst Denis refrained from positioning this as a criticism of the BOA's commercial offering, he did assert that it was reflective of what the corporations believed would carry on resonating with their customers, suppliers and staff.

The interview with Donna of the Special Olympics offers a final and slightly different position on corporate sponsorship. It is the Special Olympics' own position in not being an official institution of the Paralympic field but still operating within the broader disability sport field that offers this perspective. Of note was the Special Olympics' organisation of their national competition, the Bath Games 2013, shortly after the London 2012 Games. In the Special Olympics' strategic pursuit for corporate sponsorship, being unable to engage with Sainsbury's because of their Paralympic engagement, they explicitly targeted their direct competitors, that is other large supermarket franchises. Donna said they targeted this field of corporations for sponsorship with the following strapline: "...as part of the legacy would you consider looking at this grassroots activity, it involves 1.2million people with a learning disability, you could really help make a huge difference". The use of 'legacy' here, by a non-Olympic and Paralympic entity, exemplifies how it can be understood and used as a euphemism of the strategic practices of the broader sports field.

Summarising the disability sport field's relations to the corporate field, Dermot and Peter offer two related points. From his position Dermot is sceptical of and challenged the legitimacy of the 'legacy' rhetoric in arguing:

To sum it up I would say there are a few key organisations like Sainsbury's and Deloitte who have done their bit around the Games, seen the value of it and are continuing with a legacy but most corporations involved in the Paralympics seen it as something, despite the talk around legacy, seen it as something that ended at the Games.

Finally, from Peter's position, while acknowledging the corporate engagement with the Paralympics, such as Sainsbury's teacher training initiative, he attested to the limited distribution of the legacy practices beyond England and particularly South England. From this the media's relations with the corporate field will be considered.

### **Media and the Corporate Field**

A preliminary methodological point warranting reiteration here is that the media representatives interviewed came solely from Channel 4 which has obvious implications for this discussion. When asked about Channel 4's relationship with the corporate field Ian, Channel 4's Partnership Leader, explained that their practices focused on LOCOG partners but particularly BT and Sainsbury's: "...We didn't stray too far from keeping a single focus on BT and Sainsbury's. They paid an awful amount of money for those relatively, for those exclusive rights". It has already been identified that other corporations, such as P&G, would have liked to have engaged with Channel 4 but for Sainsbury's and BT securing these exclusive positions. Relating to this external struggle was the internal struggle between Sainsbury's and BT. For

example Ian described how he anticipated there to be trouble along the way in managing the relationships with Sainsbury's and BT. The following passage describes Channel 4's strategy to overcome and ameliorate this possible source of tension:

We decided from day one that Sainsbury's story is about colleague engagement, it's about regionality, it's about touching people. BT's story is about elite athleticism and expertise. So if they tell that story and Sainsbury's tells their story, then we shouldn't be clashing. So we had two firm directions (Ian, Channel 4).

Ian also explained that Channel 4 differentiated the extension events that they organised with Sainsbury's and BT. For example, they organised Super Saturday with Sainsbury's, a sport-music cultural event, whilst with BT they organised the sports event, the BT World Cup. The management of this space occupied by Sainsbury's and BT is akin to the struggle for recognition, that is to cut through, that Michelle described early as being part of their engagement strategy with the Paralympics. As such it can be argued that this struggle between corporations to cut through in the Paralympic space will become heightened if more corporations become engaged.

Channel 4 were in a unique position to assess Sainsbury's and BT, and their strategies. Ian explained that Sainsbury's were relatively late in their engagement with the Paralympics and did not have the past experience that BT had accumulated giving them a relative advantage. In his own words Ian said: "For a project of this size it's a relatively short amount of time especially when you have no real knowledge. BT had knowledge of what they were going to do. And they established ambassadors such as Oscar Pistorius. But Sainsbury's had no Paralympic infrastructure". From this Ian went on to describe the knowledge transfer between the different institutions, sport and corporate. For example, he explained how BT transferred their knowledge of the Paralympic field to them and in conjunction with the BPA developed the Paralympic infrastructure for Sainsbury's. In noting all of this Ian argued that Sainsbury's were logistically in a better position than BT because the Paralympics were their sole focus.

A final distinction drawn between BT and Sainsbury's by Ian was in his description of the former as more accepting of risk. As an example, Ian described how Sainsbury's debated and struggled with Channel 4's previous broadcasting, most notably the 'Freaks of Nature'<sup>41</sup>, in determining whether or not to engage with the broadcaster. In the end Sainsbury's did engage. The following passage outlines Ian's position on the development of Sainsbury's 'practical sense' of the Paralympic space: "I think as they grew with Channel 4 they began to trust us, they began to understand this world, and we dragged them more and more into it. And you know Sainsbury's really got their confidence together". These caricatures and relations with the

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<sup>41</sup> 'Freaks of Nature' was a programme about five Paralympic athletes broadcasted and marketed by Channel 4 prior to London 2012.

corporate field are examined in more detail in the media section. Of particular note was the corporate field's reaction to the 'Meet the Superhumans' campaign where Sainsbury's conservativeness is further exemplified.

### **Government and the Corporate Field**

The two predominant positions from the government field on the corporate field came from Sian and Paul. To begin Sian argued that LOCOG made the right decision to dictate that sponsors engage with both the Olympics and Paralympics early in the planning process, and in sticking with this decision. Continuing in the same line of argument Sian said that LOCOG's decision to allow Sainsbury's to be a Paralympic-only sponsor as another effective decision. The efficacy of this decision, Sian argued, was heightened with the selection of Channel 4 as the Paralympic broadcaster. In the interview with Sian she was asked if there were sponsors that she felt had not engaged with the Paralympic Games, to which she responded:

"I think in the past it is true to say the Olympic sponsors didn't, but I think from these Games, certainly my experience of the ones I saw it was good, I think a few had to probably be nudged along the way, but that's ok".

A problem that Sian noted, which was not limited to the Paralympics but applied to the Olympics equally, was that some of the sponsors only accounted for the cost of acquiring the rights to be a sponsor and only then thought about the cost of activating their sponsorship.

### **Disability, the Corporate Field**

The disability field presents a unique position in that they were the field that was least directly engaged with London 2012 Games, or at least this was the case from the perspective of the disability related institutions that were interviewed. Reflecting their lack of engagement James of the UKDPC said, "We would have loved to have but they, we weren't approached by any and equally we hadn't ourselves approached any either". This lack of engagement, although contradicted by Channel 4's organisation of consultations, makes a consideration of the field here somewhat limited. However an appropriate consideration for this section is the relations of the disability and other fields to the corporate sponsor Atos. The appropriateness of this consideration relates to the interrelation that Atos created between the London 2012 Paralympic Games and the broader disability related issue of welfare.

It was not the service that Atos provided at the London 2012 Games that was a point of contention, rather it was the contracting of a subsidiary component of Atos to perform the government's welfare related assessments that was an issue for some of the interviewees. One of the disability sport interviewees explained that it was the particularly high success rate of appeals that was particularly significant. The same interviewee explained that disability groups

protested Paralympic test events and the actual Paralympic Games but at the same time noted that “if they were really that worried they would have changed their sponsor”. Sharon of CP Sport described the difficulty that Atos as a corporate sponsor created for some. Particularly of note was the fact that the Atos brand was on all of the accreditation lanyards.

I think for disabled people that you know, a disabled Games Maker who was forced to wear a lanyard that says Atos just for them to hold their accreditation, it was a difficult one (Sharon, CP Sport).

As something of a strategic reaction Sharon explained that athletes, Games Makers and anyone sensitive to the issue used different methods to cover the Atos brand, such as the strategic placement of pin badges.

From the disability field James, of the UKDPC, said that they totally condemned the engagement of Atos and said that many within the disability movement compared it to blood money. As the representative of the UK’s Disabled People’s Council James said they met and challenged the government and the organisers on the ‘unsavouriness’ of Atos’ engagement but said that they did not really get much of a response. It is worth quoting James’ position in full to provide a proper elaboration of the contention of Atos’ engagement:

But what the government will say is that is an issue for LOCOG we can't get involved in that. And LOCOG will say, look they're investing £6million pounds or something. Simple as that. I mean here you have a company, a commercial company, who is supporting a government agenda and is putting thousands of people through stress unnecessarily. And yet at the same time they're kind of celebrating disabled people's advanced achievements, however you want to position it. But you know they are part of supporting that. And it's just, you can't think of anything more two-faced, disgusting (James, UKDPC).

At the end of this prose James questioned what benefits Atos acquired from their Paralympic engagement. From a different position within the disability field Emma stated: “I think it was foolish of the Olympic and Paralympic Committee and of Atos to think that they could get away with being a sponsor but that is probably all I would say”. The reason that Emma curtailed her argument here was because she held the position that the disability movement’s contestation of the engagement of Atos with the Paralympics was a side issue. For Emma it was the government’s policy that was the more significant component, with it being largely inconsequential which corporation was contracted to implement the policy.

Another interesting position on the engagement of Atos with the London 2012 Paralympics came from Sian’s position within government. Sian described that she occupied a

divided and difficult position on the issue. On the one hand she recognised that the Paralympics and Olympics require money to operate, whilst at the same time recognizing that Atos was receiving a lot of negative publicity because of its role in the government's WCAs. This tension was heightened by the government's announcement that it was revoking two of its contracts with Atos. Similar to Sharon, Sian recognised the tension created by having the Atos brand logo on the accreditation lanyards and the lack of freedom to change or alter it.

In much the same way as Emma recognised earlier, Sian recognised that the struggle over Atos' engagement went beyond Atos, instead encompassing issues from training to the guidelines given from the Department for Working and Pensions (DWP). Sian described the difficulty of her position in the political field to engage with these symbolic struggles, such as the one represented here by Atos. The following passage exemplified this tension:

Yea you know I can stand up and make a big rant about what Atos are doing, but then that excludes me from lots of other conversations about, I've got one guy on twitter who is so close to being blocked, who just rants at me for not slagging off Atos, and you just say well ok so that makes you feel better, but with government I can't have a sensible conversation about the stuff like that (Sian).

Central to Sian's strategic engagement was the maintenance of her position to engage with these issues. In this way Sian explained that to publicly berate Atos would likely exempt her or limit her capacity to engage in the future and to make contributions that improve the welfare system and process. Relating to the difficulties of her own engagement with this issue, Sian highlighted the difficulty for current Paralympic athletes and the tension around Atos. As a former athlete Sian adopts the position that there should not be expectations of athletes to engage with such political issues. During her own time as an athlete Sian said that she deliberately avoided engaging in political issues. A reason for this was that engagement in broader political issues creates a tension with actual or potential sponsorship relations. In addition, Sian took a stance against those who called for the athletes to boycott the Games. It is only necessary to briefly touch upon the media field's relation to this issue as it is examined within the media section. Nonetheless it can still be noted that Patricia of Channel 4 stated that as the Paralympic broadcaster they were satisfied that they had not glossed over the issue of Atos' engagement. Exemplifying this, Patricia referred to Channel 4's coverage of the issue in its news coverage, its 'No Go Britain Series' and in 'The Last Leg' programme.

In summary, this sub-section has discussed the internal and external dynamics of the corporate field before and after London 2012. The collaboration between the corporate and media field was an important feature of London 2012, with the internal and external dynamics of the latter now being discussed.

## Channel 4 and the Media Field

To avoid over-inflating this section, the reader should be aware that the media field that engaged with the London 2012 Games was much broader than that of Channel 4<sup>42</sup>, the Paralympic broadcaster, from which all of the interviewees derived. Channel 4's position as the sole UK Paralympic television broadcaster put it in a dominant and monopolistic position which is considered as justification for their predominance and focus here. Another point of justification can be made on the basis that the interviewees of Channel 4, Ian, a Partnership Leader, and Patricia, a Disability Executive, occupied pivotal positions in the televisual broadcasting of the London 2012 Paralympic Games. The importance of such positions, described as 'elite' in the methodology chapter, further bolsters the value and importance of understanding their positions and how it evolved throughout the hosting of the London 2012 spectacle.

The content of this section integrates an examination of both the intra-dynamics of the media field and the interrelations of the media field with the other fields of this research. Opening this section is a presentation of Channel 4's initial calculations of their position as the Paralympic broadcaster and the initial decision to award the rights to Channel 4 over the BBC. Developing this, the discussion continues by examining Channel 4's strategies and struggles of their position in the pre-spectacle period. This is rounded off by a reflective evaluation of Channel 4's engagement with the London 2012 Paralympics and their continued engagement with the Paralympic field as a broadcaster. It is at this point that the discussion transitions to a consideration of the relations of the interviewees from the other fields who detailed their evaluations of Channel 4's position and performance as the London 2012 Paralympic broadcaster. The key interviewees of this sub-section are:

Alias	Organisation	Field	Description
Patricia	Channel 4	Media	UK Paralympic Sport Broadcaster
Ian	Channel 4	Media	UK Paralympic Sport Broadcaster

### Initial Calculations

Over the course of 2009 and 2010 Channel 4 were engaged in a bid for the broadcasting rights of the London 2012 Paralympic Games. On bidding for the rights Ian commented "I think most people thought we were fairly mad", citing reasons that included the Paralympics' lack of history as a wide spectator event, the size of the logistical operation and Channel 4's own capacity to meet these demands. There was also the BBC to consider as Channel 4's main

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<sup>42</sup> A number of interviewees highlighted the extensive coverage of the Paralympics in the print media, and also the BBC's radio coverage.

competitor for the Paralympic rights. In the end Ian simply described their bid as so, “it was slightly, well it was a bit nuts, it was just typical Channel 4”.

When Channel 4 won the broadcasting rights Ian said he immediately “thought shit how are we going to deliver all these promises...the promise was to deliver the most, the greatest Games ever, that's LOCOG's thing. But also to be the most comprehensive, in-depth coverage of the Paralympic Games ever”. These sentiments were echoed by Patricia, Disability Executive at Channel 4, who said: “we were starting from a low base because there was absolutely no awareness of disabled athletes and no particular interest in the Paralympics so we sort of had a massive job to do marketing wise really to get people engaged”. Ian recounted his initial encounter of live Paralympic sport at the BT Paralympic World Cup in Manchester. It illustrates further their sense and anticipation of the challenges and struggles that they faced: “to be fair there is a crowd of 400 and 380 of them are school kids who are bussed in on the promise of a free sandwich. So it was quite scary at first...and to be honest I looked at Martin...and had a little moment where we thought fuckin' hell” (Ian, Channel 4).

These initial reactions and calculations can be related to the risks and insecurity of Channel 4's engagement with the Paralympic Games. The main risks of the engagement for Channel 4, as positioned by Ian and Patricia, were that no one would watch, the expectation of prime time scheduling and the potential of a delayed negative effect to Channel from the disruption of their consumer's viewing habits. Describing the potential economic repercussions of these risks Ian said: “if we'd lost share points within 10 days it could cost us millions and millions and millions of pounds”. Adding to the expectations of and risks for Channel 4 was the immediacy of the event. Ian offered a description of the impact of this force, that is the immediacy of the event, on Channel 4's position: “you know this was two years out and in television world it's two weeks out. It's quite a short time believe it or not in terms of scheduling. We had no idea what the marketing was going to be like, what the programming was going to be like, but we still had to ask people for £8 million. So we had to kind of make things up as we went along”. As a preliminary conclusion Ian declared that “in the end the audiences came because we promoted it so brilliantly”, while Patricia commented, “after the first day everyone relaxed because the viewing figures were through the roof”.

These initial calculations and sense of position offer important insights into the position of Channel 4 as a Paralympic broadcaster. An important event precluding this was the decision to award the Paralympic broadcasting rights to Channel 4 over the BBC. This decision is now considered before examining Channel 4's strategies to meet the expectations and reduce the risks of their engagement with the London 2012 Paralympics.

### **Not the 'Beeb'**

Initially Ian postulated that the BBC were probably a bit confounded by the decision to award the Paralympic broadcasting rights to Channel 4. He identified some practical reasons for the outcome:

To be fair we were so single minded in our approach to it, I think what LOCOG saw was, you know it's a fairly exhausting process putting the Olympic Games on and ... then to have two weeks off and have the same team try and do the same again is a bit of a challenge. So to give it to another broadcaster actually meant that we had a single determined focus on it (Ian, Channel 4).

In a slightly different take Patricia asserted:

...the expectation was or the hope was we would do something different and radical and new because the Paralympics had been with the BBC for a long time whilst no one was being critical of their coverage there was definitely a sense that you know it needed a bit of a sort of a kick-start. Also the Paralympics had evolved and I think they felt the time was right to try and attract a proper audience and get younger people engaged in it as well and Channel 4 felt like a natural fit for that really (Patricia, Channel 4).

These statements give an insight into Channel 4's internal sense of the decision and of the Paralympic field. Of particular note from Patricia's statement was her sense that 'the Paralympics had evolved' and that it was timely to 'attract a proper audience'. The emphasis of the Paralympic field's evolution implies a sense of a change in its position which corresponded to Channel 4's marketing strategy to improve the recognition, and the legitimacy of this recognition, of the Paralympics as a cultural spectacle, and specifically as a 'sports' spectacle. It is also Patricia's emphasis of a *proper* audience from which the relation to legitimacy is specifically made here.

From outside of the media field the selection of Channel 4 over the BBC and other broadcasters received mixed perspectives. From the disability sport field Peter, of SDS, and Denis, of the BPA, both expressed their initial disappointment that the Paralympics would not be broadcasted in parallel with the Olympics by the BBC. For Denis it was the historical engagement that the BBC had developed with the Paralympics and his initial view was that no one could broadcast sport, such as the Olympics, like the BBC. Elizabeth of the UKSA described the decision as 'daring' for the reason that some of Channel 4's past broadcasting was 'controversial'. Although subjective these considerations are significant on the premise that they give an insight into the concerns of the broader fields in the process of selecting a Paralympic broadcaster. The following quote from Ian also illuminates the dialectical nature of the

relationship in having a sense of the initial uneasiness created by the selection of Channel 4 as the Paralympic broadcaster:

...the BPA were slightly, you know, they'll tell you this themselves. Channel 4 wasn't their natural partners because some of the things that they saw Channel 4 doing previously might not have been on message for them. So there was a healthy suspicion of us which was great because they kept us honest. And there's a great guy called Sir Phillip Craven who was very supportive of us but warned us not to screw it up. (Yeh, ok). But what they saw is us with a single mind focussed on it, rather than being just an afterthought (Ian, Channel 4).

It was argued by Sian that ultimately the selection of Channel 4 over the BBC was made for commercial reasons. Pertinently, from the corporate field, John stated that the engagement of Sainsbury's would have been curtailed had the broadcast rights been given to the BBC. An indirect consequence of the decision to give the Olympic and Paralympic broadcasting rights to different broadcasters was the creation of a space of struggles between the BBC and Channel 4 (Michelle, BT). For instance Michelle said that after winning the Paralympic broadcasting rights Channel 4 came to BT and said 'we don't want to screw this up'. What is significant about this is Michelle's speculation that this sense of urgency and risk to broadcast the Paralympics legitimately, shown here by Channel 4, would not have been created if there had been a single Olympic *and* Paralympic broadcaster.

### **Pre-Spectacle Strategy**

After winning the Paralympic broadcasting rights Channel 4's initial strategy was to engage with the pre-existing field and institutions, namely the BPA, commercial partners such as BT and Sainsbury's, and sports consultancy corporations like Fast Track. Further informing Channel 4's strategy was their researching of society's relations to disability and knowledge of the Paralympics, as Ian outlined:

We did a lot of research into disability and views of disability before and after the Games and people's perceptions of disability were in the dark-ages to be honest. And the opinion of Paralympic sports, any knowledge that there was slightly patronising, like they're having a go (Ian, Channel 4).

These objectifications helped to frame Channel 4's broader and explicit social agenda which included using the Paralympics to change and challenge social relations to disability. To this end Ian stated "from day one it was about elite athleticism, showing what people could do, not what they couldn't do. And not being too mawkish about, you know, how did he lose his leg, how did

she end up there? Not being afraid to talk about those things". This structural tension between disability and sport was a persistent feature of Channel 4's practices. It was also how Patricia conceptualised the Paralympics, that is as half disability, half sport.

To briefly examine an external position, Denis of the BPA offered an interesting account of the institutional relationship between a NPC and the media field, and of the structural relationship between disability and sport. Denis began by declaring that "Channel 4 went on one hell of a journey" from winning the Paralympic broadcasting rights to the end of the Games. This 'journey' described by Denis related to Channel 4's approach to and knowledge of the Paralympic field and Paralympic sport. Further elaborating these institutional and structural relations and struggles Denis said:

They [Channel 4] did start out with the best of intentions around the Games but probably not thinking that the sport was fundamentally the story. They probably thought the story was human endeavour and the incredible sort of you know incredible message that the athletes bring which of course is ok but you start with the sport that is the crucial thing about the Paralympic movement, the reason why we have the discussion the reason why we celebrate the athletes the reason why we talk about their incredible journeys and their endeavour is because they are really good at what they do.

It is clear from this passage that for Denis, of the BPA, that the imperative was to get Channel 4 to see that it was "all about the sport", that is not disability, and that it was from this that you can tell the wider stories of the athletes.

Returning to Channel 4's strategy, an ultimate goal for Ian, and one which related to developing the legitimacy of the Paralympic spectacle, was to be able to criticise the athletes by the time of the London 2012 Paralympics in much the same way as any other sport. Howe (2008b) has made a similar argument about 'equity' in the critique of athletes regardless of whether or not they are an Olympic or Paralympic athlete. The implication here is that the critiquing of a sport is concomitant to its legitimacy. Further implicit to this discussion with Ian was the sense that the 'disability' element of the Paralympics had historically constrained the critique of the sporting performances. From all of this the strategic practices of Channel 4 to bring recognition to and stimulate demand for the Paralympic spectacle are now examined.

### **Stirring Demand**

In the build up to the London 2012 Paralympics Ian said that he knew programmes which simply introduced the Paralympics in a conventional 'this is Paralympic sport' way would not attract audiences. It was from this position that, and with funding from BT and Sainsbury's, a series of short films, called 'Meet the Superhumans', was produced and scheduled like

traditional advertisements (Ian, Channel 4). This strategic scheduling of the adverts meant that the audience would be engaged by the Paralympics before they recognised it. Ian's description of these short films is worth quoting in full:

It's all about athleticism, it's all about brilliance, it's all shock. It could be a Nike advert. Then it suddenly stops, it breaks down. You see the mother being told that her child may be disabled. You see a car crash you see a bomb go off. That was the bit that stopped and got people's attentions, it was the bit that between the IPC and the BPA various sporting bodies we had to debate. We had to show this to Sainsbury's, we had to show this to BT. When we showed it to Sainsbury's and BT there was stunned silence. They were blown away. The same way I was. I mean I watched it in this room, and was kind of it was a bit emotional because we were like fuck we've cracked it. This is it, we're on (Ian, Channel 4).

Once more the structural tension between disability and sport was present in the institutional relationships here, with three points to elaborate. Of primary note is the tension caused by the 'disability' element of the Superhumans advert for the IPC and BPA. To assuage this tension Patricia described how the process of building trust was a key feature of their initial relationship with the IPC and BPA. Patricia stated that this required them to guarantee "to treat the sport as elite sport and to do it with appropriate seriousness" (Patricia, Channel 4)<sup>43</sup>. It is at this juncture between the Paralympic field and the media field that the full force of producing legitimacy and a legitimate sporting spectacle can be evidenced. In this respect Channel 4's history with cricket was often referred to as an internal source of confidence and legitimacy and externally for others such as Denis of the BPA. As a brief appraisal of the 'Meet the Superhumans' campaign Patricia attributed much of the commercial sale of tickets and broadcasting to the short films and the overall campaign. This attribution of Patricia's is, in a theoretical sense, a description of the symbolic efficacy of the adverts to produce (increased) demand for the Paralympic spectacle.

A second note from the above passage is Ian's sense of having achieved a balance of the tension between disability and sport, which manifested itself in an emotional way. It was also apparent from Ian's repeated clarification that it was a predominating struggle to find this balance, that is in tonality between 'elite athleticism' and not being too 'mawkish' about disability. An outcome of Channel 4's strategy was stated to be that people were no longer 'scared' about disability (Ian, Channel 4). A third broader related to whether such symbolic representations of the

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<sup>43</sup> It is not necessarily the case here that Channel 4 did not relate to the Paralympics as elite sport, but rather the insecurity of the Paralympic field is arguably more grounded in the historical broadcasting of the sport.

Paralympics and disability breaks down social prejudice towards disability or reinforces it. Silva and Howe (2012) have termed the latter possibility as 'achievement syndrome' where Paralympic athletes are celebrated and positioned as successful because of what they have achieved while being impaired.

Another campaign that Channel 4 ran in between the Olympic and Paralympics was entitled, 'Thanks for the Warm-Up'. Ian simply described the campaign as "a bit cheeky, a bit piss takey" but it, arguably, was symbolic of the broader tension between the Olympics and Paralympics as cultural spectacles. A more explicit illustration of this tension was described by Patricia:

Just to take an example, the discovery that after the Olympics finished half the cameras would be taken away was quite shocking really you know because so many broadcasters didn't really cover the Paralympics the IBC [the main media centre] was half empty really by the time we came round to do the Paralympics and it meant *we had to think quite creatively about how we could make it look as good as the Olympics*.

Such calculations and strategies show Channel 4's sense of the position of the Paralympics not only in relation to the Olympics but also in relation to the broader sports market in that they understood that many other sports were in a similar position to the Paralympics in finding it extremely challenging to attract large television audiences.

### **'Disabled' Presenters**

In the build-up to London 2012 an interesting part of Patricia's role as Disability Executive at Channel 4 was to get disability onto mainstream broadcasting. Part of her role and strategy was to use the Paralympics Games to develop 'disabled' presenters with this agenda fitting in with Channel 4's broader remit to represent diversity. In assessing her position Patricia described how her predecessor was more of a "policeman to check that people used the right language and didn't overstep any boundaries in terms of the representation of disabled people". From this position Patricia said she reconfigured her role to be more about getting audiences and broadcasters alike to relax about disability. Reaffirming this position was Patricia's view that "disabled people were airbrushed off the television because everyone was scared of getting it wrong or they thought it was you know it was the wrong thing to do". These strategies are noteworthy in that they reflect Patricia's attempts to transform the field.

The immediacy of the Paralympic Games was stated earlier as heightening the risks for Ian. This immediacy of the event was also a serious source of risk and concern for Patricia in the development and training of the presenters. Patricia commented: "The people who know about these things said it couldn't be done we could never train a team up in 2 years or less than 2

years". Another source of concern for Patricia was that "there'd be a sort of massive row because someone made a joke or said something off colour in one of our broadcasts". These risks and concerns can be connected by the struggle of the 'representation of disability'. In the first, there is a 'literal' struggle over the representation of disability in the attempts to recruit and train symbolically representative presenters; while in the second the concern about jokes or the statement of something 'off colour' can be related to the metaphorical struggles engendered by the broader political struggles of the representation of disability.

### **Media Guide**

Going against her strategy to get people to relax about disability Patricia vexed her frustration at the BPA's release of a media guide right before the start of the Games. The media guide presented an overview of 'appropriate language' to be used in relation to the Paralympic Games. Patricia's frustration and angst at the BPA's publication of the media guide contrast to comments made by Sian who said:

The BPA introduced, which I was ecstatic about, before the Games a media guide which described how you should call disabled athletes, and that was brilliant because there was too much 'suffered from'.... Some journalists who had been around a long time hated it, but for me the fact that it fitted with equality law and also sort of explained that you don't say the real Olympics, the normal Olympics or the proper Games, that you said disabled person, not person with a disability. You know that was really important.

There are a number of noteworthy struggles reflected from these two positions. First, is the continuation of the linguistic struggles of disability in the media field. In this way, Sian's point about some journalists struggling against the determinations of such guides reflects the journalistic field's struggle against external impositions and maintenance of its autonomy. A second important struggle is the divergence between Patricia's and Sian's position on the BPA's production and dissemination of the media guide. From Patricia's position it went against her struggle to get people to 'relax' around disability whilst from Sian's position it was a positive challenge to the pejorative language that is often evident in the outputs of the media field. These intricacies illuminate two struggles related to 'engagement'. From Patricia's position her predominant struggle is a struggle *for* media to engage with the Paralympics, whilst Sian's is a struggle *of* media's engagement. The interrelation of these two struggles, that is *for* and *of* media's engagement, creates these somewhat antagonistic positions represented here by Sian and Patricia.

## **Post-Evaluation**

In his evaluation of Channel 4's broadcasting of the London 2012 Paralympics Ian declared, "I think from day one Channel 4 was always going to be ballsy about this. We were always going to be slightly controversial. Not for the sake of being controversial but for the fact that it stimulates debate and gets people thinking". Ian went on to say that Channel 4's engagement with the Paralympics was a fulfilment of their role as a public service broadcaster. On their broader social agenda Ian argued that attitudes towards disability amongst viewers of their programming had changed from perceptibly to dramatically, stating: "So we kind of achieved the disability agenda as well without talking too much about disability. I mean that's what the Paralympic Games are fucking brilliant at".

Another interesting conclusion made by Ian was on the eventual eclipsing of David Beckham's engagement with the Paralympic field through Sainsburys' campaign by the Paralympic event and specifically by Ellie Simmonds:

At the start of the Paralympic Games we had David Beckham featuring in the adverts. And people were saying oh isn't it great that David Beckham has got behind this. At the end of the Paralympic Games people were saying why is David Beckham in there? The power of these Games eclipsed even that of Beckham. And that was brilliant. So Sainsbury's were like have we done something wrong? No you haven't done something wrong, you have done something so right. It's eclipsed him now.

Theoretically, what is being described here is a symbolic struggle. The initial strategy was to use David Beckham's symbolic capital to acquire recognition, however, as Paralympics grew in recognition the efficacy of his capital and legitimacy of his engagement were challenged and viewed more and more as illegitimate. In contrast Ellie Simmond's engagement may be said to have grown in recognition, legitimacy and efficacy. Anecdotally, this was further evidenced and elaborated in stories of Ellie visiting schools where much of Sainsbury's practices focused (Ian, Channel 4). It should be noted that these anecdotes reflect the heightened predisposition of Channel 4 to recognise and legitimise the capital Ellie Simmonds accumulated.

A similar example of the Paralympics challenging the Olympics transpired in Ian's discussion of the possibility that people attended the Paralympics because they didn't get Olympic tickets. On this Ian proposed: "They may have done that. But they didn't walk out of it and think they'd experienced anything less, in fact I think people were experiencing something a little warmer. The Paralympics, there was something different, it had a different vibe about it". This point is reiterated by Ian's contention that people who experienced both Team GB's 'Super Saturday' and Paralympics GB's 'Thursday Thriller' said that they were on a par. These considerations of Ian can be reconceptualised as a discussion of the legitimacy and illegitimacy

of the initial demand for the Paralympics in questioning the reasons that people purchased tickets for the London 2012 Paralympic Games. At the same time it is also a discussion of the legitimacy and illegitimacy of the 'Paralympic experience' with Ian arguing that any illegitimacy of the initial demand for Paralympic tickets was superseded by the legitimacy of the actual Paralympic experience. Further expanding this point is the identification of a struggle between the relational distinctiveness of these two cultural spectacles; one, arguably, historically more distinct, the Olympics, and the other, arguably, growing in distinctiveness, the Paralympics. Theoretically, the growth of distinctiveness and symbolic capital of the Paralympics through London 2012 necessarily positions them as a stronger 'player' in their internal struggles with the Olympic field.

There were a number of other more normative evaluations made by Ian. First was the creation of a Paralympic brand with Ian stating that their conversations with the IPC and BPA had changed since the London 2012 Paralympics describing them both as now having a lot more 'swag'. A secondary evaluation was of Channel 4's broadcasting journey from their 'hard-core' *Freaks of Nature* programme through to the multi-award winning 'Meet the Superhumans' campaign, citing this as the catalyst of a great social debate. For Channel 4 Ian also described the benefit it had on them reputationally, quoting the high viewing figures as evidence of this. As an evaluation of the institutions Ian reiterated the centrality of the commercial partners and the BPA to Channel 4's strategy, arguing that the sharing of ideas and knowledge, and the commonality of experience as fundamental to the commercial success of the London 2012 Paralympics. The importance of these institutional relations was positioned and related to the lack of a commercial blueprint for the Paralympics from which they could copy. Commenting upon the reciprocal success of their relationship with their commercial partners Ian said:

Sainsbury's and BT, because of the halo effect of their sponsorship, grew dramatically in terms of brand metrics, such as brands I trust, brands I like, brands who are experts in their fields. So those kind of what people call warmth measures towards a brand which are really hard to buy, you sort of have to earn them. You can't just say we're fluffy, you have to prove it. Sainsbury's had a particularly good summer, their sales were up about 5.6% which just so happened to coincide with it. BT is more difficult to tell what the commercial effect was on them but both Ian Livingstone who was then Chairman of BT and Sir Justin Rose, Chairman of Sainsbury's both said it had a fundamental bearing on their performance last year.

Correspondingly, David of P&G, recognised the importance and impact of Channel 4's pre-Games practices on their position and the corporate field more broadly, stating: "the fact that

the Paralympics were so well covered, obviously there's a higher consumer interest, translated into higher interest in our stories and our plan".

#### **Channel 4 and the Politics of Disability**

Juxtaposed to the commentary of the commercial success of the Paralympics, and for the commercial partners, was Channel 4's recognition of the broader position and politics of disability in society, especially in relation to the changes in welfare. Ian said that it was not only a matter of Channel 4 appreciating the current political and economic issues affecting the position of disability in society but referred to it being part of their broadcasting role and broader social remit. This was partially evidenced in the programmes relating to disability and welfare changes that Channel 4 broadcasted before and after the Paralympics. Ian provided a personal account of this position:

For us, it's to keep a constant dialogue about disability in really very difficult times where disabled people are suffering in certain quarters some pretty vitriolic victimisation because of the disability living allowance and this apparent scroungers culture...society is getting quite cruel because we're looking for victims and sadly people are turning on disability.

From the disability field James, of the UKDPC, recognised, a year after London 2012, that not only had Channel 4 continued its engagement with the Paralympic field but had also continued its engagement with the broader issues affecting disability. Notably, this point was juxtaposed to the BBC's engagement, or rather their relative lack of, with these broader issues (James, UKDPC). Similarly Emma described Channel 4 as being much more empathetic in its news coverage to that of the BBC. Fully outlining her position Emma said:

Most people in the campaigning world on disability, poverty, welfare consider that the BBC's coverage of the news is biased and that kind of came to a head on Sunday when they failed to report to any great extent the major march in Manchester and so yea I mean we all feel although we can't prove that the BBC is biased.

This presentation of disability-welfare issues is curtailed here as it is examined in other fields, with all of the positions being brought together in the discussion chapter.

#### **Post-Strategies and Practices**

In this sub-section the on-going strategies of Channel 4 relating to the Paralympic field post-2012 are presented. The aim is to examine the continuation or discontinuation of Channel 4's engagement with the Paralympic field. In the interviews Ian and Patricia were asked "what is the Paralympic legacy for Channel 4 going forward?". In response Ian was quick to remark:

“We're not allowed to use the word legacy, momentum is the word”. From this, and from Channel 4's position, Ian detailed that winning the broadcasting rights for Sochi 2014 and Rio 2016 were foremost to building ‘momentum’ going forward. With the securing of these Paralympic broadcasting rights Ian stated that he recognised the symbolic importance of Channel 4 continuing their engagement with the Paralympic field. In discussing Channel 4 winning the 2014 and 2016 Paralympic broadcasting rights Denis, of the BPA, described the competitiveness between the BBC's and Channel 4's bids for the tenders. He also stated that this competition between two major broadcasters for the Paralympic broadcasting rights of a Games outside of their domestic market was symbolic of the progress that the Paralympic field was making. As well as winning the broadcasting rights for Sochi 2014 and Rio 2016 Ian pointed out Channel 4's continued engagement with other related events such as the Sainsbury's Anniversary Games. Indeed a ‘legacy’ of the London 2012 Paralympic Games is this field that it produced between Channel 4, the corporate sponsors, such as Sainsbury's noted here, and the BPA.

The significance of Channel 4's continued and broad engagement with the Paralympic field was recognised by the broader disability sport field. An interviewee from the disability sport field posed the following question: “if Channel 4 had said right we did London now bugger off we're not going to do it again, then you would kind of sit there and go blimey was that the kind of spike we should have avoided?”. Whilst continuation of Channel 4's engagement with the Paralympics was significant, Alex of DSW sought to broaden the space of disability sport events that Channel 4 engaged with. Alex specifically sought Channel 4's recognition of the IPC 2014 Athletics European Championships which were being organised in Swansea. On this Alex hoped that Channel 4 would engage with their event.

For the Paralympic field Ian highlighted the need for the continued development of demand for the Paralympic Games and other related events such as the Anniversary Games. The Paralympic athlete profiles developed through the London 2012 Paralympic Games were seen to be crucial to the promotion and stimulation of this demand. For Channel 4 Ian also highlighted the continuation of the comedy show ‘The Last Leg’ as now existing not because of the Paralympics but without the Paralympics. While from Patricia 's position the commitment to developing the Paralympic presenters was a key part of their strategy going forward for the simple reason that “you can't just wheel disabled people out once every four years and expect them to be brilliant you've got to help develop their careers on beyond that”.

The discussions with interviewees on the North American sports market brought together Tim's point about the symbolicness of the competitive tender in Britain for the Paralympic broadcasting rights for Sochi 2014 and Rio 2016 and Ian's determination that the field must continue to stimulate demand. As Sian put it: “the market to crack is the US market”.

This remark was made in relation to the lack of recognition that the US Olympic and Paralympic broadcaster, NBC, gave to the London 2012 Paralympic Games. David argued that London 2012 and Channel 4's broadcasting had opened the eyes of the IPC and the NPC field to the future broadcasting of the Paralympic Games. What's more David has already determined that there will be major repercussions for his North American P&G team given the profile and change of position the Paralympic field acquired through London 2012.

### **External Relations to the Media Field**

The position of the other fields on some of the issues presented so far have to a certain extent already been integrated into the presentation of interviews with the media field. In this space, the intention is to briefly present the most significant relational evaluations the other fields made about the media field, albeit once more predominately focusing on Channel 4.

From the government field Paul recognised the unprecedented levels of coverage that Channel 4 gave to the London 2012 Paralympics, whilst David said "it just felt like a big different second event". A quote similar to Ian's comment that Channel 4 was always going to be 'ballsy' about the Paralympics came from Donna of the Special Olympics: "Personally I think 10 out of 10 for Channel 4 because as I say they just didn't pussy foot around it they just told it how it was and you know yea it was absolutely brilliant". A contributing factor to this was Channel 4's position as a commercial enterprise. Peter, of SDS, cited this as enabling Channel 4 to "...look at the Paralympics from a different point of view and be a bit more edgy and controversial in their coverage". There was also recognition of the benefit of the Paralympic Games being organised after the Olympics. In relation to this Peter argued that Channel 4 effectively capitalised on the 'bounce effect' created by the Olympics preceding the Paralympics. This being said there were some criticisms of Channel 4's commercial position. Of principal note was the necessity to have commercially funded advertisements during Channel 4's Paralympic broadcasting. While some interviewees appreciated and accepted the necessity of these advertisements one corporate interviewee argued that Channel 4 had failed to set the appropriate expectations and felt that they lashed back at the public's criticism of this.

A common evaluation of Channel 4's coverage was recognition of the efficacy of their engagement and communication with the audience (Elizabeth, UKSA). The other fields recognised the protracted build-up of Channel 4's engagement with the Paralympic field. For example, Brian recognised the importance of Channel 4's early engagement in the profiling of athletes and the creation of 'disabled superstars'. Others, such as Sharon of CP Sport, recognised Channel 4's broader coverage of Paralympic events, such as the Paralympic World Cup in Manchester, and symbolic days, such as the International Paralympic Day one year before the Games, as significant components of their strategy. Relating to Channel 4's engagement with and

broadcasting of the broader issues affecting disability, Brian, of the EFDS, recognised the importance of this.

Another source of positive recognition of Channel 4's practices was Peter's sense that they had effectively portrayed and explained what the Paralympics represented. This sense can be related to Ian's sense of finding that balance between disability and sport as the two predominant structures of the Paralympics. Particular note was made to the way that Channel 4 explained Paralympic classification. For example, both Elizabeth and Sharon recognised the importance of Channel 4's development of Giles' explanation of the classification system. Furthermore, from the corporate field, John argued:

Their on-screen classification thing was genius. So that whole kind of, is it fair, how can they be competing against each other kind of was quickly swept away, and you just watched what was happening and understood that it was fair and you're just looking for the winner.

John's comment here is more significant than may first appear as it highlights a major struggle of the Paralympic field that is the very legitimacy of Paralympic sport. This passage highlights the significance of the classification system and the gaining of recognition and understanding of it to the development of the legitimacy of Paralympic sport. Another significant legitimising element of Channel 4's engagement was 'The Last Leg' programme. Once more it was recognised as playing upon the structural tension between disability and sport. Notably the other fields recognised its efficacy in explaining and educating the audience about Paralympic sport but at the same time about disability. As Donna noted: "it has done the job of dispelling the myths and the misunderstandings of just what someone with a disability goes through to get to that level of sport". Denis argued that the programme's provision through social media for the audience to submit questions about Paralympic sport and disability was immensely positive.

Moving on, Alex of DSW recognised the significance and progressiveness of the opportunity that Channel 4 gave to the development of 'disabled' presenters. Denis noted the benefit of having a combination of experienced and creditable sports presenters alongside the new presenters developed through Channel 4's initiative. Another novel practice of Channel 4's coverage was their provision of the first live audio description of the opening ceremony. Sharon of CP Sport hailed recognition on Channel 4 for this improved and inclusive broadcasting service.

Tim's position as Chief Executive of the BPA offers an important and unique perspective on Channel 4's practices. He argued that Channel 4 got two things 'right': firstly, that they took the sport seriously, and secondly, that they identified the homology between their own position and that of the Paralympics. The point of taking Paralympic sport *seriously* has already been

related to the issue of the field's legitimacy. It is Tim's second point, of the homology between Channel 4 and the Paralympics that warrants more attention here. The full citation from the interview with Denis best sets the scene for this:

The second brave thing that they did was to innovate in terms of their own sort of approach to marketing and their own belief of what their brand stands for and to see the match with the Paralympic brand which as sort of smaller because we are smaller than the BOA and Team GB, different, edgier and more exciting and Channel 4 you know that crystallised itself there are lots of other examples but it crystallised itself in the you know 'thanks for the warm-up' and the 'Superhumans' (Denis, BPA).

The homology between Channel 4 and the Paralympics, described here by Tim, can be split between the homology of their positions and dispositions. In this way, there is a congruency between the positions of Channel 4 and the Paralympics which can be compared to the contrasting homology between the position of the BBC and the Olympics. The dispositional homology can be related to the congruency of the 'values' of Channel 4 and the Paralympics.

This presentation of the crystallisation of the Paralympic-Channel 4 relationship brings the discussion to the relations of the different fields to the Superhumans campaign. There were a number of noteworthy positions on the Superhumans campaign from the disability sport field. Alex, of DSW, described the Superhumans campaign as 'very brave'; Sharon described it as a 'masterpiece' for its athlete rather than disability focus; whilst Elizabeth simply attributed much of the success of London 2012 to it. There were, however, some contesting evaluations of the Superhumans campaign. For example Alex said: "I mean never underestimate the bit where you know where the squady gets blown up and the baby, they were 10 seconds of footage but they were incredibly powerful in terms congenital and acquired disability you know". It is worth repeating here the institutional debate that this element of the Superhumans advert produced for Denis at the BPA and for the IPC. Denis questioned the inclusion of these 'disability' elements and positioned it as Channel 4's over-emphasis of the 'tales of endeavour'. Alex was equally sensitive to this tension over the inclusion of these symbolic representations of disability noting that some colleagues thought it was 'too edgy'. Even with hindsight Denis maintained the validity of the BPA's challenging and questioning of the disability elements of the Superhuman campaign but conceded that "...the creative expertise within Channel 4 was right, it probably worked better for having that in there". From a different position James said that the UKDPC lobbied Channel 4 on the Superhumans campaign stating "...we thought that some of the underlining messaging was not discriminatory but sort of undervalued disabled people and also kind of perpetuated and reinforced stereotypes around disability as well". These different

relations to the Superhuman campaign and adverts are akin to the struggles of the media guide that is as engendering the struggles *for* and *of* media's engagement with the Paralympic Games.

Building upon this discussion of the Superhumans campaign, there were a number of other struggles, criticisms and contestations of Channel 4's engagement and coverage of the Paralympics. Firstly, Elizabeth of the UKSA highlighted the lack of engagement, representation and profiling of athletes with intellectual impairment. This position exemplifies the internal struggle between the different impairment groups and sports that make up the Paralympic field *for* media recognition. What's more this position could present an issue of heightened tension as the internal struggles of the Paralympic field *for* media recognition becomes superseded by the struggles *of* media's engagement and representation of the Paralympic field.

Channel 4's internal sense of the struggle to find a balance for the structural tension between disability and sport in their engagement with the Paralympics has already been examined. Within this struggle Denis and the BPA adopted the position affirming the importance and prerogative of sport as a structure. Institutions, from a different position and field, such as the UKDPC, granted a greater significance to Channel 4's representation of disability. This highlights the high degree of dependency between the position of the interviewees and what was more important to them. Notably, from the disability field's position Channel 4 being the Paralympic broadcaster gave a heightened significance to Channel 4's representation of disability in their broader programming. It also, James argued, magnified the voice of the disability field's critique. For example, James said that the UKDPC lobbied Channel 4 about the 'tonality' of some of their disability related broadcasting. Of specific contention was the programme called "The Undateables". James outlined the position that the UKDPC adopted:

There are a lot of stereotypes that exist around you know how disabled people find it difficult to form relationships, or disabled people, you know, shouldn't be dating or shouldn't have relationships. You now these kinds of attitudes exist. So when, when you have a programme that carries the heading 'The Undateables' for us it was just inappropriate as it reinforced those stereotypes but Channel 4's position was no no no it's a play on words.

In evaluating the effect of their lobbying James highlighted the social debate that it created but more significantly the cautionary effect it had on Channel 4 to be mindful of the impact of their programming. It wasn't only the disability field that challenged some of Channel 4's broadcasting. John from Sainsbury's described how Channel 4's original launch campaign, two years before the Paralympics, was 'a bit hairy' for them because of its name, 'Freaks of Nature'. John added, "That's not really Sainsbury's but it is very Channel 4". The intricacies of these

evaluative relations to Channel 4's engagement with the Paralympics are complex and dynamic but Sian offered a fitting summation:

See the Superhuman stuff was cool, Freaks of Nature I hated because disabled people are called freaks. And you can intellectualise you know Usain Bolt being a Freak of Nature and David Weir being a Freak of Nature but it attaches the word 'freak' very firmly to disabled people and I wasn't comfortable with that. I think they got a lot of criticism for Freak of Nature and then Superhumans was their next kind of incarnation of it, I thought that was quite smart. I think their trailers were great, where you had the one where the guys crashed his car and Iraq, a child born with an impairment, BBC could never have done that.

### **Evaluations Related to the Olympic Broadcaster, the BBC**

The evaluations by other fields of the selection of Channel 4 to be the Paralympic broadcaster were often made in contrast to the BBC, the Olympic broadcaster. In the same way their post-evaluations of Channel 4's broadcasting and strategy were often compared and related to the BBC. This final section presents these evaluative juxtapositions of Channel 4 and the BBC. Alex of DSW provides an opening exemplification of this:

...if you look at the BBC I mean historically if you go back to BBC Beijing BBC Athens you know that was pretty safe TV, they didn't do anything bad but what they simply did was present the Paralympics as they would present the Olympics professionally. But I think what Channel 4 did was they celebrated the uniqueness of the Paralympic Games and they were not afraid to celebrate it.

In a similar vein both Denis and Sian argued that Channel 4 were able to do things that the BBC could never have done. Holding a similar position Donna of the Special Olympics said:

Do you know what, I probably wouldn't say this to our BBC friends but I think Channel 4 were able to make it cool and I don't think BBC would have been able to do that, they have always found it very difficult.

In contrast to these subjective positions Ian was keen to make clear that he was sure the BBC would have covered the Paralympics legitimately, but he stated that the chronological order of having the Olympics before would have dictated the BBC's priorities. Michelle of BT was in a similar position to Ian on this, empathising with the BBC's position and noting the difficulties and challenges of BT's position in being a corporate sponsor of both the Olympics and the Paralympics. In this way Michelle placed an emphasis on 'the process' stating: "I don't think you could do them back to back and do justice to the Paralympics". Drawing the two contrasting

positions together was the sense that in the end the competition created by giving Channel 4 the broadcasting rights was advantageous because it increased the stakes for Channel 4 to compete with the BBC and at the same time spread the practical and logistical demands across the two broadcasters.

A point made earlier deserving reiteration here, was Denis' identification of the homology of 'values' and position of the Paralympics and Channel 4. This relational homology can be juxtaposed to the 'opposing' homology between the position of the Olympics and the BBC. However, an important caveat was the BBC's position as the radio broadcaster for the Paralympics, which Denis openly praised them for.

In summary this section on the media field attempts to present an overview of the field as acquired through interviews with two Channel 4 representatives, and from the position of others in other fields. Specifically, the overview attempted to assess the intra-dynamics and struggles of the media field, and the inter-, or external, relations of and to the media field. It presents Channel 4's 'rite of passage' as a Paralympic broadcaster and struggles engendered by this position. A key feature of Channel 4's position and struggles was the structural tension between disability and sport engendered by the Paralympic Games as evidenced within their calculations, strategies and evaluations but also in their external institutional relations.

The approach, presented in this section, of analysing the major struggles of the media field was to divide them between the struggle *for* media recognition and engagement, and the struggle *of* media's recognition and engagement. In regards to the struggle *for* media recognition Channel 4's announcement as the Paralympic broadcaster largely settled this. It was also proposed that in the future this previously ubiquitous struggle *for* media recognition would be translated into a heightened internal struggle between the different impairment groups *for* media recognition. In relation to London 2012 the struggle *of* media's engagement, however, constituted a more persistent feature of Channel 4's practices, and the critique and evaluation of their practices by the other fields.

One of the most prominent struggles of Channel 4's engagement was the need to acquire symbolic recognition of the Paralympic Games and to translate this into demand for the cultural spectacle. This struggle was coupled with another struggle to achieve a balance between disability and sport, with these two concomitant struggles structuring much of Channel 4's strategy and relations with other institutions, such as the BPA, and the corporate sponsors. Another important consideration throughout this section on the media field was the BBC's position as the 'opposing' broadcaster. This was evidenced in the discussion of the selection of Channel 4 instead of the BBC but also in the evaluative relations presented by the other fields. It also produced the antagonistic homologies between Channel 4 and the Paralympic Games, and the Olympics and the BBC.

In summary, this sub-section has discussed the internal and external dynamics of the corporate field before and after London 2012. Its position was unique to the others in mediating the supply and demand of the Paralympic market. The government's position will now be discussed.

## Government Field

The interviewees of the government field included Sian, a member of the House of Lords, Paul, Head of Paralympic Legacy within the Office for Disability Issues, and Jemima and Mark both of whom worked within the Cabinet Office based Paralympic Legacy Advisory Group (PLAG). These interviewees provide a balanced account of the government field in that Paul provides an inside perspective to a core government department, whilst Sian provides an 'outside' perspective in being a member of the House of Lords. Both perspectives provides insights into the unfolding dynamics of London 2012's Paralympic-disability legacy politics. Jemima and Mark also make important contributions in being positioned within an organisation that is positioned as an explicit output of London hosting the Paralympic Games.

The aim of this sub-section is to present the intra-dynamics of the government field and its relations to the London 2012 Games in the pre- and post-spectacle periods. Within the pre-spectacle calculations the government's disability legacy planning and consultation practices are examined. Whilst in the post-spectacle period the field's evaluations and strategy going forward are examined. Before all of this a telling story is recounted about London's bid for the 2012 Olympiad. It is significant for the reasons that it involved government officials and was a precursor to London's selection. To recap, the key interviewees of this sub-section are:

Alias	Organisation	Field	Description
Paul	ODI/DWP.	Government	Office for Disability Issues/Department for Work and Pensions. Develop and administer disability related government legislation.
Sian	House of Lords	Government	Member of the House of Lords.
Mark	PLAG	Government	Paralympic Legacy Advisory Group (PLAG) established post-London 2012 to promote Paralympic legacy initiatives.
Jemima	PLAG	Government	Paralympic Legacy Advisory Group (PLAG) established post-London 2012 to promote Paralympic legacy initiatives.

### Sian and London 2012's bid

Sian began by explaining how the 2012 Olympiad bid was the first time that host cities were contractually obligated to host the Olympics and Paralympics. This resulted in the detailing of organisational and legacy plans for the Paralympics in the bid documents. A particularly noteworthy part of Sian's narration of London's bid occurred in the final stage presentation held in Singapore:

When it came down to the final presentation on stage in Singapore, Tessa Jowell, who was Minister of DCMS at the time, wanted to stand on stage and say 'the 60 days of the

Games' and she asked me what I thought, and she'd taken some other advice, and I sort of said 'mmm' actually as much as I would love you to say it you've got to talk about the Olympics because we are bidding to the IOC for the Olympics and their level of interest in the Paralympics is not as great and you know we need to win the Olympics and then the Paralympics is fine ... so even though in the final bid presentation it wasn't really mentioned it was always there behind the scenes (Sian).

This instance described here by Sian can be positioned as a struggle of struggles, the first struggle to win the bid and the second to represent the Paralympics and everything it symbolizes. Sian's assessment of the final presentation of the bid stage exemplifies the importance of the social context, or field. Put another way, the efficacy of the Paralympics and its capital is dependent upon the field. In this specific case Sian's (political) sense of social context determined that it was not appropriate, or would be counterproductive, to highlight London's plans to engage with the Paralympics. Underpinning Sian's reasoning was her sense of the Paralympic field's position at that time, especially with reference to the lack of attendance, media attention and the commercial sale of tickets at the previous Paralympic Games in Athens and Sydney.

#### **Pre-Spectacle Calculations of the Government Field**

In her initial calculations of London 2012's planning Sian anticipated the struggle to represent the Paralympics to be more apparent than it was, remarking that it never really fully transpired:

I guess early on I thought I would be the one who would have to keep sitting there and saying what about the Paralympics but I wasn't because they just brought in, they used lots of Paralympic athletes, but they also brought in people who understand diversity (Sian).

Further supporting this statement Sian said "it was good because it [Paralympics] was always thought about, when we make this decision it's Olympics-Paralympics...so it was very very inclusive". This inclusivity Sian detailed came in many forms. First was the embedding of inclusivity throughout the culture and planning by LOCOG with Sian noting the importance of Paul Deighton and Seb Coe, respectively the chief executive and chairman of LOCOG. Second, Sian detailed the communication strategy to announce Paralympic and Olympic details and information together or separate dependent on its nature as another important practice. Procurement practices were also part of the inclusive strategy but Sian said that much of it would never receive a huge amount of recognition.

In relation to their pre-spectacle calculations both Paul and Sian expressed sentiments of insecurity:

I don't know if there was the expectation that they would have quite the impact that they had. I, in a sense, and actually that probably applies to the Olympics as well. You know what it was like last year, there was a fear that when we got the Games let's hope they all work (Paul).

And it's like ... so it was amazing. So I always knew it was going to be good and I knew they'd do you know the food, the transport and the accommodation and all that would be good but you almost have to wait for the Games to start... (Sian).

This sense of insecurity before the event was also evident in the PR communications which Sian described as initially being a bit conservative and fearful of bad press. Another source of insecurity for Sian was the demand for tickets. Part of the insecurity stemmed, as mentioned earlier, from the lack of precedence of Paralympics tickets being sold commercially. On this Sian said that LOCOG's chief executive, Paul Deighton, was resolute on the commercial sale of the Paralympic tickets, maintaining the business and not charitable organisation of the Games.

### **Disability Legacy Planning**

In the discussion of Paralympic legacy Mark, of PLAG, positioned it amongst the other legacy themes of London 2012: sport and healthy living, economic legacy, regeneration of east London and communities legacy. On Paralympic legacy, specifically, he argued that "ideally you wouldn't have the fifth Paralympic theme, you'd have, it would just be woven into the other four...it's by having that extra theme it means don't forget the Paralympic legacy". In this way the Paralympic legacy theme is symbolic of the struggles for recognition and representation of the Paralympics and disability alike.

The cross-organisational integration of the Paralympics in London 2012 and its overlapping Paralympic-disability legacy strategy corresponded to the government's pre-existing cross-government disability strategy. In the statement that follows Paul describes this interrelation of the government's disability strategy, *Fulfilling Potential*, and its Paralympic-disability legacy strategy: "Both Fulfilling potential and Paralympic legacy are sort of, they're umbrellas of which cover a range of activities. Fulfilling Potential is the bigger umbrella, so what happens on legacy can be described as being part of that strategic approach". Further outlining London 2012's legacy planning Paul described it as being unique in its approach in building legacy into the strategy from the beginning and also in being applied to the Olympics as well as to the Paralympics. In a similar vein Sian said "you know when Seb stood up in Singapore and said 'legacy' I'm not sure anyone realised the impact that would have because no other city had ever thought about post-Games in the way London did much earlier on". This integration and

emphasis of legacy by the government and organising field can be positioned in two ways. In one way it can be positioned as the government's engagement in the struggles of society. In another, arguably more objective, way it can be positioned as the government's strategy and practice of legitimacy.

Over the course of the build-up to London 2012 the UK government changed (in 2010) from a Labour government to a Conservative – Liberal Coalition government. With the change of government Paul said: "I think it was important that the Coalition government was seen to continue the priority given to legacy...". However, after this statement, Paul expressed an implicit doubt about the degree of difference between their disability legacy policies. Another interviewee was more explicit of their skepticism of the government's disability legacy policy documents stating:

That was a bit of a waste of time ... I saw the 23rd draft of that ... and I was like really, you took 23 drafts to get to this? I mean that document was, well it wasn't going to light any fires was it really? It was a bit dull. I mean to be honest you could have written that in 45minutes. You know, I saw draft 23 and it was like, it wasn't anything radical or exciting or, it was just the stuff that you want to do anyway. Do you want to make public transport more accessible? Well, yes... and actually I didn't read anything in there which explained how the Paralympic Games was going to drive that change ... So they were very nice, global, lovely fairy-tale ideas but what are you going to do, where is the action plan, because I didn't see the action plan.

Two interrelated issues can be drawn from this statement. First is the challenge of the uniqueness of the proposed Paralympic-disability legacies. Second is the questioning of the role and mechanisms through which the Paralympics contribute additionality. These tensions seem to arise from the duplication or homologies of space between the Paralympic Games, and its Paralympic-disability legacy, and the government's pre-existing disability policies and strategies. In the one sense the homologies between the spaces enables a mutual exchange of legitimation where government can define and integrate the Paralympic Games and its legacy into its pre-existing strategy and policies. Whilst correspondently the Paralympic field can define and legitimize itself, and its legacy, through this recognition. This relation also enables the hosting of the Paralympic Games to be linked to the future 'achievements' of the government's disability strategy and policies that existed prior to the Games. It is at this point that the issue of additionality, as presented by one of the government interviewees, is most explicit. A simply question can be asked, 'what did the Paralympics add?'. Taking this further the homology of space creates an interpretative tension whereby the government's disability legacy strategy is simply 'retrofitted' to pre-existing disability policies and initiatives. Such a practice

has the effect of legitimizing the Games without any significant contribution of additionality. Paul presented his position on the symbolic struggle over additionality:

So retrofitting is quite the right word but there was an opportunity, you'll know this, the Paralympics had an enormous impact on the public perception of disabled people. So there's the opportunity to harness that and use it on things which may or may not have been planned. It just gives them a bit of extra profile (Paul).

Paul's emphasis here of the 'opportunity' or rather the 'opportunity cost' that London 2012 represented can be positioned as an attempt to refute, or illegitimise, the possible challenge of legitimacy posed here by the notion of 'retrofitting' policies. A final point on the central government's disability legacy policy documents, albeit slightly divergent from the current argument but still worth noting, was the questioning of their relevance beyond the borders of England by interviewees from Disability Sport Wales (DSW) and Scottish Disability Sport (SDS). They related this limitation to the devolved political structure.

### **Consultation Strategy**

A remark from Sian at the beginning of this section on the government field noted her unfulfilled anticipation of the need to ensure that the Paralympics were properly integrated into the organisation of London 2012. The consultation strategy and practices of London 2012 were positioned as central to ensuring Sian's initial expectations went unfulfilled. In the production and planning of London 2012 Sian said that disabled people's organisations were consulted over many issues including the village, transport, ticketing and seating. The practice of consultations was positioned as a way of improving the event but it can also be positioned as a legitimizing strategy. In this way it produced an additional struggle for the organising committee, as Sian explained:

I was always quite happy in terms of the amount of consultation but also sometimes, you can't spend your whole life consulting, sometimes it was just telling people what was going on was as equally as important as consulting.

The practice of consultations also required the organising committee to relinquish a degree of autonomy of its field. As such it could be proposed that the manner and topics of the consultations were controlled and limited to those that aided the legitimisation of the event.

### **Post-Evaluation**

This section on the government field now transitions from the pre- to the post-spectacle considerations of the field. The government field's evaluations of the London 2012 Games illuminate the struggles over legacy itself but at the same time the struggle between different

legacies vying to be the defining, or most recognised, legacy of the Games. It is in this sense that the Paralympics are challenging the Olympics on the grounds of having a greater impact or legacy. This symbolic struggle creates a hierarchical conception of the legacy space. Paul exemplifies this here when he positions the Paralympics as the most successful thing to come out of London 2012:

...it's just hugely significant in terms of lifting the profile of the Paralympics. And that will probably be, to my mind that's the most uniquely successful thing coming out of 2012. You know the Olympics were hosted wonderfully, the Paralympics were hosted wonderfully but it's the impact and the extent of the coverage which the Paralympics had, which makes the whole of 2012 uniquely successful.

It is a *de facto* strategy of the Paralympic field's position, as the 'underdog', to challenge the Olympics, as its 'superior', in this way. This struggle to determine the *defining* legacy of a Games is heightened, as noted in the literature review, because of legacy's hugely symbolic and problematic nature. However, it is the mere implication here of the possibility of the Paralympic-disability legacy being the definitive legacy that is significant. Another caveat is Wacquant's (2008) emphasise of struggles being persistent and perpetual. In this sense the symbolic struggle of *the* legacy of London 2012 can never be definitively established, but rather continuing in perpetuity. It is in this way that the struggle to define London 2012's legacy and the challenge of the Paralympics in this space will arguably persist through the attempts of sport historian's to objectify the spectacle.

Returning to Paul's quote, the point about the 'lifting of the [Paralympic] profile' can be theoretically related to the augmentation of the Paralympic Games' symbolic capital and legitimacy as a sporting spectacle. Two short statements from Sian further illustrate recognition of this:

And people talk about it really fondly, there's still some people oh I couldn't get tickets but it's you know lots of people didn't get tickets;

People are interested and want to watch and care and it's seen as sport and one person winning and everyone else, it's not seen as oh bless aren't they sweet (Sian).

Such statements are positioned to reflect an increase in the legitimacy and distinction of, and demand for the Paralympics. Their validity however is questionable.

### **Disability Legacy and Building Momentum...**

In the interviews with the government field there was much tension over the conceptualization of legacy. Paul contrasted the positioning of legacy as something which is delivered to the alternative positioning of it as 'momentum'. In this juxtaposition legacy, on the one hand, must be planned and then measured, while on the other it is something to be maintained and built upon. Both senses are in tension with each other in attempting to evaluate London 2012 but also have their own struggles. The concept of capital (Bourdieu, 1986) is relevant to understanding these struggles. In the first sense of legacy as the event's 'impact' the Games must accumulate capital and objectify<sup>44</sup> this accumulation to legitimize itself. In the second sense of legacy as 'momentum' the accumulated capital must be, at the very least, conserved if not used for the accumulation of more capital to quell the persistent forces of, and demand for, legitimacy. Such strategies of capital accumulation and conservation are coupled with the strategies to convert the symbolic capital of the Paralympic Games into other forms of capital. As an example of this Jemima, and others, highlighted how the symbolic capital of the Paralympic Games increased the symbolic capital of the government's current disability policies and strategy:

I was just thinking about *Fulfilling Potential* because that is an across government initiative, every department is looking at how to ensure disabled people fulfil their potential and I think the Paralympic legacy gives extra impetus if you like and an extra clarity to why that work is important and what it is and why government is trying to do that and...you know without the Paralympics we would have still been plodding along but the Paralympics has given a real kick to that whole initiative and pushed it much quicker down the road. I'm sure it's not quick enough for a lot of disabled people (Jemima, PLAG).

Jemima related the catalytic impact of the Paralympics on her own work on improving built environment education. She drew attention to the long history and contemporary changes to built environment legislation but reiterated her sense of the power of the Paralympics to draw the historical and contemporary conditions together. This can be positioned as challenging the earlier discussion of the legitimacy of the additionality of hosting the Paralympic Games. While the last sentence of Jemima's statement presents a caveat to the discussion with the sense that the speed of 'progress' being made by government is inadequate.

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<sup>44</sup> A principle problem of objectifying this accumulation is the amount of time that is required to elapse before being able to legitimately evaluate the legacy. As one government interviewee put it: "It's, we're not going to know for 20 plus years what the legacy is".

An intricacy drawn from the interview with Jemima related to the argument that Paralympic legacy could actually be broader than disability issues. To exemplify her point Jemima argued that the benefits of the increased accessibility of the physical environment and of services extended beyond disability to other groups, such as to families with small children or people with temporary access needs. Jemima described this as the holistic 'inclusive design approach'. Another intricacy of 'Paralympic legacy' was noted by Paul who positioned it as a misnomer arguing that it was short for the benefits for 'disabled people' from the Olympic and Paralympic Games. He described how this intricacy related to the broader drawing out of the benefits relevant and related to disability from the Games, Olympic and Paralympic.

### **Objective and Institutional limits**

A number of the government field interviewees expressed sentiments that recognised there to be limits to the Paralympic Games and of government:

You know there is a limit to what the legacy from a sporting event can do even one as successful as the London 2012 Games... (Mark).

To ask the Paralympic Games to fundamentally change the whole of British society and culture is not fair on a two week event, and you know I think some of the things we wanted to achieve from the Paralympics could have been a little bit more realistic. They are lovely long term aims but they are not things that the Games could achieve or ever would (Sian).

There's recognition in the strategy that government isn't going to be able to do everything. So it's a partnership approach between government, disabled people's organisation and private sector ... (Paul).

The most important point about the recognition of these institutional limits is the social contexts and timing of their recognition. From the literature it has been identified that recognition of the limits are somewhat limited in the bid process (Gratton and Preuss, 2008). This contrasts to this post-spectacle recognition of the institutional limits of the government field and of the event in itself.

### **Olympic and Paralympic Cabinet Unit and 'PLAG'**

Shortly after the London 2012 Games Mark detailed how the government established an institutional legacy in the form of the Olympic and Paralympic Legacy Unit. The Unit was created as a Cabinet Committee to complement Seb Coe's role as legacy ambassador. In its

creation Paul emphasized that David Cameron, the Prime Minister, was adamant about the importance of the Paralympics in the unit. The unit was detailed to be composed of people from across government departments but also from the Mayor of London's Office. It was argued by Jemima that the unit's position in the Cabinet Office and composition enabled it to work across departments, to spot gaps, weaknesses, synergies and duplication.

A group within the Olympic and Paralympic Cabinet Unit is PLAG. It was established to advise the broader Legacy Cabinet Unit on Paralympic and disability related matters. The group was co-Chaired by Esther McVey, the then Disability Minister, and Munira Mirza, Deputy Mayor of London, who had a remit for legacy and related responsibilities (Paul). The interviewees detailed that PLAG consisted of a variety of people and groups from Paralympian, Sophia Christiansen, Sainsbury's, Channel 4, British Paralympic Association and disabled people's organisations, such as Scope. Notably it was stated by Mark that it was not intended to be representative of everybody but of people who had a particular expertise or interest to bring into play. Mark gave an insight into the rationale of the establishment of PLAG:

...we felt people's voices weren't necessarily being heard on Paralympic legacy so and there's a, I mean there's a bit of a debate about what do you mean by Paralympic legacy as opposed to general disability issues if you like but I think there was a feeling at that time of a unique opportunity.

The rationale for the group's creation is the same sense expressed by Sian, highlighted earlier, that the Paralympics lacked, or might lack, recognition and thereby be neglected in the legacy process.

PLAG's remit presented an interesting discussion with the interviewees. Mark detailed three streams of focus for the group: built environment accessibility education<sup>45</sup>, inclusive events and perceptions. In the discussion of the group's remit it was made clear where it did not extend to, as Mark put it: "we're not going to talk about benefits particularly, we're not going to talk about Atos...we don't want to get sucked into lots of different issues about benefits...we try to focus on the main areas of legacy from the Paralympics". Justification for this was that other groups or departments, such as the Office for Disability Issues, dealt with these matters. This justification can be positioned, theoretically, as the group's attempt to maintain their autonomy to define their field, and the purpose of this same field. Such struggles are concomitant to Bourdieu's (Wacquant, 2008) theorisation of *the field*.

There is an argument that can be drawn from the construction of PLAG's remit. Before proposing this argument it is necessary to note Oliver's (1990) simple positioning of disability

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<sup>45</sup> Notably Darcy (2003) found that the Sydney 2000 Paralympic Games "increased the speed of social change for accessible infrastructure" (p. 753).

as politics, and Bourdieu's (1986) distinction of three predominant forms of capital: social, cultural and economic. A combination of Oliver and Bourdieu creates a political taxonomy distinguishing between the social, cultural and economic politics of disability. With this political taxonomy it can be argued that PLAG strategically limited its engagement to the social and cultural politics and isolated itself from the economic politics of disability<sup>46</sup>. PLAG's engagement with the social and cultural politics of disability is evidenced in their strategy to create inclusive events and to change social relations to and of disability. The group's disengagement with the economic politics of disability is premised on their attempts to avoid or circumvent the contemporary issue of welfare reform. It is at this point that the culture of PLAG, as described by Mark, becomes noteworthy:

I think it's an effective group, they're very constructive I sometimes think they could be more challenging than they actually are. Funnily enough I thought it might be the other way round but it's almost as if they don't want to want to be too aggressive...but it's you'd kind of want them to be stretching it a bit, stretching more discussion but maybe it'll come.

It is argued here that the position of PLAG as a group engaged with the social and cultural politics of disability and disengaged with the economic politics of disability can be related to the group's lack of 'criticalness' or 'contestation'. A primary assumption of this argument is that the economic stakes of welfare reform are of greater significance than the social and cultural stakes in which there is a large degree of continuity and agreement of. While PLAG did its best to maintain its autonomy from the issue of welfare, it is examined in detail here as the last theme of the government field.

### **Welfare**

The divisions of government are exemplary of the theoretical conceptualization of society as a field of fields (Bourdieu, 1987). In one field the government is engaged with the transient planning and disability legacy strategies of the Games whilst at the same time struggling in its more traditional field and distributive role through welfare reform. Both fields act as forces of legitimacy on the government field, and sometimes in opposing or conflictual directions. Throughout the interviews from across the different fields there was a broad recognition of the welfare changes that were taking place during London 2012 and the government's position in this. Before presenting the positions of the government interviewees it is worth presenting the position of Denis of the BPA who explained "...you know the Paralympics have taken place in the

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<sup>46</sup> This idea of PLAG as economically disengaged may be better described as the group being economically apolitical.

context of significant changes to welfare reform that are however they end up playing out causing difficulty and hardship for a lot of disabled people”.

In the interview with Paul of the ODI he was asked about whether or not this tension was evident or discussed within government. To this question he replied:

Clearly there is a tension outside of government because there is a lot of criticism of the government's approach to welfare reform. But I think the approach to welfare reform needs to be seen in the context of the bigger picture on disability. You know *Fulfilling potential* is the big picture of what's happening to remove barriers in society as a whole. Benefit reform is part of a process to focus resources where they are most needed and to enable disabled people to support themselves and live independently, and the sort of, the bigger picture behind of course is that there are more limited resources than there used to be.

Paul's response circumvents the question of whether or not there was a tension within government, only recognizing the tension outside of the field. His response, reflects his position and internalization of the congruency of the government's welfare reforms and funding of London 2012. In addition, Paul's response and logic highlights the issue of the government's allocation and distribution of resources, which, conceptually, can be positioned as a symbolic struggle. Another interesting position on welfare reform was provided by Sian who said:

I'm a bit guilty of playing politics with that because lots of people I don't think understood the welfare changes that were coming and it's going to be pretty bad. And I absolutely think you know there are people cheating the system that should be caught and all that but I kind of linked the changes to Paralympians to get the public to try and understand because at the minute public perception of Paralympians is amazing, it is really high and really positive...the media perception of disability is pretty negative it's about benefit scroungers, drain on society, worthless, useless, not working, so you know there will be, I don't think there are any Paralympians yet, but there will be Paralympians who will lose support.

Sian's statement illuminates the dialectical convergence and divergence between the relations and struggles of the disability and Paralympic fields. On the one hand the Paralympic field is acquiring symbolic capital, prestige, status and distinction and has a politically favourable relationship with the government field. Whilst on the other hand the disability field is engaged in a political and economic struggle with the government field over its increasingly constricted distribution of resources through social security. Although this is a polarised and generalised

description of the symbolic struggles, it was one that was strongly felt by the Paralympic habitus. Sharon of CP Sport described this:

So it's a double edged sword. Fantastic profile for Paralympic sport and for Paralympics GB but then you have athletes that are actually suffering because of that because of the changes to welfare reform for disabled people in this country.

Sharon went on to describe how a number of athletes had had their benefits cut at a review of their position because they had medalled at London 2012. An important intricacy highlighted by Sian was that despite their sporting ability, and increased cultural capital, Paralympians still faced extra living costs which was positioned as the very reason for the Disability Living Allowance.

In short, the government's position on the interrelation between welfare reform and London hosting the 2012 Paralympics was most apparent in Paul's positioning of the tension outside of the government field and thus maintaining the autonomy and legitimacy of its policies. This tension and force to maintain autonomy and legitimacy was also exemplified by Mark's response to the question on whether PLAG discussed welfare reform when he said "We just don't". James, of the UKDPC, described the government's practices as strategies of 'silence'<sup>47</sup>, noting it as common practice of government. Emma from the disability field also commented that she thought "...the Paralympic Games gave the government quite a good excuse to kind of develop a kind of notion of legacy that was really unhelpful to suit their own Games". These inter-field relations are important in understanding the struggles of a society hosting the Olympic and Paralympic Games. Understanding disability's position within societal struggles will now be discussed through an assessment of its intra- and inter-field struggles and relations.

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<sup>47</sup> These strategies of silence relate to the interrelation between recognition and legitimation, with a lack of the former preventing the possibility of the latter.

## Disability Field

The interviewees of the disability field included Chris from a prominent disability charity, James of the UK's Disabled People's Council (UKDPC) and Emma from the Spartacus Network, an informal group that researches disability and social security. Given that there were only these three interviews within the disability field places a quantitative limit upon its analysis relative to the other fields which have more interviews. In relation to this opening remark it is worth presenting James' sense of the disability field's position: "The organisers had very much chosen the partners that they wanted to work with. There wasn't really a role for say community based organisations to play actively. Particularly if you were a non-sport based organisation". This statement from James is presented not to imply that the disability field was not engaged by the organisers but rather to propose that they lacked a sense of place in relation to the Games and by extension to this research. Methodologically, this was evidenced in the recruitment of disability organisations, particularly in their questioning of their relevance to the research, with some directing the researcher to disability sport organisations who they felt were better placed to be involved.

That said Chris' disability charity and UKDPC were actively engaged with London 2012, particularly through lobbying and consultations. Their engagement contrasts to the Spartacus Network's engagement and expectations, or lack thereof. For example, Emma stated, "I was not one of those who thought that it was going to change very much". Despite the lack of engagement and anticipation Emma offered much insight into the dynamics of the disability field and its struggles with the government's welfare reforms which were occurring over the course of the Games. Emma also gave insights into the internal dynamics of the disability field, notably the strategic struggles between disability groups over the targeting and protesting at London 2012. In this sense this section attempts to examine the disability field's positions from within and without, before and after the London 2012 Games. The key interviewees of this subsection are:

Alias	Organisation	Field	Description
Chris	Scope	Disability	Disability charity
Emma	We are Spartacus	Disability	Disability activist group
James	UK DPC	Disability	UK Disabled People's Council. National disability led organisation

### Disability Charity and UKDPC

When London won the right to host the Games James said that he was delighted but continued to describe how this immediate delight was replaced by a concern for the demands that the

event would place on London's infrastructure, such as transport, buildings and amenities, which he described as being generally inaccessible. James related this concern for the 'disability experience' as much to the visiting spectators as to the athletes. For the disability charity, more symbolically, London winning the rights to host the 2012 Paralympics represented an opportunity to harness and translate the discussion of elite disability sport into a more general discussion of and engagement with disability in society. The Paralympic Games' overt intention to change 'perceptions' of disability particularly resonated with the disability charity's own strategy and its practical engagements. Providing some background to this engagement, Chris drew attention to the charity's use of traditional and new social media and their researching of disabled people's 'perceptions' of society's 'perceptions' of disability<sup>48</sup> over the course of the Games.

The results of the charity's research highlighted a dialectical struggle which, on the one hand, recognised improvements in the public's perceptions of disability, while, on the other, recognised the enduring abuse symbolised by the 'benefit scroungers' label. Chris argued that the latter "was perpetuated by the government's agenda to justify their benefits spending cuts and the media's reflection of this rhetoric". These seemingly contradictory outcomes were echoed by James who said:

So our legacy, I think is too early to tell you know because at the moment we don't really see the kind of the impact we would want it to have to see rising from the Games which is a greater level of empathy for disabled people. Issues around disability hate crime continue to increase. Well, so if the public has a greater degree of empathy, well if they do then why on the other hand are disabled people experiencing greater levels of isolation and discrimination (James, UKDPC).

However, and contrastingly, Chris commented that in the charity's research disabled people don't think that people and society are intrinsically prejudiced against disabled people rather it is a matter of a lack of understanding, visibility and engagement. James also considered there to be a durability to the positive change in relations to disability from the Games arguing that although it may fall slightly afterwards it would not relapse to pre-Games levels.

There is a brief but important point to be made here in relation to the surveying of social relations to disability and the influence of the Paralympic Games. Note, the implied and imposed logic of the Paralympic field means that the Paralympic Games can only have a positive or neutral impact upon social relations with disability, never negative. This contrasts to the initial

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<sup>48</sup> 'Perceptions' of disability is used in this context to not change the way that the interviewee presented the topic. However in other places the use of 'perceptions' (or attitude) has been replaced by the concept of 'relations', as outlined the methodology chapter.

and persistent concerns of the disability charity and others of the disability field that the Paralympic Games might alienate the broader disability community. From this there is the argument that the capital accrued by the Paralympic field enables it to define, impose and legitimise its space of possible impacts, effects and *de facto* legacy.

From all of this the Paralympic field is in a dominant position benefitting from any objectified positive change of social relations to disability while at the same time being unrelated to any negative changes. The pieces of research, surveys and opinion polls, used by various Paralympic related or engaged institutions are act as pseudo social barometers of society's relations to disability. Their efficacy, however, is challenged by the 'harder' increase in the number of disability hate crimes recorded (Creese and Lader, 2014) throughout the organisation and hosting of London 2012 and also by recognition that they are representative of and dependent on the forces behind their own production (Bourdieu, 1991), that is the institutionally propagated and defined logic that the Paralympics positively change relations to disability.

Another intricacy of the discussion of the change of relations ('perceptions') is the heightened efficacy of this change for athletes and anyone with a 'sporty' cultural disposition. This stands in contrast to the change, or lack of, for the 'average disabled person' as described by James:

The athletes maybe feel attitudes towards disability sports or to them as disabled athletes has improved and I'm sure that is the case but then you look, you speak to the average disabled person who is not an athlete just trying to get through life I think they will probably have a different story to tell.

In the disability field interviews there was some anecdotal evidence that the cultural capital accrued by Paralympians at London 2012, which, as just described by James, gave them a sense of an improved societal position and relations, transferred to other impaired bodily dispositions who had not competed at the Paralympic Games. Indeed James described numerous personal experiences, as a wheelchair user, of being misrecognised for a Paralympic athlete. It is in this way that the cultural capital of the Paralympic athlete can transcend that space and be conferred to others but only if they are misrecognised as having the prerequisite bodily disposition.

### **Spartacus Network**

Before explaining the points of interest from the interview with Emma it is appropriate to describe her sense of position and that of the Spartacus Network. This can be achieved most effectively in Emma's own words:

We are a very small group of people with thousands of people who seem to hang on our every word, who in a very informal way and we're not an organisation we don't have any kind of constitution, just try to use...engagement and analytical research to try to fight the government's cuts really but *not fighting in terms of going out on the streets* but fighting in terms of pointing out to them where they are going wrong because we feel that engagement and you know actual rigorous research we feel is more likely to get some concessions compared to the approach that says we demand that you end this that and the other because the reality is that they are not going to end any of these things so a better way is to get in on the inside and you know try to negotiate improvements so that not so many people suffer, so I guess you might say that we are moderates.

Emma's description of the position of the Spartacus Network highlights two major struggles of the disability field. Of principal importance is the disability field's struggle with the government's welfare reforms, and second is the struggle within the disability field and between the different groups over the most effective strategies through which to engage the government's welfare reforms. Emma's assertion that the Spartacus Network is not an organisation may be positioned as a strategy in itself to avoid the struggles engendered by being an institutionalised entity. The major points of interest from the interview with Emma will now be considered.

### **'The Paralympic Danger'**

A primary point of interest raised by Emma was the interrelation of disability, long-term health conditions (such as illness and disease) and poverty. Emma considered this struggle to underpin and often undermine the disability field in directly determining the field's boundaries and the inclusion or exclusion of illness. Part of this struggle Emma sensed was that "traditional social modellers hate the idea of having to include sick people because they don't really fit their parameters and ways of thinking". Further illuminating the struggle was Emma's perplexion of those whose argument she described through the following quote: "we can't have these sick people taking away all the benefits that we get".

The omission of these intricate struggles of the disability field from the Paralympic field, Emma argued, offered the government a chance to put a 'spin' on things. Emma's position and sense of this is worth quoting at length:

Well I think, obviously it was a positive occasion, but I think that a lot of the spinning that has been done around it and particularly around the Paralympics and attitudes to disabled people is really very disingenuous spinning because the disabled people who participate in the Paralympics are generally people who you would describe as disabled

and well, so they're not ill. If they were ill they would not be able to participate in the Paralympics but unfortunately the government and other people who are so inclined have kind of collapsed it all together and kind of given the impression that you know the Paralympics showed us what disabled people can do and the answer really is that it shows you what a few elite disabled sports men who are well can do and that's not usually included as a caveat. So I think it has given the government a very good excuse to say well you know all disabled people can do all these things just because Paralympians can which is clearly absolutely rubbish but sound bites don't depend on the extent to which you can pull them apart they gain a life of their own so I think that that is really unfortunate and I think it was always the *danger of the Paralympics* to be honest, that's my view.

Although Emma recognised the Games as being positive, her relation to the practices of the Government challenges the legitimacy of their claims of disability legacy and their expressive use and leveraging of their investment and engagement with the Games. It is Emma's social position that has produced this relation to the field and to see the conflation of disability and illness as a disingenuous strategy of the Government. By challenging the legitimacy of the government's claims of legacy Emma is also challenging the legitimacy of the current government itself and its strategies and practices in the distribution of capital throughout society. Combining Emma's assertions here and Chris' argument, opening this section, on the disability field, produces a sense of the government having used the Paralympics to legitimise their reform of welfare. The consensus between Emma's and Chris' relation to the government contrasts to the dissensus within the disability field over the most effective practices and strategies through which to engage the government over the issue, which will now be examined.

The struggles between the Spartacus Network and other disability groups illuminate the underpinning agonism of the disability field. Emma argued that the primary difference in the strategies of engagement was that the Spartacus Network positioned research and analysis as the best practice through which to challenge the legitimacy of the government's reform of welfare whilst disability activist groups like Disabled People Against Cuts and Black Triangle engaged more through protest marches and sit-ins. A major problem for Emma with the other disability groups was the lack of alternative options that they offered as possible solutions. There was another difference in position on the source of the disability field's struggle which corresponded to the struggle over who should be the target of their struggle. Emma outlined that the government was the central target for the Spartacus Network, and questioned the efficacy of other disability groups who targeted Atos. Supporting her position, Emma argued

that Atos was an easily replaceable contractor of the government's policies. From this, it is necessary to briefly consider Atos and its position.

Atos was a corporate service provider contracted to conduct the government's work capability assessments (WCA) whilst at the same time being a corporate partner of London 2012. The assessments conducted by Atos directly impact the distribution of welfare. Emma offers an overview of all that has just been discussed:

I didn't necessarily agree with all the campaigning around the Olympics in terms of...pinning a whole lot of blame on Atos as the people who deliver the WCA but also as the sponsors of the Games when actually it's the government's DWP [Department of Working Pensions] that is responsible for setting the parameters within which Atos work from, so whilst Atos is not totally innocent it's the monkey rather than the organ grinder and you know having a great big thing against Atos at the Games I actually think was a bit of a distraction.

On Atos' sponsorship of the Paralympic Games, Chris from the disability charity commented that a lot of disabled people were 'uncomfortable' about the situation because they were unhappy with the assessment and the manner in which it was performed by Atos. Continuing, Emma argued that a more symbolic example of the tension, than that of the protests and marches, was the 'booing' of the chancellor of the exchequer, George Osborne, during a prize ceremony in the stadium. On the issue of welfare reform, as a whole, Emma admitted to having a sense of regression to the 1990s with this period being positioned as the peak of the disability movement. Moving on from this consideration of Emma and the Spartacus Network, the issue of tickets arose as a point of significance in the disability field interviews.

### **Tickets and Legitimacy**

An issue raised by a number of interviewees related to the sale of Paralympic tickets and the legitimacy of the reasons for their purchase.

The naysayers of the world were saying look, you know, these people are getting the tickets here for the Paralympics because they didn't get the tickets for the Olympics and all they want to do is to be able to get a ticket to go into the Olympic Village and see what it's all about. I heard those stories many a time over...I think within that, there is also, in cynicism, there is also an element of truth. I'm sure that there were many people who thought you know I couldn't get tickets for the Olympics let me get tickets for the Paralympics, we'll go and enjoy ourselves. However I am confident that the vast majority of those found themselves engaged in the whole sporting atmosphere and were not just sitting on the grass having a picnic (James, UKDPC).

At the centre of the cynicism described here by James is the interrelated legitimacy of the supply of and demand for the Paralympic Games. In one sense the demand for the London 2012 Paralympic Games legitimises the event. However, in another sense, the cynicism of this demand for the Paralympics is akin to challenging its legitimacy. The primary source of cynicism stems from the inference that some of the unmet demand for the Olympics translated into an increase in demand for the Paralympics. These issues of cynicism and legitimacy, however, at least according to James' rational, would have been contradicted or inverted by the 'Paralympic experience' in much the same way that Ian of Channel 4 argued. From these inferences an argument can be made for the continuation of the current organisation of the Paralympics. According to the above logic, the Paralympics gained increased demand, even if illegitimate, as a result of unmet demand from the Olympics, whilst at the same time providing a legitimate experience to the spectators, and thus, arguably, increasing the legitimacy of the Paralympic field.

Tickets took on a practical element of concern for James, forming one of the keys areas of UKDPC's engagement with the Games. This concern and engagement related to lobbying for better and fairer provision of tickets, most notably for wheelchair users and carers. James said that, although these concerns were eventually resolved, the organisers had not anticipated the ticket requirements and adjustments needed to make their service inclusive. Darcy (2001) identified similar ticketing issues at the Sydney 2000 Paralympics but it is something that could arguably have been sorted out with the passing of three Paralympiad.

### **Post-Evaluation and 'Legacy'**

As an event in itself James described a sense of the London 2012 Paralympics being the most successful to date, conjecting that neither Channel 4 nor the IPC could have predicted their success. He described the international basis of this recognition that he had experienced through the UKDPC's international network of disability organisations. In relation to legacy it is worth considering two contrasting positions from the disability field. First, for James when asked what legacy meant to him he responded:

It means a number of things really. I think ultimately with regards to the Games it leads to the *greater social inclusion of disabled people as equal citizens*. You know I think that's what we're looking at. And there are many sorts of pathways that the Games present to get to that position. And one is participation in sport. One is the media coverage. One is engagement with the community you know and so forth (James, UKDPC).

As a contrast Emma offers a more politicised position on the legacy of London 2012:

In terms of the legacy I just think it has been really unfortunate for the reasons I have said...it has given the wrong impression that disabled people as kind of a whole homogenous lump of people which we're not, can do all these amazing things so they don't need all this welfare because actually they're fine because look at the Paralympians they could do it. I think that is a very dangerous and rather insidious message that's really unhelpful... I don't know if there's been any reduction in disability hate crime which largely these days seems to be around the whole welfare-scrounger issue as a result of the Paralympics because I don't think people see people who are using a wheelchair in the street anything like the same as they see wheelchair users taking part in the Paralympics.

The position and concerns of Emma and the Spartacus Network challenge the legitimacy and autonomy of the Paralympic field. Such a position, from the Paralympic field's own position, needs to be refuted or ignored. By this is meant that, as theoretically outlined by Wacquant (2008), a field will attempt to protect its autonomy and its legitimacy. In occupying such a dominated position and raising such infringing and illegitimising points of the Paralympic field Emma's position is likely to be discarded by the Paralympic field.

In short, there are a number of the concerns and questions of the legitimacy of the Paralympic Games that have been produced by this examination of the disability field. First is the concern of the political use of the Paralympic Games by the government to legitimise its broader disability policies which may be positioned as being contrary to the interests of the disability community. Secondly, the disability field's references to increases in disability hate crime questions the legitimacy of the claims of positive changes in societal relations to disability. It also possibly offers a more 'practice' based benchmark through which to assess a change in societal relations to disability, especially when compared to the current proliferation of surveys and opinion polls. This is not something that has been articulated as an objective or measurement of Paralympic-disability legacy. A third major concern is the 'cultural' disconnect in the dispositions of Paralympic athletes and the 'average disabled people', as James put it earlier, which relates to the issue of the Paralympic field's representation of disability.

### **Relations to the Disability Field**

In this final section on the disability field some relations and positions of other fields towards the disability field are considered. To begin there was evidence that the disability sport field had a good sense of the major concerns of the disability field relating to the Games. For example, Sharon of CP Sport recognised the importance of the representation of disability for the disability field, and their concern of the effect the Paralympic Games would have. Relevant to this Sharon stated: "they were not quite sure about the Paralympics at first being worried that it

would make everybody think that disabled people, if they weren't brilliant Paralympic athletes they were not worth thinking about and they kind of got completely won round by it" (Sharon, CP Sport). This 'winning round' of the disability field was augmented by Channel 4's engagement with the field, consultations being an example of this. Patricia of Channel 4 said that on the whole their relations with the major disability institutions such as Scope, Disability Rights UK and Shape were really positive.

From the interviews with the disability sport and disability fields there were expressions of sentiments for improved relations and networks to bridge them. On these relations James of the UKDPC said "I haven't really seen any real evidence of that ... so there may be some anecdotal evidence but I don't think there's anything really established". Other organisations like CP Sport, the UKSA and the Special Olympics all expressed similar sentiments for stronger working relationships and networks with their disability organisational equivalent. James commented that organisations like the UKDPC were well positioned for disability sport organisations to engage their members. With all of this said, Denis of the BPA detailed his experience of speaking at a disability conference which illuminates the sense of a tension between disability sport and disability fields:

I've been to a couple of things most noticeably a conference this year that Disability Rights UK held where I actually thought it was going to be uncomfortable because it was uncomfortable for the rest of the day but I was delighted and pleased that the room was willing to listen to my message very clearly about the positive impact of the Games.

A related story was told by the head of marketing of a corporate sponsor who detailed the risk that was inherent in their engagement with the Paralympics. The risk was simply stated that "every lobbying organisation is looking for someone to throw rocks at". Part of the risk of engagement was that it led to expectations which would not ordinarily exist or be produced if it was not for their engagement with the Paralympics. This was coupled with a sense of injustice in that other companies who did not engage with the Paralympics were not targeted and enjoyed relative 'risk free' engagement with London 2012. The corporate interviewee describes their position and relation with the disability field in more detail here:

Saying bad things about you and your brand and about your business when all you're trying to do is good, and other people, other businesses aren't engaged with them at all. But because they know that you're involved they think if they batter you they think that you will change something (Anonymous Corporation).

These relations to the disability field can only be described as varied but it is clear that the disability field acted as potent force, often implicitly, on the other fields. The impact of the

disability field on the disability sport field will now be discussed amongst a broader discussion of its intra- and inter-field dynamics, relations and struggles.

## Disability Sport Field

The theoretical delineation of the disability sport field into ‘neat’ fields is complicated by its practical and ‘actual’ structure. It is to a certain extent the most complex and convoluted field examined by this research. For instance, the corporate sponsors occupy homogenous yet exclusive positions within the corporate sponsor field. The disability sports institutions, on the other hand, occupy homogenous positions in constituting a field but often lack exclusivity which creates its complex, convoluted and contested structure. This is evident in the number and range of disability sport related institutions interviewed for the research.

The aim of this sub-section is to present the intra- and inter-dynamics of the disability sport field, a field positioned as central to the cultural legacy of London 2012. Central to the presentation are the calculations, strategies and evaluations of the disability sport institutions before and after the event. This presentation draws upon the interviews with disability sport institutions. The interviews with the other fields and their statements relating to the disability sport field constitute the second part of this section, and are positioned as the external relations to the disability sport field. It is through this structure and examination of the disability field from within and without that an intra- and inter-relational analysis can be produced. For the most part, the interviewees were disability sport governing bodies with geography or disability being the delineators. To recap, the key actors of this sub-section are:

Alias	Organisation	Field	Description
Sharon	CP Sport	Disability Sport	Cerebral Palsy Sport. National governing body for cerebral palsy sport.
Brian	EFDS	Disability Sport	English Federation Disability Sport. An English charity, dedicated to disabled people in sport and physical activity.
Alex	Disability Sport Wales	Disability Sport	A national governing body for disability sport and physical activity.
Dermot	DSNI	Disability Sport	Disability Sport Northern Ireland. A national governing body for disability sport and physical activity.
Michael	Interactive UK	Disability Sport	An advisory organisation on sport for disabled people in London.
Elizabeth	UKSA	Disability Sport	UK Sports Association for People with Learning Disability. National disability sports organisation.
Peter	Scottish Disability Sport	Disability Sport	Scottish national governing body for disability sport and physical activity.
Donna	Special Olympics	Disability Sport	National disability sport organisation.
Denis	BPA	Disability Sport	National Paralympic Committee.
Veronica	Sport England	Sport	Provides services and funding to sport in England.
Seth	Sport England	Sport	Provides services and funding to sport in England.

### **Pre-Calculations and Pre-Evaluations**

On London winning the right to host the 2012 Games Dermot explained that Disability Sport Northern Ireland (DSNI) 'really embraced' it. This relation was based on the possible benefits for disability sport at the grass roots level rather than for elite Paralympic sport. For Dermot this force of the Paralympic Games met and resonated with the force of the disability rights culture that he felt at that time. This homology between what he described as the 'rights based culture' and the aim of London's bid to be one of the most inclusive Games ever ultimately worked in London 2012's favour.

In his initial assessment of London 2012 Brian of the EFDS distinguished 'correct' and over-inflated objectives of the spectacle. From his position the 'correct' goals were evidence based and related to improving elite sport, winning medals, increasing the profile of the Paralympics and receiving television coverage. In relation to the over-inflated goals Brian only mentioned the aim to change attitudes of society. Whilst he described it as an 'overblown' objective, Brian still stated that the aim to change attitudes of society had been partially successful. Returning to his pre-calculation of London 2012 Brian said, "why shouldn't we take the chance to indulge in fantastic sport at an elite level and somewhere is the wider objectives about inspiring a generation and changing societies attitudes some of that's come".

This coupling of pragmatism and scepticism, presented here by Brian, arose in other interviews. For example, relating to Brian's notion of over-inflated objectives, Dermot said that from his position the use of the word legacy was completely overused. This overuse was a source of insecurity for DSNI in that it created an unknown: "...it was very unclear in the early days what the actual legacy was" (Dermot, DSNI). What's more, whilst conceding that there would be a lot of focus and effort in the build up to London 2012 Dermot argued that there was little evidence of how this would be sustained. In the same way that legacy was a source of insecurity for DSNI, it also posed a significant threat for the disability sport councils as posited by Alex of Disability Sport Wales (DSW). Alex outlined this threat of London 2012 as so: "The threat of London was that we would be carried away by the understandable enthusiasm and hype, and change our strategy in order to fit with the objectives and outputs...but we didn't really know whether or not that was the right thing to do, so it was a real threat". In balancing this tension Alex recognised the extensive possibilities of engagement but at the same time recognised that London 2012 was fundamentally a high performance sporting event.

Alex went on to elaborate his positioning of London 2012 and its objectives as an internal rather than an external threat. This conceptualisation of London 2012 as an internal threat related to DSW suddenly seeing it as a "potential cash cow" (Alex, DSW) and thereby distorting DSW's strategy. It was this threat to DSW's strategy that was most significant for Alex, as he explained:

You know that was the threat, because if we had then after 10 years of building the strategy in Wales said you know what we're going to throw the strategy and park it for the next 24 months, then actually that would have been disastrous long term for disability sport in our nation. So it wasn't that we weren't for, I mean we were absolutely delighted. It was brilliant you know bringing the Paralympics to Britain, it was brilliant for all of us, for all the people working so long in the movement but we were very clear that we wanted to make inroads around participation and therefore it wasn't about necessarily building more and more clubs it was about doing more work around inclusion.

Underpinning Alex's relation to London 2012 and its emphasis of 'legacy' was a deep-seated questioning of what was promised and what could actually be anticipated or expected from it. Bringing together Brian's sense of London 2012's over-inflated objectives and Dermot's sense of legacy's overuse, Alex poignantly stated: "You know London was never going to deliver this word legacy". In this sense, and from his position, Alex proposed that very little could be anticipated without actively engaging with the Games or as he put it, "making London work for us". This transition of the disability sport field's approach and understanding of their position can be described as one going from passive anticipation to active engagement. Encapsulating this change of the disability sport field's relation to the Games is a quote from Donna of the Special Olympics:

You know before the Games we kept saying so what's the legacy, what's the, asking you know EFDS whose going to tell us what the legacy is, where do we get this legacy, where do we find the funding, and then all of a sudden I don't know why but all of a sudden it became clear that actually all of us needed to go and find our legacy.

To this end, London 2012, for Alex at least, simply represented a huge marketing opportunity for his organisation, Disability Sport Wales. Similarly in the interview with Lisa of Sport England London 2012 was positioned as a huge opportunity to increase the social recognition of disability sport but at the same time she recognised the caveat that Paralympic sport was not fully representative of the entire disability sport field, estimating its representativeness to be around 9%. Whilst the importance of this intricacy was recognised it was dismissed and supplanted by the opportunity to convert the social recognition of Paralympic sport acquired through London 2012 into the greater cultural practice of disability sport. Sport England's positioning of the Paralympics as being a symbolic and momentous social and cultural opportunity was coupled with a recognition of the then 'poor' state of affairs of the disability sport field. Particularly of note for them was the lack of economic investment and the low rates

of participation (Seth, Sport England). Another important consideration of that time was the political relations within and without of the disability sport field. One particularly symbolic relation and tension within the field was between the EFDS and the NDSOs, such as CP Sport. Other noteworthy field relations included the disability sport field's political engagement with Sport England and the NGBs around the issue of mainstreaming, and with the disability field, some of which previously had authority over the organisation of specific impairment sports. These are only noted here as they will be examined in more detail later.

The pre-calculations of the BPA are significant given their intermediary position between the Paralympic Games and the broader disability sport field. Denis of the BPA positioned London 2012 as "...the single most important moment in time but also as a catalyst to change". The emphasis of London 2012 as a 'catalyst to change' related to Tim's preference for the use of the word momentum instead of legacy to emphasise the importance of not only maintaining but further developing the field's position. Here the semantics of the word legacy are, just as they were for the disability sport councils, a source of tension for the BPA. Describing his semantic struggle with and outlining his position on legacy Denis asserted:

Legacy suggests that London was a high water mark never to be repeated and whilst that might be true in terms of groundswell of focus in the UK it is absolutely not true of a movement that is still very young and growing very fast so you know we don't want to give that sense of you know what can we maintain what can we sustain but actually how can we use it to grow.

In Tim's assertion here a distinction can be drawn between his positioning of legacy as a process of conserving the capital acquired by the field through London 2012 and momentum as a process of not only conserving but accumulating more capital in the wake of the spectacle. It is in this sense that Bourdieu's (1986) conceptualisation of capital as "accumulated labour" is most apparent.

The structuring of the pre-spectacle calculations of the disability sport field along the contours of 'disability' and 'sport' was a persistent feature of the interviews with the disability sport field. In a way these structures are at the centre of the field's sense of place. At the same time they also constitute a source of tension for the field. As an example Dermot stated: "we are a disability organisation but we are also a sports organisation, so we are a sports organisation first, whereas it's often seen that we are disability first". For Dermot the anticipated increased public and media recognition would allow them to engage with the public to clarify this distinction and to impose their understanding of the structures and position of the disability sport field. Such calculations relate to a field's struggle for autonomy, an essential part of which is the capacity for self-determination and self-definition (Wacquant, 2008).

The UKSA represented a unique position in that at the time of London winning the bid for the 2012 Olympiad their impairment group, that they institutionally represent, intellectual impairment, was not included in the Paralympic programme. Elizabeth, of the UKSA, explained, although it has been noted by many Paralympic scholars (Howe, 2008; Darcy, 2003; Brittain, 2010), that this was the result of the incident at the Sydney 2000 Paralympic Games where the Spanish basketball team fielded ineligible players. As such Elizabeth described how the UKSA had huge expectations in the build-up to London 2012. These expectations were founded on the UK's disability rights culture and equality legislation (Elizabeth, UKSA). In this way Elizabeth said that the significance of London could not be overstated in relation to the UKSA's aim for the reinstatement of intellectual impairment into the Paralympic programme for London 2012. The efficacy of the opportunity represented by London was all the more heightened for the UKSA given that many of the leadership positions of its international governing body, the International Sports Federation for Persons with Intellectual Disability (INAS), were occupied by British nationals. Whilst London represented the opportunity for institutional recognition and reinstatement into the Paralympic Games, there was a deeper underpinning force and belief in the legitimacy of elite intellectual impairment sport for Elizabeth as she argues here: "...any athlete with intellectual disability has the right to choose to compete in sport at the highest level and the path which will enable them to do that. So that has always been at the forefront of our thoughts".

### **Pre-Strategies**

It is a difficult task of distinguishing between the pre-calculations and pre-strategies of the disability sport field with recognition of their interconnectedness. Nonetheless what follows is a presentation of the pre-spectacle strategies of the BPA, the regional disability sport councils and the NDSOs as constitutive of the disability sport field.

From their pre-calculations and assessment of their position in the context of being a host-nation National Paralympic Committee (NPC) Denis stated that the BPA established two core strands to their organisational strategy. The principal strand of the strategy related to Paralympic GB's performance at the London 2012 Paralympic Games and everything that that could possibly encapsulate. Briefly Denis described how the BPA's contribution to the development of the Paralympic field was beneficial to the international Paralympic movement as a whole but at the same time recognised that it would ultimately increase the difficulty of maintaining their current competitive advantage and position in the medal table. The second element of the BPA's strategy related to their engagement of disability in society. In his own words Denis said: "a secondary priority was to challenge the way people thought, felt and behaved towards disability". Denis related this second element of their strategy as adhering to their constitution and position as a registered charity.

In Dermot's initial calculation he identified the heightened opportunity for DSNI to develop grassroots disability sport participation in the context of London hosting the Paralympic Games. But as already stated he recognised a lack of evidence that would see it sustained beyond London 2012. It was from these two calculations that DSNI produced a proactive strategy, as Dermot described: "...when we were planning what we were going to do, and we did plan it. I don't think a lot of organisations did. We said listen, the legacy is not going to happen unless we do something about it". DSNI's active engagement strategy can be crudely divided between direct and non-direct components. The direct engaging component of DSNI's strategy related to their hosting of pre-Games training camps and tournaments for Paralympic teams. Their non-direct engaging practices included sports participation and educational initiatives specifically structured around the London 2012 Paralympic Games.

The basis of the educational component of DSNI's strategy came from Dermot's positioning of pejorative social relations to disability as the source of the lack of participation in disability sport. As Dermot said, "people still see disabled people as kind of fragile and less able to participate and to be pitied". In addition to this Dermot described a sense of older generations having a heightened internalisation of prejudice and disparaging relations to disability. As such the educational component of DSNI's strategy specifically targeted young children to socialise and educate them about disability from an early age. A key struggle confronting DSNI was the acquisition of funding for their educational initiative. It's educational emphasis, however, enabled DSNI to engage with other government departments to secure funding beyond those whose remit was limited to sport. Dermot stated that this expansion of the fields that they engaged for funding, particularly the government educational department, was a recent development.

In much the same way, Alex of DSW described the central components of their strategy and 'active' engagement with London 2012 in this pre-spectacle period. These components included participation, mainstreaming and Welsh representation at the Paralympic Games. On participation Alex explained that DSW had already established robust events and community programmes irrespective of London 2012. Instead Alex positioned London 2012 as an opportunity for DSW to increase both membership and opportunities to participate in disability sport. The second element, the mainstreaming of disability sport, Alex described as 'absolutely critical'. He explained that the Paralympic Games represented a challenge to their mainstreaming partners to recognize and engage with disability sport. What's more Alex positioned this as a greater priority in their strategy over the creation of new 'disability sport' programmes. The third component that Alex outlined was their aim to have the greatest representation of Welsh athletes at London 2012 than ever before. From this, Alex calculated

that DSW would be able to capitalize on the recognition from the Welsh government and national media, and possibly establish relations with new corporate partners.

This latter element of DSW's strategy, the creation of new commercial partnerships, is of significance. Rather than positioning and identifying London 2012 as a 'win-win' opportunity Alex recognised it contemporaneously as a risk to DSW. As previously outlined the risk for Alex was an internal one in the sense that DSW would position London 2012 as a 'cash cow' through which large corporations would 'throw' money at them. As Alex explained:

This was never the case, it was never guaranteed that was going to happen and we always felt that in terms of sustainability of commercial partnerships and developing relationships it was always going to be easier for us to keep a bigger eye on the Welsh ball as a result of the London lift and interest in disability sport and actually that's been proven to be the case.

From this Alex elaborated two interrelated facets of DSW's commercial strategy. First, in 2011 DSW underwent a rebranding. Alex explained that the rebranding strategy was aimed at strengthening their identity and that London 2012 offered a great opportunity to do this. Complementary to this was DSW's recruiting of a communications officer before London 2012 for the first time (Alex, DSW). This was in anticipation of the increased public and commercial engagement that they would receive.

Continuing this examination of the institutional strategies of the disability sport field Peter from Scottish Disability Sport (SDS) positioned the London 2012 Paralympics as an opportunity to extend and expand upon their current practices. Peter highlighted the imperatives to increase the number of athletes and players within the sporting pathways, to increase the number of sports that they were engaged with and to make coaching more inclusive. Internal to SDS Peter noted the change London 2012 brought to the social space disability sport occupied, and emphasised the heightened recognition of institutional areas that needed improvement, such as the governance and corporate relations of SDS.

The strategic practices of the UKSA corresponded to their position in being excluded from the London 2012 Paralympic programme for much of the pre-spectacle period. For Elizabeth, then, campaigning and lobbying constituted key elements of the UKSA's strategy. Donna of Special Olympics noted the support and engagement of central government to the reinstatement of the intellectual impairment classification category. There were many constituent struggles to UKSA's lobbying and campaigning including the restriction of places at the Paralympics, the inflexibility of the policies of NGBs, pejorative dispositional relations to intellectually impaired athletes and the lack of funding that their athletes and their international and national organisations had received as a result of their exodus. A symbolisation at the time

of the institutionally pejorative relations to intellectually impaired athletes, described by Elizabeth, was the IPC's statement on their website that they were not the Special Olympics. However, these things being said the biggest struggle that the UKSA faced was eligibility and classification of which there are a number of components (Elizabeth, UKSA).

A principal problem of the intellectual impairment classification process was that a second stage had been recently added. With the ban of the UKSA's athletes only being lifted in November 2009, there was limited time and opportunities for UKSA's athletes to undergo the new second stage of the classification. This created a vicious cycle in which athletes could not be selected for Championships because they had not been classified yet could only be classified by competing at a Championship (Elizabeth, UKSA). A description of the importance and intricacies of this issue is provided here by Elizabeth:

The 2011 Global Games took place in October 2011 in the Czech Republic, that was the first time the second stage of athletics classification was available and the Games were only a few months later. So you know, time wasn't on our side but making sure the eligibility and classification was right was probably one of the biggest challenges (Elizabeth, UKSA).

The UKSA's struggle for reinstatement puts their strategic practices in contrast to many of the other disability sport institutions. For example, Elizabeth explained that the UKSA's practices centred around the NGBs of athletics, swimming and table tennis and ensuring that they were ready in anticipation of the Paralympic ban being lifted on athletes with intellectual impairment. It was in this space that Elizabeth argued UKSA's knowledge of the sports, and the eligibility and classification systems were of particular importance. The contrast to this was that the other disability sport institutions were preparing their athletes for the Paralympics Games rather than simply trying to gain access (Elizabeth). This contrast can be positioned as symbolic of the difference between the UKSA's pursuit of internal legitimacy to the other impairment classifications pursuing external legitimacy.

The disability sport field's homologous recognition of the opportunity London's hosting of the 2012 Paralympic Games represented had a similar structuring effect on Sport England's strategy. According to Veronica, Sport England directed funds to initiatives aimed at improving the participation rates of disability sport, worked with the Paralympic sponsors and sought opportunities to disseminate the following message: "if you're disabled you can play sport, it is there for you, it is an activity that you can play, that you're welcome to play and there is opportunity for you to play, it's not simply about elite disabled people" (Veronica, Sport England).

## **Post-Evaluation**

The disability sport field asserted a number of evaluative calculations of the London 2012 Games in and of themselves. As like the other fields the disability sport field recognised the significance of the manner in which the Paralympics Games were organised and integrated with the Olympic Games. This significance was related to past Games and the progress that London 2012 symbolised for the Paralympic field. The position occupied by Chris Holmes, as Head of Paralympic Integration, was in itself a symbol of inclusion (Dermot, DSNI). For Denis, of the BPA, the construction of infrastructure and the village for the Paralympics was something he recognised positively but at the same time he emphasised the broader efficacy of their accessibility beyond London 2012 and beyond disability. Another source of a sense of progress was the increased media recognition of and engagement with the London 2012 Paralympic Games. As Alex stated: “the media interest was just phenomenal...To get over 30 million people watching Channel 4 Paralympic Games was it something like 52million watched the Olympics, I mean wow, that is way beyond what I think most people would have expected from the Paralympic Games”. An early consideration of the disability sport field’s conceptualisation of London 2012’s legacy was the anticipation that the media’s recognition of and engagement with the Games would be sustained through to the Rio 2016 Paralympic Games (Brian, EFDS).

There was a consideration, similar to that of other fields, regarding the legitimacy of attendance at the Paralympic Games. Once more Seth of Sport England noted the sense of *illegitimate* attendance for reasons such as people not getting tickets to the Olympics. Supporting the evaluations of the other fields, Seth described the sense of a shift from this conspicuous attendance and consumption to an appreciation of the Paralympic Games as a legitimate sporting spectacle in its own right. Dermot supported this contention seeing the Paralympics as a “parallel competition and not a tokenistic add-on”.

The disability sport field also evaluated itself in terms of their representation and competitive achievements at the London 2012 Paralympic Games. For the disability sport councils however, such as Brian of the EFDS, the relatively small number of impairments that the Paralympic Games represent as a segment of the much broader disability sport field was reiterated. Michael of Interactive UK reiterated this point and described what they do as ‘disability equality in sport’. Further to this, Brian described how the Paralympic Games were becoming a smaller possibility for a lot of impairments because of the reduction of its programme. This internal issue and struggle over Paralympic classification is well documented (Howe and Jones, 2006). From these two interrelated points Brian sensed that the Paralympic field had possibly overstated its wider relevance.

Within the disability sport council field the issue of regionality, relating to the devolved political structure, was raised. Dermot stated, “there’s definitely a regional issue there, the

further you get away from London it was less meaningful". Exemplifying this statement Dermot pointed to the lesser degree of engagement from the Northern Irish Department of Education with London 2012's 'Get Set' education programme. Equally for Peter of SDS he felt Scotland was somewhat at arm's length to London 2012's reach.

### **Legacy**

In the interviews with the disability sport field there were a number of issues raised that relate to the legitimacy of London 2012 and its legacy. An issue of legacy for Dermot related to the legitimacy of its scale, as he asserted: "So I think, I think overall there will be definitely legacy but I don't think it is on the scale that was portrayed in the hype before the Games" (Dermot, DSNI). To further develop this a passage from the interview with Brian is provided below where he described a conversation with Sian:

...Sian is our president but you know Sian calls it fairy dust and partly because she is saying it you know don't expect too much of it and it's not sustainable, Paralympic fairy dust won't suddenly change everything forever (Brian, EFDS).

Of particular note here is the analogy of Paralympic legacy to Paralympic fairy dust<sup>49</sup>, the doubt of its sustainability and, like Dermot, a question of its scale and scope. Further complicating the disability sport field's relation to London 2012 and legacy was Brian's contention that it had created a context which makes it possible for more people to engage in and practice sport but that it didn't and could not create the conditions that would guarantee this. Similarly Sharon supported this position declaring that CP Sport could not have asked for a better platform on which to continue their sports development strategy. It is in this sense that Dermot aptly concluded "...the real test of legacy is whether we can capitalise on it". Brian's description of how his relation to London 2012 had transformed over the course of the years preceding and year following it further bolsters these arguments:

...what it might make possible going forward, I used to lose sleep about the fact that we weren't ready for the Games, that we weren't going to be ready for this big influx of interest but the reality is what you needed the Games to do was to create the

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<sup>49</sup> The following quote from Bourdieu (1999) resonates with these analogies of 'Paralympic fairy dust': "The command that makes itself obeyed, if it is an exception to the laws of physics in that it obtains an effect out of proportion to the energy expended, and thus liable to appear as a form of magic, is in perfect conformity with the law of conservation of social energy, that is, of capital: it turns out that, to be in a position to act at a distance and without expense of energy, by virtue of an act of social magic...one must be endowed with authority, that is, authorized, in one's personal capacity or by proxy...to set off, as by a trigger mechanism, the social energy that has been accumulated in a group or an institution by the work, often protracted and difficult, that is the condition of the acquisition and conservation of symbolic capital" (p. 338).

commitment to building the infrastructure and the changes in behaviour that would work thereafter, it's a long game (Brian, EFDS).

The heightened symbolic recognition that the disability sport field received from London 2012 was something that most interviewees recognised. In their own words they spoke of the raised profile, attention and interest. There were some intricacies to the heightened symbolic recognition. One such intricacy related to the heightened political recognition and engagement with the disability sport field. Dermot of DSNI remarked that political support for his organisation had improved significantly through London 2012. The following passage from Donna supports Dermot's claim:

...Politically it has raised the profile of disability sport and it made people kind of understand it better. Where it used to be you used to get MPs contacting you and the MLAs talking about the Special Olympics and it was all confused in their head what disability sport actually was and didn't understand the differences and they maybe had some of that patronising thing that is out there in broader society (Donna, Special Olympics).

Another facet to the increase in the symbolic recognition of the Paralympics was the correspondent increase in demand for disability and adapted sport. This demand, Sharon outlined, created the need to educate people about disability sport and most significantly distinguishing between those sports which have a Paralympic pathway and those that do not.

There were other 'legacy' strategies that attempted to translate the symbolic capital of the Paralympic Games and legacy. One such example was that just outlined by Sharon in CP Sport's explicit aim to increase participation. Elizabeth, on the other hand, highlighted the UKSA's aim to change social relations to disability but at the same time to change the dispositional relations of the disability community to sport. An intricacy declared by Dermot was that sports development did not occur instantaneously through an event as was assumed by many. Brian supported this stating that they had not seen any evidence that showed the cause-effect link between hosting a major sports event and increased sports participation. From Dermot's position sports development, especially in relation to disability, is a much more protracted process, especially given the heightened barriers that hinder the group's participation.

So you see all the, I mean, there's been quite a few surveys by BBC and Channel 4 and different people have done after the Games, saying well people were inspired by the Games and they thought it was good for the UK, the Paralympics particularly and it changed attitudes but it hasn't resulted in an increase in participation and we're kind of

sitting here thinking well we could of told you that because sports development doesn't work like that (Dermot, DSNI).

Michael highlighted some of his contentions of the London 2012 Paralympic Games and the legacy aims. Of principal note was the aligning of participation-grassroots sport and high level elite sport too closely. For Michael the cultures of these practices are divergent, which relates to his other argument that the administrative positions of the sports field are occupied by those who do not understand why people do not get sport. On a side note one of the national disability sport councils highlighted the current weaknesses in the way participation is measured and also the changing, that is the lowering, of the parameters to meet targets.

The increased engagement already highlighted from the media field was a major source of the disability sport field's recognition. To expand upon this Alex referred to research that showed a large percentage of the viewers of Channel 4's broadcasting of the London 2012 Paralympic Games had positively changed relations to disability. Alex argued that this could be related to a whole host of broader social indicators, such as social well-being, social integration, acceptance of disability, challenging employability and education values. Another intricacy of the symbolic recognition of the Paralympic Games was the recognition of the athlete, not disability, first (Sharon, CP Sport)<sup>50</sup>. This intricacy was already outlined as a source of tension between the corporate sponsors and Channel 4 but for Sharon the inversion was something that she said CP Sport would integrate into their funding strategy going forward:

I had so many people coming up to me saying I forgot they had got a disability because they are just elite athletes, and if nothing else that I think is something we've taken away and will probably use a little bit more in our marketing and our bids to funders to say it's about putting the child, the athlete, the participant first rather than the disability (Sharon, CP Sport).

The post-London 2012 evaluations and considerations related specifically to the event. From this the institutional evaluations of London 2012 will be considered.

### **Post-2012 Institutional Evaluations**

There were a number of important points relating broadly to the institutions of the disability sport field. As a general statement there was an institutional shift in the relation to disability by the disability sport field. This shift took on numerous forms. A principal illustration was the UKSA's shift in strategic focus to changing the dispositional relations of the disability

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<sup>50</sup> Bailey's (2008) book entitled 'Athlete first' is of obvious note here but this structural tension between sport and disability is endemic in the field and in the academic literature. For example, Berger (2008) examined the Paralympic athlete's position and relations of it to the position of the broader disability community.

community to sport. Corresponding to this was the shift in the EFDS's institutional prioritisation, in which their strategic practices now prioritised the demand side of the disability sports market over the previously prioritised supply side. Brian describes the EFDS's institutional shift here:

...I would see us characterised as much more now, in going forwards, as an organisation that wants to understand disabled people and their aspirations in sport and physical activity really well and then get sport to understand that as well and to do much better quality marketing, so it's a bit like the old field of dreams, you know build an inclusive offer and they will come, well the reality has been that people haven't so that's where we want to go going forward (Brian, EFDS).

The interview with Sport England produced similar connotations. They recognised that their strategy involved changing the relations of the providers of sport, the supply, and the participants of sport, the demand. In this way their position could be described as one of being a market-maker, or market-mediator. Like Brian of the EFDS, Sport England had a growing recognition of the importance of the demand side and to help providers better understand their target market (Seth, Sport England). DSNI provided a different perspective in that Dermot sensed that they had not yet reached the point of meeting the demand for disability sport in Northern Ireland. On this Dermot highlighted particular sports events that DSNI had organised and the increased attendances at them since London 2012. Dermot also conceded that DSNI was not at the point of offering opportunities throughout Northern Ireland.

Continuing this assessment of the institutions of the disability sport field Dermot described his sense of how DSNI's position had improved since the London 2012 Games. Exemplifying this was Dermot's description of DSNI's increased engagement and improved relation with the regional government department, the Department for Culture, Arts and Leisure (DCAL) to develop broader initiatives which he said would never have happened before. Dermot also pointed to the significant increase in funding that DSNI received from Sport Northern Ireland (Sport NI) which corresponded to their more ambitious strategic plan. In making sense of this Dermot proposed that London 2012 provided the opportunity, whilst it was their engagement with the opportunity that had improved their position. Notably Dermot felt that not everyone within the disability sport field had fully engaged or seized the opportunity. In this discussion of the disability sports market, Dermot recognised that sports were not only competing with other sports to increase their participation rates but also with other broader cultural practices.

DSNI's engagement with more fields and greater sense of the disability sport field's position was evidenced in other institutions. Of note was Sharon's sense that there was and

would continue to be a heightened demand and need for the knowledge and expertise of the NDSOs, such as CP Sport, in the professionalization and rationalisation of the disability sport field. The UKSA also related to this greater sense of position in the Paralympic field but in their case it was a result of being reinstated into the Paralympic programme. Developing relationships were a key facet of the UKSA's strategy but was evidenced throughout the disability sports field. Elizabeth said that this was likely to continue to be a key part of the UKSA's strategy going forward given the continued exclusion of intellectual impairment from events such as the Sainsbury's Anniversary Games.

Alex's institutional evaluation of London 2012 corresponded to his pre-spectacle calculations. For him DSW had worked extremely hard in the 10 years prior to London 2012 and, in his own words, it was by 'dip of accident of timing' that London 2012 came along to increase the recognition of this work and their strategy. In evaluating their engagement with London 2012 it is worth restating Alex's statement of "making London 2012 work for us". In a similar vein, Veronica, of Sport England, outlined the alignment of the different elements of their strategy, such as increased funding attached to clear objectives, connecting sport delivery partners and engaging corporate sponsors. Veronica argued that the hosting of the Paralympics helped to align these different elements.

There were two major post-London 2012 symbols of the disability field's sense of progress that related to Sport England. One of these was the development of Sport England's force of inclusion on the strategies of the NGBs. Most notable was the stark contrast, described by Seth of Sport England, between the number of NGBs that had strategic objectives related to disability before (11) and after (42 of 46) the Paralympic Games. Increasing the starkness of the number of NGBs engaging with disability before the 2012 Paralympics is recognition that 4 of the 11 NGBs were disability sport organisations (Seth, Sport England). The other symbol was Sport England's ring-fencing of £17million to fund an internally based team that would engage with disability sport. Seth described this as a massive change in the positioning of disability sport which required a lot of financial investment and the setting of challenging participation targets.

There was considerable attention given to the counterfactual<sup>51</sup> possibilities by the disability field in relation to London 2012 and the speculation of whether or not the institutional changes would have happened with or without the presence of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. Alex's adamancy of maintaining DSW's strategy is a pertinent institutional attempt to maintain the autonomy of their current practices from the spectacle, and thus self-determine their engagement. In this way DSW's engagement with the Games was

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<sup>51</sup> Henry (2013: 5) states: "This is essentially asking the policy counterfactual question: what would have happened if this policy had not been put in place?"

on their terms. Others such as Sport England also maintained that they would have continued on the same trajectory because of the contemporary recognition of the issue of disability sports participation. In this way they highlighted the efficacy of the Paralympic Games to create a focus on disability sport and to give their partners a greater understanding of what they were trying to do (Seth, Sport England). For example, Sainsbury's engagement and investment with the disability sport field was positioned as being exemplary of the relations that the Paralympics engendered. In summary Seth said: "...it's about pace and it's about scale and that's what the Paralympics has provided for us... it's almost been the perfect storm in terms of being able to bring the right players around the table and scale because of the level of investment that we were able to put in".

### **Sport England Finances**

In the interview with Sport England their financial position arose as a point of discussion. Veronica explained that half of Sport England's funding came from the Exchequer and the other half from the National Lottery. After the 2010 elections Veronica said it was clear that there would be significant cuts to the funding of all sectors and this posed a serious risk for Sport England. However, Sport England's financial position actually improved because the government changed the distribution of the National Lottery funds. Brian, of EFDS, raised this as a point of issue where he recollected that in the 1990s the government declared that National Lottery funding would never replace government funding. There is of course a contention over the legitimacy of the interrelation here between the government's own expenditure cuts and the distribution of the National Lottery fund. However, for the sport field their financial position was argued to have benefitted from the hosting of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (Seth, SE) because of the challenges of legitimacy that a reduction of expenditure to the field would have had. Highlighting other financial commitments to the disability sport field Seth pointed to their £10million investment, from their People, Places, Play funding in 44 new projects that aimed to provide sport to 60,000 people. Seth explained that the organisations ranged from the disability, disability charity, local and national sport fields. This range of fields that receive finance shows the economic interconnectedness of the space, which justifies consideration here of the disability sports field's relations and positioning of the welfare reforms that were occurring before and after London 2012.

### **Relations to Welfare Reform**

Alex of DSW was one of the only disability sport council representatives to provide a full description of his position on the relation of the Paralympic Games and the issue of welfare reform. A principal point of contention for Alex was the assessments by different organisations declaring that the Paralympics had failed because there remained issues of disability hate crime,

unemployment, social housing and welfare. To counter these challenges of legitimacy Alex highlighted their historical persistency and then argued that some perspective on the efficacy of the Paralympics to bring about these changes was needed. Alex's argument is worth citing in full:

My argument would be sport has done more for disabled people over the past decade and I've been an observer in terms of driving positive perceptions and changing you know our vision, our vision strapline is 'transforming the lives of disabled people through the power of sport', and actually I can point to many many many case studies where we can demonstrate that but actually if people are then pointing to sport, and saying ah it failed last year, well what have you lot being doing over the last number of decades. Don't throw stones in our direction when we're bloody trying (Alex, DSW)

Completing his rebuttal of the criticism from the broader disability field Alex highlighted the mainstreaming of disability in education and physical education and the socialisation effect of the Paralympic Games to create a context in which disability sport is recognised and appreciated highly. To this end, Alex argued that it's not possible to understand the effect of the Paralympic Games until the current generation of school children grow up.

Brian, of EFDS, referred to research from Scope which concluded that "the hype about changing attitudes in society was overshadowed by the reality of people seeing disabled people as benefit scroungers". He recognised the tension between the two fields, the disability sport and disability field. Related to this, and to the previous comments about the inflation of legacy, Brian stated that the EFDS had lower expectations of London hosting the Paralympic Games, declaring that "a one-off event no matter how fantastic and spectacular it was could suddenly overnight change society's perceptions". These lower expectations of Brian's came from a scepticism and a view of the causal links of legacy as being 'overblown'.

The symbolic position that the BPA occupied during London 2012 magnifies the significance of their relation to such issues as welfare reform. It is perhaps relevant to note that one of Denis' principal evaluations of London 2012 was the social debate that the Paralympics produced. On his sense of the BPA's position within these debates Denis presented a struggle to balance their engagement against the struggle to maintain their autonomy and focus on Paralympic sport. Noteworthy for Denis was how the disability charities and DPOs used the Paralympics strategically to raise broader issues of disability in society. A struggle of the disability field's engagement, for the BPA, was their challenging of the positive effects of the Paralympics on disability and the labelling of the Paralympics a failure. As a preliminary rejoinder Denis argued that the disability field would not have had the recognition nor the platform to get their issues recognised without the Paralympic Games being hosted in London.

Furthermore Denis described this logic as expecting the 'silver bullet' effect of London 2012, stating:

You cannot expect the sort of silver bullet effect out of London because if you just thought that the London Paralympic Games was going to be was going to change overnight every you know the many issues challenges and problems that disabled people face then that's ... nobody believed that but don't then assume or think or maintain that the Paralympic Games has in anyway failed to make change happen (Denis, BPA).

Another debate that the BPA was engaged with by the disability field related to the Superhumans advert campaign. Denis outlined how there was some negative reactions to the campaign for the reason that it was a symbolic reification of the societal polarization of disability between Paralympians and 'benefit scroungers'. From Denis' position, however, the Superhumans advert encapsulated what the Paralympics are and legitimately represented the athlete's impairment whilst at the same time highlighting their sporting capital. In recognising this tension, Denis also recognised the blurriness of the division: "what I'm trying to bring to light is the various blurred lines around those areas where sport merges into wider society and it's been an interesting and constant challenge to do that successfully since London".

In relation to the challenge of the legitimacy of the impact that the London 2012 Paralympic Games had Denis, like Alex, emphasised the impossibility of quantifying the qualitative experience that was experienced. Further to this Denis argued that the Paralympic Games presented a generational shift where the formative experiences of disability of children and young people were not one of prejudice but of celebration.

### **Disability Sport Field Politics**

The political relations of the disability sport field were relayed in the fields' evaluation of the London 2012 Paralympic Games whilst at the same time structuring its strategies going forward. Between the different regional disability sport councils London 2012 was positioned as an opportunity to improve the engagement of this field and collaborate at a national level. Such projects as Sainsbury's investment in the national teacher training initiative was exemplary of the field collaborating nationally. The BPA was included in this field as they all regularly met up to discuss issues of coaching and performance (Peter, SDS). The politics of autonomy of this field, that is between the regional disability sport councils and the BPA, were limited to the boundaries between elite and participatory sport. Some of the regional disability sport councils felt that the BPA was at times moving into their sports participation space. However, the politics of autonomy were much more heightened in the interrelation between the regional disability sport councils and the NDSOs. This was an issue for each disability sport council in terms of

their monopolisation of disability sport in their respective regions. Dermot described the political tensions within Northern Ireland when Disability Sport Northern Ireland was created to homogenise the disability sport field together. The region that is of most pertinence to this research, given the representativeness of the interviews and London 2012 as its focus, is England and the political tensions between Sport England, the EFDS and the NDSOs.

The principal struggle of the English disability sport field appeared to centre around autonomy. To exemplify this Donna explained that prior to 2010 there was a decision proposed for the EFDS to take over from the NDSOs, which she said had the obvious effect of alienating the NDSOs. The proposed logic of this decision was to reduce the overlap of the field, although this arguably produced the tensions over autonomy with the NDSOs not wanting to cede any space or their existence. With the decision not being realised in practice, the EFDS underwent a restructuring with the assistance of Sport England. The products of these political struggles can be evidenced in the contemporary structures and relations of the field. For example, Brian described how there were still some NDSOs who 'grudgingly' aligned themselves with the EFDS only because there was some funding available. For Brian, part of the continued political tensions of the field related to some NDSOs not wanting to or not knowing "why they had to sit in a room with the other NDSOs".

In the aftermath, Veronica, of Sport England, said that their position required them to engage with the EFDS and its governance structure to define the position that it could occupy in, and add value to, the disability sport field. For some of the NDSOs, such as the Special Olympics, EFDS's restructuring did offer an opportunity to increase their engagement. Donna described how they had not fully engaged with the EFDS in the past but took the opportunity to increase their engagement, and not 'miss the boat'. As well as this, the NDSOs began receiving some funded directly from Sport England. Seth explained two reasons for this. Firstly, to help the NDSOs become better organisations, such as in their governance, and secondly, so that they could become experts in their impairment sector and develop partnerships to share this expertise.

The product of the EFDS's restructuring and Sport England's development of their own disability team is described here by Seth: "So Sport England are going to be a centre and hub of expertise around disability and we will work really closely with EFDS as a partner...So we'll try and drive and set the scene at a strategic level for sport for disabled people and they'll come in and provide a real service with us". Sport England's disability team was created in early 2012. The instigating force behind its creation was the disparity in disability participation rates to non-disabled (Seth, Sport England). Within Sport England the creation of the disability sport team is to ensure that disability is considered in all of the institution's engagements and investments. This engagement from Sport England was recognised by the disability sport field.

For example, Sharon, of CP Sport, said that in a meeting with Sport England and other NGBs in 2014 that it was first time that she had heard Jennie Price, Sport England's chief executive, give such a high profile to disability sport and position it as a priority. As a short overview Veronica said that the current relations of the field were much better with all parties having a clearer position and with financial exchanges between Sport England, the EFDS and the NDSOs being better defined and attached to contractual obligations.

### **Post-Strategies**

An overall statement on the disability sport field's strategic positioning came from Dermot who pointed to the broadening of the fields' sphere of engagement. In relation to this Dermot outlined how the disability sport field had moved away from positioning itself as 'sport for sport's sake', instead now attaching and including social, educational and health benefits within their strategic aims. The core benefit of this was to permit the disability sport field to engage more fields for possible funding. A related example to this was outlined by Donna who explained how they hoped, by bringing recognition to the structurally lower life expectancy of their members, to receive more funding to target this problem. Pertinently, Elizabeth of UKSA argued that in the future the disability sports field would need greater integration with the sport, health and disability fields.

Brian, of EFDS, outlined two underpinning elements of their strategy going forward, which relate to much of what has already been presented. First is that physical activity is good for people particularly with an impairment, and second to identify the needs of the disability sports market. On the second point, Brian, like Michael argued earlier, declared that there was an "arrogance that had prevailed in sport for a long time where sporting obsessive people just decide what they think they want to lay out there and people will either take it or leave it". This shift to understanding the demand side was reflected in the EFDS's research, such as that on lifestyle.

The analysis of Michael from Interactive UK supports this shift in stating: "...actually we believe emphatically that there are enough opportunities out there. We don't need to create anymore. What we need to do is to use what we've got, better. And, also, getting more disabled people to use what we've already got". From this Michael argued that achieving this would have a 'snowball' effect in making and forcing facilities, infrastructure and society to be more inclusive. It was at this juncture that Michael saw a more limited position for the Paralympic field and in particular the IPC. In addition, a threat and limitation to developing the demand of the disability sport market, posited by Brian, was the worsening position of disability in society, as garnered from Scope's research, and in economic terms given the government's cuts.

Not all regional disability sport councils supported the structural shift, from supply to demand, emphasized by Brian and Michael. Dermot of DSNI highlighted how a number of their

initiatives had increased in numbers since London 2012, adding that he sensed Northern Ireland had not yet reached the point yet of meeting demand. This perhaps illuminates a major struggle of the disability sport field's position as institutional intermediaries constantly trying to gauge the requirements of the disability sports market. The augmentation of the financial position of the disability sport field, notably from Sport England, is of significance but Sharon reiterates here the importance of social capital in the sports development process:

One of the things that we've taken out of the momentum of the Games has been for us to come in, you can't parachute events in, as much as people would like to try, so if you maintain the momentum you build networks with clubs, regular club activity for a child with a disability, CP, and then providing a competition opportunity or a coming together opportunity. Because quite a lot of it is social as well. *It's about building social contact.*

Corporate engagement was another element emphasised by the disability sport institutions in their ongoing strategic positioning. Some, such as Elizabeth, saw themselves as uniquely positioned to provide corporate sponsors a means through which to engage with the Paralympic field. Others had a more locally based corporate engagement strategy. Alex emphasised that DSW had improved its corporate relations with local industry arguing that it was not necessarily directly relatable to the Paralympic Games but rather a result of the maintenance of their own strategy. This intersection between what London 2012 brought in additionality is but one element to be considered in the next chapter which presents the discussion.

This chapter presented the interviews that were conducted with the five fields. The interrelations drawn achieved the intended aim of presenting the intra- and inter-dynamics, calculations, struggles and relations of and between the fields. The next chapter will present a broader and more analytical discussion of the fields, of the symbolic struggles inculcated by London 2012 and of legacy.

## **Chapter 6: Discussion**

This chapter is positioned as a space to discuss, elaborate and synthesise the major points of interest in this thesis. By way of structure the chapter first examines the core issues of each field before moving on to three interrelated symbolic issues engendered by the London 2012 Games. These symbolic issues include the resonance of the Paralympic narrative for some corporate sponsors, the commercial legitimacy and illegitimacy, and the disability politics of the London 2012 Olympic, but in particular, Paralympic Games. Following the discussion of these symbolic issues is a summative and theoretical analysis of legacy through Bourdieu's principles of sociology (Wacquant, 2008).

### **Fields of London 2012**

#### **The Corporate Field**

The corporate field of London 2012 occupied a unique position compared to the other fields, with the possible exception of the media field, in being located within the 'commercial market space'. This position had an important determination and force on the field's practices. Coupling this market position was the immediate and significant force of LOCOG's expectation that each corporation would engage with the Olympics and Paralympics *equally*. It is from the interrelation of these institutions, struggles and forces that the corporate field's position is initially examined here.

A central struggle of the corporate field's position was for recognition, or in the language of the field, for brand recognition. This struggle, given the symbolic capital of the corporations that sponsor the Games, was superseded by the struggle to improve the relations of the recognition to their brand. The interviewee of BP notably stated that they already had an incredibly high level of brand recognition. This contrasts to the Paralympic field's position where the struggle for recognition arguably superseded the struggle for improved relations to the Paralympic brand, although it is recognised that there is an element of indivisibility to these struggles. The BT interviewee recognised this in acknowledging that they were engaging with an underdeveloped brand which they contrasted to their engagement with the Olympics brand. It is in this sense that the corporate field's struggle to improve brand relations would require a concomitant augmentation of the symbolic recognition of the Paralympics.

Other struggles of the corporate field included the leveraging and legitimisation of their engagement and investment of capital in the Olympic and Paralympic Games. The latter struggle, to legitimise their engagement, was particularly evident in the interviews in terms of the risks that underpinned the corporate field's position. These risks, as outlined in the previous chapter,

included the possibility of the Games being a 'failure', not being in control of the delivery of the event, being seen as simply ticking the Paralympic-disability box and being targeted by disability groups. The identification of these factors is a small step toward objectifying the space of possible challenges and risks to the corporate field's position and the legitimacy of their engagement with the Paralympics.

### **Corporate Positioning of and Relations to the Paralympic Games**

From the interview with the representative of BT it transpired that although there was extensive corporate engagement with the Paralympics it was not uniform in terms of extensiveness nor in terms of immediacy. The lack of a sense of immediacy from some corporate sponsors was most evident in the BT representative's 'call to arms' and frustration that most sponsors did not engage more fully until two years before the Games. There were some assertions of this variability of corporate engagement being related to the lack of experience of some corporations. A more indicative factor was the orientation of a corporation's business, that is whether their clients were other businesses or consumers. It is argued that consumer oriented businesses were more likely to be engaged with the Paralympics. This seeming lack of demand for the Paralympics from business-to-business oriented corporations contrasts the unmet demand of some consumer oriented corporations. The quantification of this unmet demand comes secondary here to its recognition and qualification. This unmet demand was most explicitly evident in those corporations which were 'late to the table', most notably P&G. Their representative described how most of the Paralympic engagement opportunities had already been bought by the time they were signing their sponsorship agreement with LOCOG. From this, the favourability of the Paralympics' position for the corporate sponsor field is examined to better understand the source or production of this latent demand.

One of the most significant positive aspects of the Paralympics' position, highlighted by the corporate field, was the doubling of the time in which they could activate and leverage their engagement and investment with the Games on the whole. In their commercial relation to the Games the corporate field emphasised the high cost of the rights for the Games, with one saying that all they got was '5 rings and a teddy bear'. It is in this way that the Paralympics benefitted from being organised after the Olympics because of the corporate field's strategic practices to maximise and leverage their investment in the Games. Another benefit of the Paralympic Games, highlighted by BT and Sainsbury's, was their ability to occupy an uncluttered space. The Sainsbury's representative's description of having nearly a total share of the space is illustrative of this. Other corporate sponsors who were unable to engage to the extent that they wanted acknowledged the favourability of the position occupied by Sainsbury's and BT. This sense of the strategic favourability of the Paralympic space was contrasted by the corporate field to the

difficulty of 'cutting through' in the Olympic space. For Sainsbury's their high positioning in the post-Games corporate brand recognition rankings was positioned as evidence of the success of their Paralympic strategy.

A somewhat peculiar favourability of the Paralympics Games related to the lower cost of their tickets. There were two noteworthy outcomes of this. The first is that the lower cost of Paralympic tickets allowed corporate sponsors to give them to clients as part of their hospitality exchange. This was not possible with Olympic tickets as they cost more than was permitted by the UK's anti-bribery laws. The other side of the lower cost of Paralympic tickets was the creation of a struggle of legitimacy. In this struggle the lower cost of Paralympic tickets translated into a challenge of its legitimacy. However, it must be recognised that this 'logical' inference of lower Paralympic ticket prices equating to lower demand which in turn equates to a lower sense of legitimacy rests upon an unquestioning belief of the mythical theory of homo economicus (Bourdieu, 2003), that is, the rational economic man theory. Related to the lower cost of Paralympic tickets was the corporate field's sense of being able to make a bigger difference to the field and that even a small capital investment goes a long way. This discussion of the Paralympic's favourable position continues.

It has already been noted that the corporate field's strategic aim was not to increase the symbolic recognition of their brand, for the reason that they were already well recognised, but rather to improve their brand relations and associations. In this way some of the corporate interviewees described a sense of the Paralympics having produced a better and more favourable brand relation. This sense came through in their descriptions of the efficacy of the 'Paralympic narrative', which will be discussed in more detail later. Another important factor that heightened the efficacy of the Paralympic Games for the corporate field was LOCOG's decision to give the Paralympic broadcasting rights to Channel 4. Channel 4's advertisement based business model would allow BT and Sainsbury's to advertise during the broadcasting of the Paralympic Games, a stark contrast to the BBC's broadcasting. However, this favourability came at an unanticipated cost for both Sainsbury's and BT, which contrasts to the previous paragraph highlighting the benefits of the Paralympics' lower cost.

Despite these unanticipated costs there were other favourable attributes to the Paralympic Games' symbolic capital. For example, one corporate sponsor described how in a time of a 'recession' the Olympics would be seen as an expensive and extravagant investment whereas the Paralympics Games would not only offset these associations but actually legitimise their engagement. Relations to this strategic practice and positioning of the Paralympics will depend upon one's position in the field or within the academic field. From a commercial position it might be positioned as 'good business' while a sociological position might be more critical and view it as manipulative. Such relations are of a more political, or hermeneutical

nature. In keeping with the theoretical approach of this thesis, it is argued that the politics of the hermeneutics of the corporate field's practices must be related to the strategies and position of the respective fields. For example, and as outlined in the methodology, *to be critical* is almost fundamental to the sociologist's position (Bourdieu, et al. 1991; Sugden & Tomlinson, 2002); in much the same way that *to be profitable* is fundamental to a corporation's position.

The favourable corporate positioning of, and relations to, the Paralympics allow for reasonable speculation that there will be more and improved engagement strategies and practices by the corporate field in future Games. P&G's representative, for example, claimed that the anticipated increase of Paralympic media coverage in the USA would force their team in that region to continue and expand their engagement. Further evidence can be found in the continuation of more sponsorship relations by the BPA than the BOA post-London 2012 (BPA Interview). Within the space of possibilities, it is possible to see more Paralympic-only sponsors and more diversification of the Paralympic sponsorship space. All of this contrasts to the title of Sutton's (1998) dated news article, "Sponsors shy away from Paralympic Games", which brings forth the discussion of the media field.

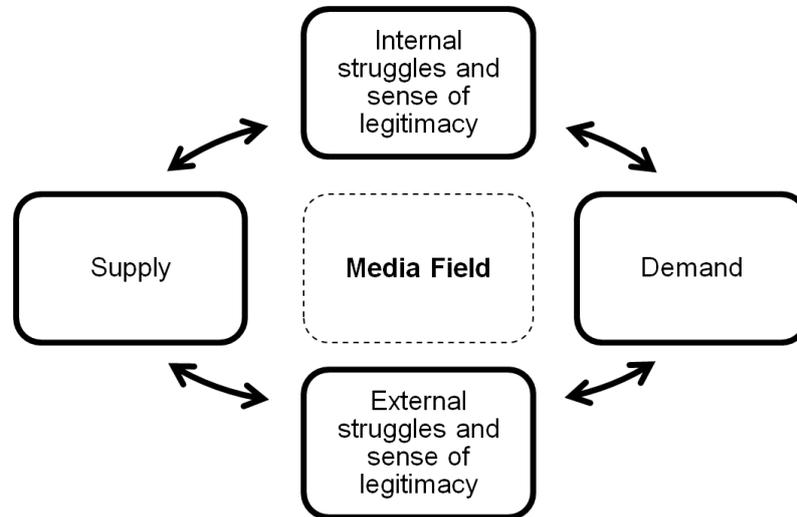
### **The Media Field**

Paralympic-media related research has more often focused on the interpretation of media output (see Schell and Duncan, 1999; Schantz and Gilbert, 2001; Thomas and Smith, 2003) through content analyses. The limitation of such media content analyses, recognised also by Chang et al. (2011), is that it omits a consideration of the media's position and the struggles and relations engendered by this position. Howe (2008b) offered a rare alternative in attempting to document anthropologically the culture in which print media was produced about the Paralympics. This section attempts to address some of these shortcomings. For structure there are three discrete elements. The first attempts to objectify the space and relations of the media field, the second presents an overview of the struggle *for* and *of* media recognition, while the third and final element analyses the homologies of Channel 4's and the Paralympics' position and 'disposition'.

### **Supply and Demand, Internal and External Dialectics**

The media field, and specifically Channel 4 as the London 2012 Paralympic broadcaster, can be positioned as an intermediary of the dialectical struggle between the supply and demand of the cultural market within which the Paralympic Games are located. Of most importance from this statement is recognition of these interrelated forces that meet in Channel 4 and the media field. To further complicate this conceptualisation each side of the dialectic must be understood as having intra-dynamics. As in other areas of this thesis, this objectification creates an understanding of the inter- and intra-dynamics of institutions, fields and markets. Combining

this conceptualisation with the sociological principles, particularly agonism and legitimacy, outlined in the methodology produces a robust framework through which to analyse Channel 4's position. A diagrammatic representation of this conceptualisation, Figure 3, is provided here in an attempt to simplify comprehension.



**Figure 3. Internal and external senses of the legitimacy of the supply and demand of the Paralympic Games.**

Rather than outlining *Figure 1* in a purely theoretical and hypothetical manner the aim is to briefly elaborate it through the interviews with Channel 4 and the other fields. To take the supply side, that is Channel 4's position, first. From Channel 4's 'supply-side' position their relations and practices engendered the struggle to broadcast the Paralympics legitimately. Their internal sense of this struggle came across most figuratively in the narration of Channel 4's initial trip to the Manchester Paralympic World Cup and again, but post-spectacle, in their sense of having achieved the balance between disability and sport in their broadcasting and advertising. Channel 4's relationship with the BPA provided an inter-institutional example of the struggle to broadcast the Paralympics legitimately. For example, Channel 4's unanticipated need to develop trust and confidence with the BPA and their emphasis of putting sport ahead of disability in the symbolic representation of the Paralympics is arguably symbolic of this tension. The balancing of this struggle was pivotal to the internal and external legitimacy of Channel 4's broadcasting of the Paralympics. Further legitimising Channel 4's engagement with the Paralympics was their successful bids for future Paralympic events, which for some disability sport institutions was central to their notion of legacy or 'momentum'.

Although this research did not examine the position of consumers, the evaluations of the other fields gave some insight into the external sense of the legitimacy of Channel 4's broadcasting. These relations largely erred on the side of legitimising Channel 4's broadcasting but some were critical of certain elements. The debate over the inclusion of symbols of disability in the 'Meet the Superhumans' campaign or the complaints over Channel 4's advertising

practices were simple examples of criticism. In as much as legitimacy was a struggle for Channel 4 itself, it was also evident that legitimacy was a struggle of the struggle to produce a legitimate quantity and quality of demand for the Paralympics. This struggle of legitimacy can be related to the historical individualisation of disability and the trivialisation of Paralympic performances by the media (Thomas and Smith, 2003). An example of Channel 4 attempting to overcome these simultaneous historical and contemporary struggles was the placement of adverts as mini-films to engage the audience without their immediate recognition of being engaged by the Paralympics. Channel 4's representative, Ian, explicitly stated this in his evaluation of the demand, or rather lack of, before the London 2012 Paralympics in rationalising their marketing practices. All of these examples illuminate the inter- and intra-relational basis of the dialectics and struggles of legitimacy of the media field's and Channel 4's position as conceptualised in *Figure 1*.

### **Struggles of and for Recognition**

The discussion of the legitimacy of the Paralympics as a sporting spectacle, or Paralympic athletes as legitimate athletes, is inextricable from Channel 4's struggle to increase the recognition of the Paralympics and the legitimacy of this recognition. The paternalistic or patronising sentiments towards disability (Shakespeare, 2006), disability sport (Brittain, 2004) and the Paralympics (Howe, 2008; Peers, 2009) may be positioned as some of the *illegitimate* forms of recognition that Channel 4 and the BPA sought to challenge. From the BPA's 'external' position to Channel 4, their struggles included the struggles *for* and *of* media recognition. The lack of media engagement with the Paralympics before the 1980s (Howe, 2008b) is illustrative of the field's struggle *for* media recognition. Whilst the field's struggle *of* the media field's recognition is illuminated by the BPA's debates with Channel 4 over the balance between disability-and-sport, or by the struggle over the necessity of the BPA's media guide publication. In their relation with Channel 4, the BPA's acting as a force to limit the presentation of 'disability' can be related to the argument that disability is disappearing in sports contexts (DePauw, 1997). There are many more applications of this language game differentiating the Paralympic field's struggle *for* and *of* the media field's recognition but cannot be presented here.

Related to the previous points, the evaluations of Channel 4's position and role as broadcaster of the London 2012 Paralympics engendered a struggle of recognition for Channel 4 itself. As such Channel 4 legitimised their engagement with the Paralympic field by objectifying the quantity and quality of their broadcasting. This was recognised within and without of the field. Another important objectification legitimising Channel 4's broadcasting of the Paralympics was the knowledge of Paralympic sport that they had developed. The production of the Lexi classification system was especially noted for this by the disability sport

field. In the academic literature the historical complexity of the Paralympic classification system (Howe and Jones, 2006) is well documented. Its importance and persistence, however, can be evidenced in the continuous revisions of it (Tweedy, 2002). Howe and Jones (2006) have also discussed its growing significance and interrelation with the professionalization and commercialisation of the Paralympic Games. As such it is argued that the development of such fundamental knowledge is a prerequisite for the Paralympic field, like any sports field, to increase its cultural capital and significance. However, as Howe and Jones (2006) previously argued, its development must consider the 'costs' for the practice community.

A short and final element which further supported the legitimacy of Channel 4's Paralympic broadcasting was their engagement with the broader political issues of disability. Most noteworthy were the assertions from the disability field recognising Channel 4's greater engagement with the broader political struggles of disability, which were often contrasted to appraisals of BBC's engagement, or rather lack of.

### **Positional and Dispositional Homologies**

An interviewee of Channel 4 ascribed the 'success' of their broadcasting and relations with the BPA to the positional and dispositional congruencies (or homologies) between their respective organisations. The positional homology related to Channel 4 occupying a dominated position to the BBC and the BPA and Paralympics occupying a dominated position to the BOA and the Olympics. Dispositionally, the same interviewee referred to the match between the 'values' of Channel 4, and its broad social remit, to what the Paralympics symbolically represented. A relevant example of this was Channel 4's and the Paralympics field's sense of the others' position in the build up to the spectacle. Channel 4's sense of the Paralympic field, particularly after the Manchester experience, was of it possessing a low quantity and quality of capital. While from the Paralympic and disability field there were numerous examples of the sense that Channel 4 was a broadcaster dominated by the BBC. It is this homologous interrelation that gives theoretical and practical substance to the Channel 4 interviewees' sense of their positional and dispositional homology aiding the hosting and broadcasting of the London 2012 Paralympic Games. A final relevant and correspondent argument to make about the media field and Channel 4's selection over the BBC to broadcast the Paralympics is that it heightened the struggle of legitimacy for the former. For example, the Channel 4 interviewee described the pressure from the IPC's Phillip Craven not to 'screw it up'. Thus, whilst the positional and dispositional homologies between Channel 4 and the Paralympic field may have heightened the efficacy of their relations, the force of the organisational structures should not be understated. Continuing this consideration of the 'homologies' of this space, the discussion moves onto the government field.

## **Government Field**

Before delving into the government field's arguably most significant issue, welfare reform, there are a number of ancillary points requiring consideration. Of principal note was the government's engagement in the struggle for, and of the, recognition of the Paralympic Games and disability. These struggles took on organisational and symbolic forms. On a practical level the anticipated struggle for recognition of the Paralympics in the organisation of London 2012 Games did not transpire as one government interviewee had anticipated. The culture of LOCOG, the creation of 'Paralympic integration' positions and their commercial organisation was central to the legitimisation of their organisation. Symbolically, the government field's disability legacy policies illuminated their engagement in the struggle *for* recognition of disability in society, and, importantly, the form of this recognition. It is in this sense that the government can be understood to have attempted to convert the symbolic capital of the Paralympic Games to augment their current policies. As a field, it is important to remember that government operates within a social space like any other, and needs recognition and symbolic capital to have their practices and legislation adopted. Related to this was the government field's recognition of their own institutional limits. However, on this, it is argued that it was only after the event had occurred that it became permissible and favourable for the government field to recognise their institutional limitations.

Through the government's practices legacy can be positioned as a legitimising strategy. This can be evidenced throughout the different phases of the bidding and organisation of the Games within and between the different fields. For example, London's unparalleled emphasis of legacy has been positioned as being central element to their successful bid for the 2012 Olympiad (Chappelet, 2012). In this sense, and space, legacy acted as a force of legitimacy for London's bid. As well as being a legitimising practice, legacy required and requires its own legitimacy. Exemplifying this were the persistent and veritable challenges of the legitimacy of the legacy claims, strategies and practices of the government and other fields. The strategic positioning of the Paralympics as a legitimising force and structure of London 2012's legacy stands in contrast to its 'inappropriateness' in the final bid presentation. However, as with the previous point, recognition of the Paralympic Games and the production of Paralympic-disability legacy policies created their own legitimacy issues. Two summative issues can be noted. First, was the challenge of the uniqueness of the Paralympic-disability legacies, in the sense of them simply being a reproduction of the government's extant policies. This relates to the second issue of 'additionality', which brings the problem of determining the added value that hosting the Games brought to these policies. It was perhaps the government official's sceptical reaction to the disability legacy policy documents that best exemplified this issue of additionality.

In the government policy document analysis it was argued that the top theme was to change society's relations to disability, with the April 2011 publication emphasising the need to change society's economic relation to disability. This economic relation, it is argued, goes hand-in-hand with society's social and cultural relations to disability. It is in this sense that the theme and struggle 'to change society's relation to disability' is a symbolic struggle enveloping society's social, cultural and economic relations to disability. This theoretical approach to understanding the proposed themes of the government has equal application to understanding their strategies.

A development of London 2012's expansion of the space of legacy was the creation of a legacy hierarchy. This development relates to the array of different legacies that London 2012 and the government field engaged in through the Games. From this space of possible legacies a hierarchy of legacy can be conceptualised. This notion of a legacy hierarchy is arguably embedded in the question what is/was the legacy of London 2012? Consideration of the Paralympics' and disability's position on this hierarchy has, until now, been an implicit part of this research. The positioning of the Paralympic-disability legacy at the top of this hierarchy by some of the government field interviewees illuminates the challenge that the Paralympic field put to the Olympic field. To complicate the legacy hierarchy, and the position of the Paralympics and disability on it, it is necessary to consider the position of the different fields, their engagement with the Games and whether they position the Games as legitimate, illegitimate, or some combination of the two.

## **Welfare**

Having outlined the ancillary points of the government field analysis, the discussion now moves to a consideration of the government's position in the broader politics of disability. Directives from Oliver (1990) discussed in chapter 2 are particularly relevant here. In the interview with the representative of the ODI/DWP it became apparent that one of the government field's central struggles was the allocation of capital and the external challenges of their capital allocation practices. It is in this regard that the government official affirmed the necessity of the government's welfare reforms in the context of decreasing resources and the need to distribute these finite resources to where they were most needed. The force of broader market conditions on the government's position was related to this argument. London's hosting of the Olympic and Paralympic Games presented a contrasting argument whereby the government had to legitimise the increased allocation of capital, and use of their finite resources on the event. It was this position, between two dialectic forces, that the government found itself in; on the one hand, having to legitimise the reduction of economic capital allocated to welfare, whilst at the same time having to legitimise its hosting of, and increased allocation of economic capital to the

Olympic and Paralympic Games. By way of objectifying the government's strategies, their engagement with the disability field and the correspondent welfare reforms can be positioned as *capital conservation*, while their engagement with the Paralympics can be positioned as *capital accumulation* (Bourdieu, 1986). From the disability field's position, the hosting of the Paralympics gave the government a 'convenient' means to legitimise its welfare reforms. This struggle between the disability and government field was all the more heightened and reified by the duplicity of the position occupied by Atos as a corporate sponsor of London 2012 and as a government contractor implementing their welfare policies. These struggles translated into the symbolic struggle over the representation of disability through the Paralympic Games.

A secondary issue of the political struggles between the government and the disability field was the practices of government to maintain their autonomy and the legitimacy of their policies. Their attempts to maintain their political autonomy were perhaps most evident in the politically disengaged culture of the Paralympic Legacy Advisory Group (PLAG). It is argued that the anticipated 'critical' culture did not transpire because of the apolitical remit of the group, that is in being disengaged from the struggle with the highest stakes for the disability field, the economic struggle.

In summary the government field was dominated by their engagement with the London 2012 in the sense of having to legitimise their allocation of capital to the Olympic and Paralympic Games. Accordingly, their strategies to achieve this emphasised the force and capacity of the Paralympics to change the social and cultural position of disability in society which, hypothetically, in turn could be translated into a better economic position by promoting disability employment. The description of their position as 'dominated' relates to their practices and reduction of economic capital being allocated to welfare. In this way they had to subjectively legitimise their objectively divergent capital allocation strategies which would, on the whole, arguably, adversely impact the economic position of disability in society. It is this tension, albeit not recognised by government, that predominated their position and practices during the London 2012 Games. From this it is timely to consider the disability field's position, given its sensitivity to these tensions.

### **Disability Field**

The examination of the disability field's relations to the London 2012 Games identified a number of important internal and external struggles. A principal internal struggle was to define disability, a struggle equally evident in disability studies, as noted in the literature review through LeClair (2011), Oliver (1996) and others. Specifically, it was We Are Spartacus' consideration and positioning of illness in this struggle that further complicated the already convoluted struggle to define disability. Another struggle of the disability field was over the symbolic representation of disability which assumed a number of interrelated dimensions.

Recognition was made by the disability field of the unrepresentativeness of the Paralympic Games of disability, just as Murphy (1987) had argued about the 'supercrip', in only representing a number of impairment groups. This then relates to the broader issue of the symbolic recognition of disability in society and the efficacy of the transmission of the symbolic capital accumulated through the Paralympic Games and Paralympic athletes. The point, as posited by James, was that Paralympic athletes would undoubtedly have a 'positive' sense of change but that the transferability of this would be limited for the broader disability community unless one had a bodily disposition (mis)recognisable for that of an "athlete's". To put it another way the capital accrued by the Paralympic athletes has specific efficacy and thus only transferrable to those recognised as possessing a 'sporting' physicality. This assumption of the transferability of the symbolic capital of the Paralympics to the broader disability field can be related to the fallacy of composition<sup>52</sup>.

The struggle of the symbolic representation of disability was also a central part of the disability field's external struggles with other fields, such as the media, corporations and government. In relation to the media this was evidenced through James' lobbying of some of Channel 4's previous programming, especially the 'Freaks of Nature' series. This specific programme was a point of contention for one of the government officials as well. Peers' (2012) historical comparison of the Paralympic Games to 'freak-shows' is particularly relevant to Channel 4's choice of title for that programme. The symbolic representation of disability formed another considerable part of the disability field's relation to the government which will now be touched upon. Although, briefly, it should be remembered how descriptions of disability, such as Murphy's (1987) phenomenological account, contrast the symbolic struggles of disability.

The disability field's struggle with the government field's symbolic representation of disability arose from We Are Spartacus' argument that, from their position at least, the government positioned the Paralympic Games as representative of disability to legitimise their changes and reforms to welfare. From this the government's practices were labelled as 'disingenuous spin', with the Scope interviewee making the relation between the government's 'benefit scrounger' label and disability hate crime. This symbolic struggle between the disability and government field can be related to the struggle over capital, specifically economic capital, of which the two fields were diametrically positioned. It was the government's position and function to redistribute capital in society that produced such a struggle. Thus any change, reduction or augmentation, to the government's capacity or political position on social welfare strikes at the heart of one of the disability field's biggest struggles.

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<sup>52</sup> The fallacy of composition is "the error of assuming that what is true of a member of a group is true for the group as a whole" (Oxford, 2015).

The stakes of this struggle and the differences within the disability field produced internal struggles, such as that evidenced in We Are Spartacus' juxtaposition of those groups that took direct action to those who used research to illegitimise the government's welfare policies. Analogous to this was the struggle over who should be the target of their struggle with some targeting the government and others targeting Atos. Such struggles illuminate the dialectic struggle between consensus and dissensus of a field. It is argued here that these internal and external dynamics and relations of the disability field are of particular significance for future Paralympic hosts. Future hosts will once more produce an intermediary space between the fields of disability and government, through which, with London 2012 as a paradigm, it can be inferred will prelude their political use by disability groups and governments alike. Their struggles will arguably be estranged from those of the sports field, or at least that will likely be their adopted position in the struggle to conserve their political autonomy.

There are a number of outstanding points on the disability field that will now be summarised. First, it can be seen how the disability field was often (and is) at political and economic odds with the government field and how the Paralympic Games engendered these struggles between these same fields; the struggle over the symbolic representation of disability being one of the most notable and consistent. The relations of each field to the other's symbolic representation of disability is noteworthy. Another highlight was the disability field's positioning of the government's representation of disability as illegitimate from their sense that the government was attempting to legitimise their welfare reforms. A second significant highlight of the disability field was its positioning of the persistence of disability hate crime as illegitimising the government's and others' claims of 'legacy'. However, rather than being illegitimising it is posited here that it illustrates the objective and institutional limits of the Paralympic Games. A third and final highlight of the disability field analysis was the argument that the efficacy of the capital accrued by the Paralympics Games and Paralympians is limited to those with a homologous bodily disposition, that is being (mis)recognised as possessing an 'athletic' body.

### **Disability Sport Field**

The relations of the disability sport field to legacy can be seen as positioning it as a red herring in many ways. Two prominent examples can be highlighted here. The first related to the process of sports development with Dermot most notably asserting that the event could never have produced an increase in sports participation in and of itself. While the second was the *realisation* of the disability sport field that it would take their active engagement to activate 'the legacy' and that it would not happen if they were to remain in passivity. A number of the

disability sport interviewees noted this shift in their strategic relation and positioning of the Games. From this the strategic practices of the disability sport field can be discussed.

The strategic objectives of the disability sport field highlighted the internal struggle of the disability sport field between sports participation and elite performance. For some a predominant objective was the elite sporting performances at the Games, whilst for others it was the development of the disability sports participation market. The polarisation of this tension produced a space of possibilities where elite sport is positioned above participation and vice versa by the institutions of the disability sport field. Examples of this polarisation include those that highlighted the unrepresentativeness of the Paralympic Games versus those that positioned the Games as an opportunity to increase the recognition and symbolic position of the disability sport field. Of course this polarisation is oversimplistic, never being fully realised in practice, but it provides one means through which the political struggles and strategic practices of the disability sport field can be understood. A pertinent example of the intricate complexities was, as posited by DSW, the heightening of the challenge for mainstream sports governing bodies to recognise and engage with disability sport.

The strategic objectives of the disability sport field also highlighted the structural struggle between disability and sport. In this sense, and on the one hand, there were the sport related objectives as just outlined above, while on the other hand there was the disability related objectives to change social relations to and of disability. This dichotomisation of sport and disability related objectives were, however, being challenged by some disability sport institutions with there being some evidence of their confluence. Two examples illuminate this. The first confluence of these two structuring structures was the aim of some of the disability sport interviewees to change the relations of the disability field to sport, attempting to position it as a more favourable cultural practice for the group. Another example of the confluence of disability and sport as structuring forces was the targeting of the younger generations to create the conditions for early socialisation of disability and of the practice of sport.

Some of the strategic practices of the disability sport field related more generally to their structure as institutions. For instance, DSW took the opportunity of London 2012 to rebrand themselves, whilst others positioned the Games as an opportunity to increase their recognition through media but also with other fields, most notably the government field. This strategy to acquire increased symbolic recognition was positioned as a means through which they could increase their financial capital from government or from corporate partnerships. With regards to their targeting of both of these fields for economic capital the disability sport field attempted to find homologies between their position and the 'needs' of these fields. In this way the disability sport field tried to find homologies with the pre-existing sport initiatives of the corporate field. While in relation to the government field the disability sport field extended

itself beyond the confines of sport and into other areas such as health and education in the pursuit of homologies through which it could increase its economic position.

A structuring structure of the strategic relations of the disability sport field was the issue of regionality. Outside of England there was a sense by the other disability sport councils of a reduction in the efficacy of the force created by London 2012. SDS, for instance, highlighted the greater force of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games on their position. This issue of regionality also highlighted the regional divergences of the disability sports market. For example, DSNi sensed that they needed to increase the supply of opportunities which contrasted to the position of Interactive UK and the EFDS who sensed that there was a need to improve the marketing of disability sport in England given that there had been an incommensurate increase in the supply of opportunities to demand.

A final point of discussion relates to the issue of autonomy. It is useful to briefly recall that a field's autonomy is determined by its ability to define and determine its position (Wacquant, 2008). From the BPA's position then London 2012 offered an opportunity to further augment their autonomy. In this way the BPA attempted to heighten the distinction and symbolic capital of the Paralympic field but more importantly to position sport over disability as the predominant structuring structure. It is this process of defining and the power to achieve this vision of the Paralympic Games as sport before disability that underpinned the strategic practices of the BPA. An alternative example of the issue of autonomy was DSW's positioning of London 2012 as a threat, that is as a threat to the autonomy of their strategy which they had been developing for the decade before the Games.

In sum, in the disability sport field there was a sense of a convergence of different forces which could positively improve the position of and demand for disability sport as a cultural practice. At the same, the field recognised that there were forces which would have a negative and divergent impact on their struggles, such as government welfare policy. On the whole, however, the disability sport field presented a sense that the complementarity of hosting the Paralympic Games, the existing strategies and practices of the disability and their own field would produce a more *positive* force for the position of disability in society. Or at least that is their struggle and *raison d'être*.

## **Symbolic Struggles**

The London 2012 Games may be positioned as a transient field engendering its own struggles in the organisation of the spectacle but also as temporarily engendering the historical struggles of the other fields that it engaged or that engaged it, symbolically and practically. It is in this way that the London 2012 Paralympic Games created a field of fields, and a field of forces and struggles (Bourdieu, 1987). This conceptualisation of the forces and struggles of London 2012

has been used throughout this thesis. However, on the whole, it is argued that there were two predominant forces. The first was the force to produce a legitimate spectacle, and the second to legitimise the capital allocation strategies to achieve this. It is in relation to these forces that legacy was strategically positioned as a symbolic means through which the capital expended to produce a legitimate spectacle was (mis)recognised as accumulating more capital than was being expended. These two forces, it is argued, underpinned the symbolic struggles of representation, recognition, legitimacy and autonomy of London 2012. More specifically, three interrelated symbolic issues are presented: the resonance of the *Paralympic narrative* with some corporate sponsors; the commercial legitimacy of the London 2012 Paralympics; and, finally, the politics of disability and Atos.

### **The Paralympic Narrative**

The 'Paralympic narrative' was briefly discussed in the previous section where the favourability of the Paralympic Games' position for some of the corporate sponsors was presented. It will now be further outlined. In comparing their sense of the Paralympic narrative, to the Olympic narrative, and the stronger resonance it had sometimes with their customers, the corporate field split the symbolic representation of Olympic and Paralympic athletes between sporting and non-sporting struggles. The athlete's sporting struggles were related to the competition and demands of their sport, whilst non-sport struggles were related to those unrelated to the practice of their sport. From this, the corporations that sensed a stronger resonance of the Paralympic narrative positioned the sporting struggles of the Olympic and Paralympic athletes as equal, whilst positioning the non-sporting struggles of the Paralympic habitus as greater than the Olympics'. It was through these positionings and relations that the corporate field's sense of the Paralympic narrative being greater than the Olympic narrative was produced. There are, however, some problems with these inferences from a multitude of perspectives.

Strategically this emphasis of the greater resonance of the Paralympic athletes plays in the favour of those corporations which were more engaged with the Paralympics, such as BT and Sainsbury's. For example, these same corporations specifically used the 'blurriness' of the Olympic and Paralympics Games, or rather the lack of division of them by society, to enhance their sponsorship. Another problem with the corporate field's sense and positioning of the Paralympic narrative is the defining and dividing of the athlete's habitus and its struggles between sporting and non-sporting related. Such problems would make an empirical examination difficult, not to omit its political basis. Whilst acknowledging these problems, rather than engage in the politics of their interpretation, it is more useful to objectify the space of possible relations according to the corporate field's separation of the Olympic and Paralympic athletes' struggles between sporting and non-sporting. But firstly, the distinction between sporting and non-sporting struggles can be better conceptualised as the internal and external

struggles to the athlete's sporting performance. In objectifying the space of possible relations according to the corporate field's division it is necessary to input value judgement, as the corporations did. This produced a table, presented below, which objectifies the space of possible relations according to whether the internal and external struggles of Olympic and Paralympic athletes are greater, lesser or equal to the others'. The table that was produced was somewhat cumbersome and difficult to understand, so it was translated into a more accessible matrix.

		Internal Struggles		
		PG>OG	PG=OG	PG<OG
External Struggles	PG>OG	Paralympic internal & external struggles greater than Olympic	Internal struggles equal, Paralympic external struggles greater	Paralympic internal struggles less than Olympic, external struggles greater
	PG=OG	Paralympic internal struggles greater than Olympic but external are equal	Internal and external struggles of Olympic and Paralympic equal	Paralympic internal struggles less than Olympic, external struggles equal
	PG<OG	Paralympic internal struggles greater than Olympic but Paralympic external struggles are less	Internal struggles equal, Paralympic external struggles less than Olympic	Paralympic internal and external struggles less than Olympic

**Table 3. The Space of Possible Relations between Internal and External Struggles of Paralympic and Olympic Athletes.<sup>53</sup>**

<sup>53</sup> *Olym.* = *Olympian*; *Paralym.* = *Paralympian*

		<b>Competitive parity, Paralympic life struggles greater (2)</b>		
	<b>Olympics less competitive, life struggles equal(3)</b>		<b>Paralympics less competitive, life struggles greater(4)</b>	
<b>Paralympic Supremacy(1)</b>		<b>'Equality'(5)</b>		<b>Olympic Supremacy(1)</b>
	<b>Olympics less competitive, life struggles greater(4)</b>		<b>Paralympics less competitive, life struggles equal(3)</b>	
		<b>Competitive parity, Olympic life struggles greater(2)</b>		

Figure 4. Matrix: Table 1 translated into a more accessible matrix

Left as they are, the table and matrix are completely atheoretical. To rectify this two sociological propositions or ideas were combined. First, was Bourdieu's (1985) notion of *les prises de position* (position taking) which is inextricable from the method of objectifying the space of possibilities. The second was the positioning of the sports field as a "site of struggles in which what is at stake, *inter alia*, is the monopolistic capacity to impose the legitimate definition of sporting practice and of the legitimate function of sporting activity" (Bourdieu, 1978: 826; emphasis original). Combining these two notions, especially the positioning of the sports field as a struggle over the definition of the legitimate sporting practice, and applying it to the matrix produces a more theoretically informed and robust analysis. For instance, it positions the matrix as a direct illustration of the space of possible positions that the Olympic and Paralympic fields can take in their dialectical struggle over the definition of the legitimate body. Before elaborating the positions of the matrix there are some caveats to acknowledge.

The table and matrix are of course crude and inherit the same problems, acknowledged above, of the corporate field's initial inferences. Two other major problems are their generalising effect and lack of consideration for the internal intricacies and struggles of both disability (Oliver, 1996) and sport (Bourdieu, 1978). For example, in relation to disability, the matrix does not consider the intricacies of impairment (Hughes and Paterson, 1997), whilst, in relation to sport, it does not consider the internal hierarchies and variability of competition within the Olympic and Paralympic Games respectively. Despite these problems, it is argued that there is still value in objectifying the space of possibilities according to the corporate field's original division.

Elaboration of the matrix is most readily achieved by an examination of each position. It should be noted that most of the positions have a dialectical counterpart, with the exception of the centre position. As such there are 4 reciprocal positions and the 'equality' position (listed below). These will now be examined in order.

1. 'Supremacy' Positions
2. Competition Equal, External Struggles Greater or Lesser
3. Competition Uneven, External Struggles Equal
4. Competition and External Struggles Greater or Lesser
5. Equality

1. *'Supremacy' Positions*

There are two polar positions along the horizontal axis of the matrix in which both the internal and external struggles of either the Olympic or Paralympic athlete are greater than the others'.

In this case either the Olympics or Paralympics is positioned above the other. These positions are respectively labelled Olympic or Paralympic supremacy.

### *2. Competition Equal, External Greater or Less*

The next dialectical pair of the matrix is between the positions where the internal struggles are equal but the Olympic or Paralympic athletes' external struggles are either greater or lesser than the others'. In assuming parity between the competition of the Olympics and Paralympics, the difference then relates to the external, or 'life', struggles, of one being greater or lesser than the others'. It is at this point that it becomes more difficult to determine if greater 'life' struggles positions one above or below the other. The determination of this requires the imposition of value in the relation to the external struggles of an athlete's habitus.

### *3. Competition Uneven, External Struggles Equal*

This third pair of dialectical positions is the inversion of the previous. Here the external life struggles of the respective athletes are equal but the competition of their sport is not. Similar to the previous dialectical positions determination of one being greater than the other rests purely upon the relation to the internal struggles of a sport. It is in this dialectical pair that it could be more easily argued that the field with greater competition will be positioned above the other.

### *4. Competition and External Struggles Greater or Lesser*

It is this fourth dialectical pair that is arguably the most illuminating. The reason for this is that it is the position which is most homologous with the symbolic positioning of the Paralympics. For example, this position encapsulates the doxic notions of the Paralympics being less competitive, while their greater life struggles are indoctrinated in the celebration of their 'triumph over adversity' (Howe, 2008b). The inverse position of this is also of significance as it places the Olympics in the historically dominated position of the Paralympics, the possibility of which is unlikely to be even recognised in the academic literature.

### *5. Equality*

The central position of 'Equality' strikes at the heart of the Paralympic field. The meaning of 'equality' is diverse (Turner, 1986). Here the meaning of equality relates to a lack of difference in the objectification of the internal and external struggles of either the Olympic or Paralympic habitus.

As previously stated the methodological aim of the matrix is to objectify the space of possible relations between Olympic and Paralympic athletes according to the corporate field's division of their respective struggles between sporting and non-sporting.

### **Commercial Legitimacy of the London 2012 Paralympic Games**

The force and struggles of legitimacy were evident throughout the fields examined by this research. Here the aim is to discuss the commercial legitimacy of the Paralympic Games. A principal measure of the commercial legitimacy of the London 2012 Paralympics was the successful sale of tickets. This 'success' stands in stark contrast to the Paralympic World Cup event that the Channel 4 representative described attending a few years prior to London 2012 and to their sense of previous Paralympic Games. The successful sale of tickets for the Paralympics was scrutinised in many ways by the interviewees but broadly related to the legitimacy of the supply and demand of the Paralympics. An increase in demand was not automatically related to an increase in the legitimacy of the Paralympics because some of the demand was hypothetically related to there being unmet demand for the Olympics. This overlap brought into question the legitimacy of the demand, and concomitantly the supply, of the Paralympics. The response of a number of the interviewees to this possibility of some of the demand for the Paralympics being illegitimate was that the Paralympic experience negated and inverted any of the illegitimacy of the agent's purchase of the ticket. In this way the Paralympic Games are positioned as a societal *rite of passage*. However, more substantively, these dynamics illuminate the complex interrelation of subjective struggles of cynicism and objective struggles of the legitimacy of the demand for and supply of the Paralympic Games.

Another element to the commercial legitimacy of the London 2012 Paralympics was the legitimacy of corporate engagement. Sainsbury's as the first Paralympic-only corporate sponsor was hugely symbolic of this but was also supported by the engagement of other business-to-consumer corporate sponsors. Business-to-consumer sponsors are specified here over business-to-business corporations as it was evidenced in the interviews that the latter were slightly less engaged than the former. The commercial legitimacy, or 'legacy', of the London 2012 Paralympics was also augmented by the continued and in places increased corporate engagement with the Paralympic field. Another field central to the commercial legitimacy of the London 2012 Paralympic Games was the media. This force was documented through the relations between Channel 4, the BPA and the IPC. Perhaps more symbolic was the commercial sale of the Paralympics rights to a commercially oriented broadcaster, like Channel 4. In addition, the continued engagement of Channel 4 is positioned as legitimising the Paralympic legacy of London 2012.

While all of these forces can be positioned to legitimise the London 2012 Paralympic Games, the negative relations of the disability field to Atos can be positioned as an illegitimising force and reaction to their commercialisation. There are a number of points to note in relation to this symbolic issue. The first is that Atos engendered a struggle between external and internal legitimacy. From the position of the disability field its interconnection between the Paralympics

and the government's welfare reforms was symbolically illegitimate, albeit with the Spartacus Network positioning the government as the 'real' institutional target of their struggle. On the other hand, the Paralympic field internally legitimised Atos' engagement and position on the basis of the capital that they were accumulating. It is from this that it is argued that the internal legitimacy of Atos, aided by the legitimising force of LOCOG and the IPC, arguably dominated the external challenges of the disability field. The IPC and LOCOG are noted here as legitimising forces because any challenge of Atos' legitimacy is a concomitant challenge of legitimacy to their position. On the whole Atos' experience with the London 2012 Games is a symbol of the risks and the potential challenges of illegitimacy for the Paralympic field.

In overview it is argued that the engagement and recognition of the Paralympic field by the corporate field throughout London 2012 conferred legitimacy to it. This legitimacy is all the more apparent and significant when compared to the corporate field's initial apprehension about the Paralympics' historical lack of commercial appeal. What's more, corporations such as Sainsbury's and BT are experiencing both internal and external forces to continue their engagement. This whole discussion, however, of the commercial legitimacy of the London 2012 Paralympic Games must be recognised to be dependent upon the decision taken by Lord Deighton, the Head of LOCOG, at the very start of their planning, to commercially organise the Paralympic Games. The commercial sale of the Paralympic tickets and selection of Channel 4 as the broadcaster are symbolic of this strategy. As such, in much the same way that Preuss (2004) positioned Los Angeles 1984 as a commercial watershed for the Olympic Games so too may the London 2012 Games be positioned as the Paralympic Games' equivalent watershed, from being charitably to commercially organised.

### **Politics of Disability and Atos**

The politics of disability have already been touched upon numerous times but the range of forms it assumed during the hosting and organisation of London 2012 justify further elaboration here. No field of the research was able to totally maintain their autonomy from the internal or external struggles of disability. Most notable was the tension for some within the disability field of the government-corporate arrangements which for them created contradictory and paradoxical symbols. To this end some disability groups protested at the London 2012 Paralympic Games. Much of the struggle related to the motives to 'change of relations to disability'. Smith and Thomas (2012) described it as 'churlish' to think that London 2012, a transient sporting spectacle, could radically change the position of disability in society. For the disability field this argument was coupled with the diminishing distribution of capital to welfare by the political field, otherwise referred to as austerity. A relation can be drawn here in how one of the corporate sponsors expressed their use of the Paralympics to mask their investment in the Olympics which they described might be seen as overly extravagant in the

context of a recession and austerity. In much the same way the government field had to legitimise its own allocation of capital to the London 2012 Games. It is in this exchange that the government's struggle to legitimise their allocation of capital meets the broader struggle over the representation of disability which London 2012 encapsulated and heightened. From the government's position they're relation of the Paralympic Games as positively changing social relations to disability was consistent with their current strategy. However, from the disability field's position, as highlighted by Emma, this homology in argument generalised the whole of the disability field together with no recognition of the intricate difference in impairment but also other embodied conditions such as illness. From this position the government's discourse was 'spin' to legitimise their political objective to reduce welfare expenditure. Anderson's (2003) recording of the original political aims of the Stoke Mandeville hospital reveals the perpetuity of these struggles.

These tensions did not go unrecognised by the disability sport field which found itself torn between the two positions. The disability sport field was in a conflictual position because its economic position was maintained or improved by government or National Lottery funding throughout the organisation and hosting of London 2012. This contrasted to the position of some Paralympic athletes with disability sport institutions describing how some of their athletes would have their benefits cut as a result of the government's welfare policy changes. In a political stance DSW argued that this tension should not be used to illegitimise the Paralympic Games or the position of the disability sport field because they were in practice still attempting to improve the cultural position of disability in society.

Another pertinent issue of the disability politics of London 2012 was the prolific use of opinion polls by the different fields. For example, disability charities, such as Scope, and Channel 4 conducted opinion polls to research the change in social relations to disability. In relation to opinion polls it has been argued that they "constantly confuse declarations of action, or worse, declarations of intent, with the probabilities of action" (Bourdieu et al., 1991)<sup>54</sup>. This point is significant because of the way institutions positioned opinion polls to *legitimise* the positive change of social relations to disability, and thereby legitimise the Paralympics. Complicating, or contradicting the legitimacy of the opinion poll findings was the increase of violent acts against disability that was recorded during the organisation and hosting of London 2012. This increase was positioned by some of the disability field as illegitimising the Paralympics, but it is posited here that rather than illegitimising them it highlights their objective limits. It also provides a

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<sup>54</sup> The full quote is provided here: "The notion of opinion surely owes its practical and theoretical success to the fact that it combines all the illusion of the atomistic philosophy of thought and the spontaneous philosophy of the relationship between thought and action, starting with the illusion of the privileged role of verbal expression as an indicator of dispositions towards action. It is not surprising that sociologists who have a blind faith in "opinion polls" constantly confuse declarations of action, or worse, declarations of intent, with the probabilities of action" (Bourdieu et al, 1991: 38; fn. 14).

possible 'harder' measure of changes in a society's relation to disability than the self-ordained and self-fulfilling opinion polls. What's more the struggles can be coalesced where the Paralympic field has an initiative to campaign against violent acts to disability similar to the Premier League's 'Kick it out' campaign.

As a summative comment on the politics of disability, it is proposed that the Paralympic field must have a broader appreciation of the possible political uses and misuses of the Paralympic Games. The seeming dependency of the Paralympic field on the two most powerful fields, the government and commercial, may preclude the Paralympic field from being explicit in its recognition of this as such an appreciation is both commercially and politically unfavourable. Atos' position in the space of London 2012 illuminates the former, while the government's incapacity or unwillingness to recognise any such struggle or tension reflects the latter. With this being said it can be argued that the discussion of the political legitimacy of the Paralympic Games is still something to be fully developed.

## **Legacy**

It is perhaps fitting, or ironic, that legacy has 'the last word' in the discussion given that it was the original basis of the research until the methodology inverted the object from the event to the institutions. However, before presenting the analysis of legacy, a preliminary point needs to be made about the institutional specificity of the efficacy of London 2012 and particularly the Paralympic Games. This point essentially relates to the institutional recognition of London 2012 and legacy in all its auspices being dependent upon the position of an institution and it being predisposed to (mis)recognise the symbolic capital of London 2012 and legacy. From this London 2012's struggle for legacy is positioned as a force structuring the relations, strategies and practices of the institutions of the fields predisposed and prepositioned to recognise their symbolic capital.

London 2012 and its engagement with legacy began, as one government official described, with the *call to arms* and indoctrination of it by Seb Coe during the bid process. The same official continued to describe how the reaction to the indoctrination of legacy was completely unanticipated<sup>55</sup>. In this sense legacy had a symbolic efficacy previously unrealised. On such symbolic efficacy Bourdieu (1999) has argued:

The command that makes itself obeyed, if it is an exception to the laws of physics in that it obtains an effect out of proportion to the energy expended, and thus liable to appear as a form of magic, is in perfect conformity with the law of conservation of social energy, that is, of capital: it turns out that, to be

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<sup>55</sup> This research and the *explosion* of literature on the topic are illustrative of legacy's symbolic efficacy in the academic sports field.

in a position to act at a distance and without expense of energy, by virtue of an act of social magic...one must be endowed with authority, that is, authorized, in one's personal capacity or by proxy...to set off, as by a trigger mechanism, the social energy that has been accumulated in a group or an institution by the work, often protracted and difficult, that is the condition of the acquisition and conservation of symbolic capital (p. 338).

In relation to this legacy may be positioned as one trigger which released the social, cultural and economic energy of London 2012. This is just one of the many ways in which legacy has been positioned and related to in this thesis. The aim here is to synthesise and elaborate the other positionings and relations to legacy.

One of the most prominent positionings of legacy has been as a broad struggle *for* and *of* legitimacy. The congruency of the relation between legacy and legitimacy is so great, it is argued, that a language game (Wittgenstein, 1969) which simply replaces 'legacy' for 'legitimacy' would more often have little impact upon the meaning of a statement. To return to the previous statement, legacy as a struggle *for* legitimacy can be related most broadly to the issue of 'too many white limping elephants' (Mangan, 2008). It is in this sense that legacy is a concomitant part of the Olympic and Paralympic fields struggle and strategy to reproduce itself. The other sense of legacy as a struggle *of* legitimacy relates to its own need to be recognised as legitimate, that is to produce legitimate legacies. In short, the positioning of legacy as a legitimising force of the Olympic and Paralympic spectacle produces its own struggles of legitimacy.

These fundamental positionings of legacy can be related to broader structures. Bourdieu's (1986) three forms of capital, social, cultural and economic, can be established as such structures. In this way the legitimacies and illegitimacies of London 2012 could be examined through social, cultural and economic structures. Related to this, London 2012 and its legacy strategy can be positioned as a process of capital conversion (Bourdieu, 1986). This means that legacy can be positioned as a strategic conversion of the symbolic capital of the Olympic and Paralympic Games into the three central forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). For example, the attempt to improve relations is an illustrative example of the conversion of the symbolic capital into social capital. The government's aim to regenerate the local economy of East London is reflective of the conversion of symbolic to economic capital. Whilst the aim to increase participation in sport and physical activity reflects the attempt to convert the symbolic capital of the spectacle into cultural capital.

There are other structuring structures of legacy which have been elaborated in this thesis, such as the consideration of political and commercial (il)legitimacy. However, legacy is not only a struggle over the production of legitimacy but also a struggle over the legitimate uses

of the spectacle. This struggle can be related to all of the structures already noted in this paragraph but also to a philosophical inversion and continuum. In this way legacy can be positioned as a philosophical inversion of the Olympic and Paralympic Games from being an end in themselves to being a means to many ends. Whilst it is not claimed that the Games have or ever can be one or the other, it is argued that the force of legacy (that is of legitimacy) places a greater emphasis on the use of the Games to achieve many ends, that is more ends than its intrinsic pursuit to produce a spectacle of sporting spectacles.

Related to this philosophical dialectic is the struggle presented by the BPA between legacy and momentum. Their strategic positioning of momentum over legacy can be related to the change in the capital strategies of the Olympic and Paralympic fields. Two interrelated capital strategies outlined by Bourdieu (1986) were capital conservation and capital accumulation. There are two things that can be noted in relating these capital strategies to the BPA's emphasis of 'momentum'. First is how the Olympic and Paralympic fields have shifted from attempting to conserve capital used in the production of the spectacle, such as that documented in the public losses of Montreal 1976 (Preuss, 2004), to attempting to accumulate capital either directly, as in to make a profit as in LA 1984 or Atlanta 1996 or indirectly through legacy. It is this indirect strategy to accumulate capital that is central to legacy as a force of legitimacy. The second point is that there is a struggle over the immediate or postponement of the objectification of the accumulation of capital through the 'legacy strategy'. This relates more explicitly to the BPA's emphasis of momentum where they position legacy as something that is immediately, or within a short period, objectified. In contrast momentum is positioned as the objectification of the accumulation of capital over a much longer timeframe. The struggle of the legitimacy of legacy and legacies produces other considerations. For instance, the struggle can be evidenced throughout the organisation, hosting and post-Games periods. Theoretically this relates to the perpetuity of struggles (Wacquant, 2008) and of legacy in both prospective and retrospective periods of the spectacle. It is worth repeating the questioning in the literature about when does London 2012 become an anachronism. Another key challenge to the legitimacy of legacy is 'additionality'. This notion is easily related to the purported additional 'value' that the Olympic and Paralympic Games brought to existing government policies.

A core element of the strategy to position legacy as legitimacy for the spectacle and to produce legitimate legacies was to decentralise the struggles. In the academic literature Theodoraki (2007) related the processes of centralisation and decentralisation to the organisation of the Olympic Games. Here these processes can be related to legacy and the way that it was decentralised after the successful bid to fields across the organising committee, across government and across society. The cross-organisational and cross-government integration of the Paralympics and the disability legacy strategy was one of the more explicit

legitimising objectifications of the research. While, somewhat contrary to this, the disability sport field is perhaps best positioned, as already documented, to illustrate how the force of legacy was not accepted unilaterally nor inculcated without compromise. These caveats relate to struggles of autonomy, where, for example, disability sport institutions such as DSW attempted to maintain their autonomy in the face of the challenges London 2012 posed to their strategy and practices.

Whilst legacy became embedded and engendered the struggles and strategies of many fields, it also had its own internal struggles. The primary manifestation of this is revealed by positioning different legacies engaged in a struggle against each other to be the *defining* legacy of the spectacle. It is through comprehension of this struggle that the idea of a hierarchy of legacies can be produced. This hierarchy of legacy could be easily produced from government legacy planning documents, however this would only take into account the official, that is legitimised, legacies. As such, it is proposed that each field would have its own sense of the hierarchy of London 2012's legacy, which, in the same way that society is a field of fields (Bourdieu, 1987), produces an interrelated and contested space of hierarchies of legacy.

The struggles of recognition and representation that were engendered by London 2012 are not immediately or overtly relatable to legacy. With this being said, they are relatable if positioned as concomitant to the legitimacy of the spectacle. A number of examples illuminate this. First, the politics of the reinstatement of intellectual impairment as an athlete class was a vivid illustration of the struggle of recognition. What's more, the integration and recognition of the Paralympics and disability as structures throughout the organisation of the spectacle was something anticipated to be much more of a struggle. A sense produced by the historical relations of the fields. The interrelated politics and struggles of representation were all too evident in the media field and Channel 4's struggle to represent the Paralympics legitimately. All these struggles of recognition relate to how legacy, as MacAloon (2008) identified, now forms a central part of the strategies of the institutions of the Olympic and Paralympic field. It is posited that these same institutions, who, if not recognised, or not represented according to their interests will declare and claim some form of illegitimacy, or lack of legacy.

There are some final summative proposals to be made about legacy. The first is that legacy represents one huge calculation of the flow and exchange of social, economic, cultural and, ultimately, symbolic capital through the fields engaged in and by the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. Calculations of this form objectify the expenditure, conservation and accumulation of the different types of capital. A second, related, proposition is that legacy has come to subsume the vast and complex, internal and external economic, social and cultural struggles concomitant to the continued organisation of the modern Olympic and Paralympic Games. Legacy's inculcation of these relations, strategies and struggles of the Olympic and

Paralympic fields positions them as symbolically important to the world-making (Bourdieu, 1989) struggles of society:

...the struggle for the production and imposition of the legitimate vision of the social world, the holders of bureaucratic authority never establish an absolute monopoly, even when they add the authority of science to their bureaucratic authority, as government economists do. In fact, there are always, in any society, conflicts between symbolic powers that aim at imposing the vision of legitimate divisions, that is, at constructing groups (Bourdieu, 1989: 22).

Bourdieu's (1989) argument that no power can achieve an absolute self-fulfilling vision of the world is equally apparent in this research of the disability legacy of London 2012. The key questions to ask, as posed in the introduction, assuming that legacy is worldmaking, is whose world is being made, remade and by whom? In this way it is the 'players' with the most *symbolic power* that arguably have the most at stake in this battle of the visions and divisions of society.

This chapter covered three broad topics. The fields that have been at the centre of this research throughout, the symbolic struggles of London 2012 and legacy. Key points of discussion were analysed for each of the fields. Three key symbolic struggles of London 2012 were given particular attention: the 'Paralympic narrative', the commercial legitimacy of the Paralympics and the politics engendered by London 2012 between disability, Atos and welfare. Whilst legacy was related to the struggle over the symbolic visions of society. The next chapter will conclude this thesis.

## Chapter 7: Conclusion

Legacy has produced a myriad of philosophical, management and sociological questions and problems for the academic sports field. This research itself began with the question, what is the Paralympic-disability legacy of London 2012? Acknowledging that this question demanded an events based answer was a preliminary methodological step to recognising that the research was being structured by the field, that is by the political and commercial motives of interested parties. Adopting Bourdieu et al.'s (1991) epistemological hierarchy, the research inverted the problem from the event to the institutional fields. This is one example of the research's epistemological vigilance and attempt to maintain academic autonomy. A minor point to note is the acknowledgement that the focus on institutions is by no means a novel approach in sports research, however it is a fresh approach to legacy and to the debunking of much of the spontaneous sociology that presently surrounds this highly symbolic issue.

The adoption of a sociological methodology over a generic methodology is one of the most defining characteristics of the research and its methodological design and distinction. This decision placed a heightened significance on the consistency of its ontology and epistemology. The ontological position adopted was that "science need not choose between relativism and absolutism: the truth of the social world is at stake in the struggles between agents who are unequally equipped to reach an absolute, i.e., self-fulfilling vision" (Bourdieu, 1989: 22). This position was embedded in the epistemological framework and its sociological principles and concepts. It was also central to the broader positioning of society as a field of fields (Wacquant, 2008) and as a field of struggles and a field of forces (Bourdieu, 1991). As a reflection on the methodological and epistemological *validity* of this research, it needs only be asked if its methodological positions and epistemological arguments are legitimate. In terms of the research's legitimacy, acknowledgement of the methodological 'principle of adequacy'<sup>56</sup> is concomitant to acknowledging that this research was never going to be able to provide an absolute objectification of London 2012's Paralympic-disability legacy.

The research collected data from two sources: documents and interviews. It is the latter that is positioned as the more substantive method and source of the research's findings. The structure and recruitment of interviewees was aligned to examine the inter- and intra-dynamics, relations, strategies and struggles of five fields: the corporate, government, media, disability and disability sport fields. A minor but important strategy of the research was the practice of objectifying the space of possibilities. This strategy was evidenced in the objectification of 'Paralympic-disability legacy' in the bid documents and in the objectification of the space of

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<sup>56</sup> Shusterman (1999b) appealed to the philosophical pragmatist notion of 'adequacy' which "has no absolute standard but depends on the purposes in view" (p. 14).

possible relations according to the internal and external differentiation of the Paralympian's struggles as a relation to the Olympian's struggles.

The stated aim of this research was to produce a sociological study of the 'Paralympic-disability' legacy politics of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. The examination of the five different fields was positioned as a legitimate, albeit not absolute, means through which to achieve this. From this the major findings of the research and each field are detailed. To begin, it was clear that the politics of this space were apparent from the start with the emphasis of the Paralympic Games being curtailed in London's bid presentation. This instance is a distinct reminder of the Paralympic field's position within the Olympic field. Whilst these internal relations between the IOC and IPC, and their respective fields, are significant, the relations and positionings of the other fields to the Paralympics are more central to this research.

In the corporate field's pre-calculations of the London 2012 Paralympic Games, there was a sense of an initial lack of action from the corporations, aside from a select few. The overcoming of this inertia can be related to LOCOG acting as a force pushing for corporations to engage with the Olympics and Paralympics equally. A central struggle of the London 2012 corporate sponsor's position was the pursuit of capital through the augmentation of recognition and relations to their brands through the Olympic and Paralympic Games. The latter, that is improved relations, was argued to be of more significance for the types and size of corporations that sponsored London 2012. Channel 4's selection as the Paralympic broadcaster was positioned as a decision that heightened the commercialisation of the Paralympic Games, and thus corporate engagement.

A number of distinct positionings of the Paralympics by the corporate field arose from the research. One positioning was corporate recognition that the Paralympic Games doubled the length of time through which they could activate their marketing strategy. This realisation was especially important because of the cost of Olympic sponsorship. Two further points relate to this. First was the positioning of the Olympic Games as expensive and extravagant in the context of a recession. The Paralympics were positioned as blurring this. Second was the recognition of the Paralympic space as being much less cluttered than the Olympic space, thus making it easier for corporate sponsors to cut through in a highly competitive space. Another strategic positioning of the Paralympics was its blurred position and relation with the Olympics. Concomitant to these positive corporate positionings of the Paralympics were a number of risks and insecurities. Some were more conventional, such as the potential failure of the event and not being in control of its delivery, whilst others were more specific to the Paralympic Games, such as the struggle to be recognised as engaging legitimately with them and to avoid being targeted by disability activists. A final key finding of the corporate field was the objectification

of Olympic-Paralympic relations according to the division of their struggles between their internality and externality to their sport. This objectification produced a matrix which represents the total space of possibilities according to the division. It is something that has legitimate grounds for future research.

For the media field, the initial principal struggle was between broadcasters to be selected as the Paralympic broadcaster. Channel 4 winning this struggle created a space of struggles between it and the BBC as the Olympic broadcaster. This is most easily evidenced in the way that Channel 4's broadcasting of the Paralympics was compared to the BBC's broadcasting of the Olympics. In terms of analysing Channel 4's position, they were positioned as being a mediator of the supply *of* and demand *for* the Paralympic Games. This positioning produced two interrelated questions: (1) Did Channel 4 broadcast the Paralympic Games properly, that is legitimately?; (2) Was there real, that is legitimate, demand for the Paralympic Games? These questions can be translated into the struggles engendered by Channel 4's position. In relation to the first question the research found Channel 4 to be in constant struggle with the Paralympic institutions (for example, the IPC and BPA) and with the corporate sponsors over their recognition and representation of the Paralympics. While in relation to the second question, Ian's (of Channel 4) description of his attendance at the Paralympic World Cup in Manchester with a 400 person crowd is arguably a lesser legitimate form of demand compared to that evidenced at London 2012. The contrast of these instances was central to Channel 4's objectification and legitimation of their broadcasting of the Paralympics.

Another proposed finding of the media field was the intertwining of two struggles with which the struggles of the field could be related to. These were the struggles *for* and *of* media's recognition and representation of the Paralympic Games. The different relations to the BPA's publication of the media guide were positioned as exemplifying how these two struggles can create internal struggles between those who are arguably struggling for the same thing, that is the empowerment of disability. Another point here is that the struggle to balance the structuring structures of disability and sport was central to Channel 4's struggle to represent the Paralympics. Beyond the legitimacy of Channel 4's representation of the Paralympics, their engagement, especially when compared to the BBC's, with the broader political issues of disability, such as welfare reform, further bolstered their legitimacy as the Paralympic broadcaster.

For the government field, it was argued that their position illuminated the conceptualisation of legacy as a force and struggle of legitimacy. The government's disability legacy strategy, albeit beset by issues such as 'additionality', was a means through which they sought to legitimise their engagement and allocation of 'public' capital to London 2012. It is this strategic use of legacy, that is as a force of legitimacy, that is inseparable from the struggles to

produce a legitimate spectacle and legitimate legacies. In the discussion it was also argued that the government occupied a dominant yet dominated position. This argument simply related to the government's dominant position to allocate capital within society but at the same time being dominated by its divergent capital allocation practices; the divergency, it was argued, related to the increased allocation of public capital to London 2012, while attempting to decrease the allocation of capital to welfare. To reiterate a previous point, the government's attempts at positioning the Games as providing a disability legacy exemplifies the use of legacy as a legitimising force, strategy and practice.

There were a number of other insights of the government field. The government's disability legacy documents brought to the fore the issue of their 'additionality' to extant policies. Such issues were argued to be symbolic of legacies of any kind producing their own struggles of legitimacy. In relation to the actual disability legacies that were proposed, the research found that there was a recognition of the institutional limits of government and of the Paralympic Games. It is not possible to firmly assert if this only transpired after London 2012 but it was proposed that it was certainly only politically more acceptable to do so after.

For the disability field a persistent and evident struggle was to define disability. Rather than producing any clearer definition of disability it was argued that the definitions of disability within the disability field were strategic and dependent upon one's position. It is in this way that the inclusion or exclusion of illness within the definition is inseparable from the struggles of 'welfare' capital. This struggle can be positioned as an internal struggle of the disability field. However, it also assumed an external manifestation in the struggles between the disability field and the government field in their strategy to reduce the allocation of capital to welfare. The disability field's engagement with the corporation Atos added another dimension to these struggles. Internally, some institutions of the disability challenged the targeting of Atos, positioning it as the straw man for the government's policies. Related to this, the disability field struggled over the means through which to best engage the government. Their strategic practices were broadly split between direct action and protests versus challenging the government's research, that legitimised their welfare reforms, with their own research.

The Paralympic spectacle offered both the government and disability fields a space through which they could communicate their position within these struggles. It is in this way that some of the disability field positioned the Paralympics as a danger to the misrepresentation of disability. On the other hand, the government positioned the Paralympics as a means through which to improve the social, cultural and economic (and thus symbolic) position of disability in society. Particularly noteworthy is the reproduction of the government's strategy to turn disabled people into taxpayers (Anderson, 2003). Consistent with the methodology, the disability and government field are positioned as strategically using (or abusing) the

Paralympics Games to present their vision of disability's position and disposition in society. These struggles, it is argued, will be reproduced in future hosts of the Paralympic spectacle.

For the disability sport field, legacy, in the form of the force to increase the disability sport participation rates, invaded its autonomy. There are a number of related points to this. First was the creation of a philosophical search or quest for legacy. Realising that legacy was not something that would produce itself changed the field's strategy from passive to active engagement. At the same time, and related to legacy's invasion of the disability sport field's autonomy, was the positioning, by some, of London 2012 as a threat. It was positioned as a threat to the pre-existing strategies and structures of, for example, DSW. From the research it also became apparent that some of the regional disability sport councils had divergent relations to the disability sports market, which had an impact upon their strategic outlook. For example, some positioned the 'problem' as an issue of supply, whereby they were not offering enough opportunities, whilst others positioned it as an issue of demand, whereby the service providers did not fully understand the needs of the disability sport market. In relation to their disability sports development strategies the Paralympic Games were positioned as possessing a social efficacy but being culturally impotent. In simpler terms, some institutions of the disability sport field sensed that the Paralympics were effective at changing social relations to disability but were not so effective at increasing participation.

As the concept that has most pervaded this thesis, legacy now rounds off this discussion. In the broadest possible scope of analysis legacy, semantically at least, inculcates the diverse relations to the cultural spectacle that is the Olympic and Paralympic Games. Such 'legacy relations' are dependent upon one's position and disposition. 'Legacy' has also subsumed the vast and complex, internal and external economic, social and cultural struggles concomitant to the continued organisation of the modern Olympic and Paralympic Games. It not only acts a force to legitimise the hosting of the spectacle but also as a force to illegitimise any challenges to the spectacle. The pervasiveness of legacy and its universal applicability to all agents and institutions of the Olympic and Paralympic system should not be taken for granted. In this sense legacy is realised to be "mobilizing *idées-forces*" (Bourdieu, 1999: 339); that is a political idea or force that stylizes the cognitive and conative schemata of agents and institutions, and their sense of their role within the field and its future. The importance of 'the future' is ubiquitous to all agents and institutions, and to their 'sense of the game', that is, social practice. The legitimacy of legacy as a political idea and force rests upon the Olympic and Paralympic Games reproduction as a means through which to effectively produce, assimilate and distribute capital in society.

There were some other conceptual propositions made about legacy. First was the struggle between legacy as the immediate objectification of the capital accumulated through the

spectacle, that is impact, and legacy as the postponed objectification of the capital accumulated from the spectacle, that is momentum. Legacy was also conceptualisation as being inseparable from the 'gigantism' of spirit and economics of the spectacle. In this sense legacy is symbolic of the spectacle's philosophical shift from being an end in itself to being a means to *many* ends. These ends can be repositioned or translated into the legacies of the Olympic and Paralympic spectacle. This brings forth the struggle central to the Olympic and Paralympic field, that is the struggle over the legitimate uses, that is legacies, of the spectacle. Internally, there is a struggle over which legacy is most legitimate, creating a hierarchy of legacy. The question is, where are the Paralympic-disability legacies of London 2012 positioned on this hierarchy? Finally, legacy for the Olympic and Paralympic Games and for all hosts is a ceaseless struggle, as all are of society (Wacquant, 2006). Every host, like London 2012, are confronted with the struggle of their spectacle becoming an anachronism, that is a historical and symbolic relic of the past.

Original contributions of this research come in two forms, methodological and empirical. The most significant methodological contribution was the conceptualisation and implementation of a sociological methodology – that is Bourdieu et al.'s (1991) epistemological hierarchy - throughout the whole research process rather than simply using sociology to analyse the data. Implementation of this was evident throughout the research in constantly turning sociology on the sociology of this research. Examples and results of this include the inversion of the study of legacy as an event to that of the practices of institutions, the epistemological vigilance applied in the review of literature and the avoidance of mistaking the responses of interviewees for immediate knowledge. It is in this sense that an original contribution of the thesis is the presentation of a holistic sociological methodological paradigm for future sociology of sport research.

The empirical contributions of the thesis are numerous. First and foremost, the research makes a significant contribution to the understanding of legacy and of Paralympic-disability legacy. This contribution is particularly relevant for future hosts and for stakeholders likely to be engaged or effected by such a possibility. The qualitative design of the research provides practitioners and stakeholders with a nuanced overview of London 2012's story, with the key caveat being that the politics of hosting the Olympic and Paralympic Games is a complex phenomenon to understand. The structure of the thesis, in its division of the research into the five fields, presents empirical developments for each of the fields. For example, disability and disability sport institutions in future hosts will be able to draw upon this research to develop their Paralympic-disability legacy strategies. Whilst the aim of the thesis was to provide a synthetic and holistic understanding of Paralympic-disability legacy, the research lays the foundations for more nuanced academic examinations of each field in future editions of the Olympic and Paralympic Games. Altogether, the sociological methodology, empirical data and

sociological analysis present significant and original contributions to the study of the Paralympic Games and of legacy.

In conclusion this thesis presents a sociological study of the 'Paralympic-disability' legacy politics of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. Legacy is repositioned away from the pursuit of cause and effect, or rather away from the pursuit of legitimacy and illegitimacy, of the event to a study of the proposed and imposed causes and effects, legitimations and illegitimations of hosting the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games by institutions from the corporate, state and civil fields of society. 'Struggles' is positioned as the key concept to understanding disability in society and the Paralympic-disability legacy of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. Legacy is ultimately positioned as a symbolic struggle of different visions of the respective agents and institutions who are ultimately unable to achieve their own absolute visions. If the Paralympic Games are positioned as a field of *cultural recognition* then is it important to note that:

...every relation of meaning is also a relation of force: culture is always an instrument of vision and di-vision, at once a product, a weapon, and a stake of struggles for symbolic life and death – and for this reason it cannot be the means to resolve the running battle for access to recognized social existence that everywhere defines and ranks humanity (Wacquant, 2005b: 21).

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Bid Document List

	Applicant Document	Subtotal	Candidate Documents	Total	
2010 Paralympiad	None	0	Vancouver (1).	1	
2012 Paralympiad	None	0	London, Madrid, Moscow, New York and Paris (5).	5	
2014 Paralympiad	None	0	Sochi, Pyeongchang and Salzburg (3).	3	
2016 Paralympiad	None	0	Rio de Janeiro, Chicago, Madrid and Tokyo (4).	4	
2018 Paralympiad	None	0	Pyeongchang, Munich and Anney (3).	3	
2020 Paralympiad	Tokyo, Madrid, Istanbul, Baku and Doha	5	Tokyo, Madrid and Istanbul (3).	3	
		5		19	n=24

### Appendix 2: Interview Sample List

Alias	Organisation	Field	Description
Gerald	Cisco	Corporate	London 2012 Network Infrastructure Supporter
John	Sainsbury's	Corporate	London 2012 Paralympic-Only Sponsor
Shaun	BP	Corporate	London 2012 Oil and Gas Partner
David	Proctor & Gamble	Corporate	World Olympic Partner
Michelle	BT	Corporate	London 2012 Communications Partner
Patricia	Channel 4	Media	UK Paralympic Sport Broadcaster
Ian	Channel 4	Media	UK Paralympic Sport Broadcaster
Paul	ODI/DWP.	Government	Office for Disability Issues/Department for Work and Pensions. Develop and administer disability related government legislation.
Sian	House of Lords	Government	Member of the House of Lords.
Mark	PLAG	Government	Paralympic Legacy Advisory Group (PLAG) established post-London 2012 to promote Paralympic legacy initiatives.
Jemima	PLAG	Government	Paralympic Legacy Advisory Group (PLAG) established post-London 2012 to promote Paralympic legacy initiatives.
Chris	Scope	Disability	Disability charity.
Emma	We are Spartacus	Disability	Disability activist group.
James	UK DPC	Disability	UK Disabled People's Council. National disability led organisation.
Sharon	CP Sport	Disability Sport	Cerebral Palsy Sport. National governing body for cerebral palsy sport.
Brian	EFDS	Disability Sport	English Federation Disability Sport. An English charity, dedicated to disabled people in sport and physical activity.
Alex	Disability Sport Wales	Disability Sport	A national governing body for disability sport and physical activity.
Dermot	DSNI	Disability Sport	Disability Sport Northern Ireland. A national governing body for disability

			sport and physical activity.
Michael	Interactive UK	Disability Sport	An advisory organisation on sport for disabled people in London.
Elizabeth	UKSA	Disability Sport	UK Sports Association for People with Learning Disability. National disability sports organisation.
Peter	Scottish Disability Sport	Disability Sport	Scottish national governing body for disability sport and physical activity.
Donna	Special Olympics	Disability Sport	National disability sport organisation.
Denis	BPA	Disability Sport	National Paralympic Committee.
Veronica	Sport England	Sport	Provides services and funding to sport in England.
Seth	Sport England	Sport	Provides services and funding to sport in England.

### **Appendix 3: Interview Transcript - Corporate Field Example**

- How did you come to be in your current position at <insert corporation>?
  
- When did <insert corporation> become a partner of the London 2012 Paralympic Games?
- What is the nature of the sponsorship?
  - Is it purely financial? Do you provide them a service?
- Why did <insert corporation> sponsor the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games?
- As a sponsor, what did the Paralympic Games represent to <insert corporation>?
- What was <insert corporation>'s expectation of their sponsorship of the Paralympic Games?
- What was <insert corporation>'s evaluation of their sponsorship of the Paralympic Games?

#### ***Paralympic-Corporate legacy***

- Will <insert corporation> continue to sponsor the Paralympic Games?
  - Elaborate. Why or why not? What affected this decision?
- Does your sponsorship of the Paralympic Games change from host city to host city?
- What else does <insert corporation> sponsor?
- How does sponsoring the Paralympic Games fit with these other sponsorships?

#### ***Corporate-Government relations***

- Did <insert corporation> work with the UK Government and LOCOG? How?
- What were <insert corporation>'s expectations of government?
- Did <insert corporation> work with the UK government's plans for a legacy for disabled people from the Games? How?
- How else did <insert corporation> work with LOCOG or the UK government in relation to the Paralympic Games?

#### ***Corporate-Disability Institution relations***

- Did <insert corporation> work with any disability sport organisations?
  - For example, NGBs, devolved sport institutions.
- Did <insert corporation> work with any (non-sporting) disabled people's organisations?
  - For example, disability charities.

#### ***Legacy***

- What does legacy mean?
- What is the legacy of the London 2012 Paralympic Games for <insert corporation>?

## **Appendix 4: Information Sheet and Consent Form**

### **London 2012 Legacy - Information Sheet**

**Principal Investigator:** Shane Kerr, Loughborough University,

Mobile: 07807358316.

Supervisor: Dr. P.David Howe, Loughborough University,

Email: [p.d.howe@lboro.ac.uk](mailto:p.d.howe@lboro.ac.uk)

#### **Purpose of the study**

The aim of this research is to develop a broader notion and understanding of legacy of the Olympic and Paralympic Games. To do this, four groups involved and engaged in related activities around the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games were identified. These include government, businesses, disability and disability sport institutions.

Persons from each group will be interviewed on questions related to disability legacy. The outcomes of the research aim to inform the international Paralympic field and UK disability sports field.

#### **Can I withdraw from the research?**

Yes. After you have read this information and asked any questions you may withdraw. We will ask you to complete an Informed Consent Form, however if at any time, before, during or after the interview you wish to withdraw from the research just contact the principal investigator.

#### **Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?**

You will be asked whether you would prefer to remain anonymous or to be associated with. If you have any more questions please contact the principal investigator.

#### **What if I am not happy with how the research was conducted?**

If you are not happy with how the research was conducted, please contact the Mrs Zoe Stockdale, the Secretary for the University's Ethics Approvals (Human Participants) Sub-Committee:

Mrs Z Stockdale, Research Office, Rutland Building, Loughborough University, Epinal Way, Loughborough, LE11 3TU. Tel: 01509 222423. Email: [Z.C.Stockdale@lboro.ac.uk](mailto:Z.C.Stockdale@lboro.ac.uk)

The University also has a policy relating to Research Misconduct and Whistle Blowing which is available online at:

[http://www.lboro.ac.uk/admin/committees/ethical/Whistleblowing\(2\).htm](http://www.lboro.ac.uk/admin/committees/ethical/Whistleblowing(2).htm).

**London 2012 Legacy – Informed Consent Form  
(to be completed after Participant Information Sheet has been read)**

The purpose and details of this study have been explained to me. I understand that this study is designed to further scientific knowledge and that all procedures have been approved by the Loughborough University Ethical Approvals (Human Participants) Sub-Committee.

- I have read and understood the information sheet and this consent form.
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions about my participation.
- I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in the study.
- I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this study at any stage for any reason, and that I will not be required to explain my reasons for withdrawing.
  
- I understand that all the information I provide will be treated in strict confidence and will be kept anonymous and confidential to the researchers unless (under the statutory obligations of the agencies which the researchers are working with), it is judged that confidentiality will have to be breached for the safety of the participant or others.

I agree to participate in this study.

Your name

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Your signature

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Signature of investigator

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Date