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Understanding the lived experiences of people with disabilities assessing the legacy of para-sport events in host countries

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Understanding the Lived Experiences of People with Disabilities: Assessing the Legacy of Para-Sport Events in Host Countries

By

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Understanding the Lived Experiences of People with Disabilities: Assessing the Legacy of Para-Sport Events in Host Countries

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Certificate of Ethical Approval

Applicant:

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"What's In It For Me? Assessing the Legacy of Para-Sport Events Upon the Lived Experience of People with Disabilities in Host Locations: A Critical Spatial Marketplace Inclusion/Exclusion Approach."

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Abstract

As para-sport events, namely the Paralympic Games continue to grow in size and scale (Dowling and Legg 2017), there is a growing need for consideration of the attainment of legacy goals developed alongside such events. With people with disabilities (PWD) making up 15% of the world's population (WHO 2011), the legacy goals of Paralympic Games organisers, if achieved, have the potential to positively impact the lived experiences of PWD in host countries. However, to date there is an absence of the voices of PWD in the discussion of para-sport legacy (Misener et al. 2013) and its execution.

Therefore, this thesis demonstrates an understanding of the lived experiences of PWD with respect to marketplace inclusion/exclusion within the event and wider society, through the incorporation of the voices of PWD, in order to answer the research question:

"How do PWD in the host country evaluate experiences in their lived realities linked to legacies of a Paralympic Games?"

In order to develop an understanding of the lived experiences of PWD in previous host countries of Paralympic Games, two research sites were chosen as most applicable, the UK (London 2012) and Brazil (Rio 2016). This thesis utilised a multi-theoretical approach in the development of a conceptual model integrating ableism, socio-spatial theory, intergroup contact and imagined contact theory. This model informed consideration of lived experience in relation to the event space and legacy goals of the International Paralympic Committee. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with PWD in both research sites. A derived etic approach (Berry 1979) was undertaken, with a thematic analysis process adhered to during the data analysis phase.

Key findings within this thesis show the shared experience of prevalent exclusion of PWD across research sites, with ableism remaining prevalent in society in both objective and subjective spaces, and as such, in overall lived experience. From the perspective of the majority of participants, planned legacies of each event have not been achieved. Areas of concern with respect to exclusion transcend across space and include; access, transport, employment, attitudes and media representation.

This study showcases a lack of consideration of the complexity of disability when it comes to changes in space by para-sport event organisers; the exclusionary effects of supercrip stereotypes linked to para-sport events and the lack of accountability by organisers to ensure lasting legacy. As such, this thesis contributes to the literature on para-sport events, legacy and lived experience.

Keywords: Disability, legacy, ableism, marketplace inclusion/exclusion, lived experience, para-sport, Paralympics

To my parents Philip and Kathy, for supporting me in all that I do, always.

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List of Abbreviations

IPC	International Paralympic Committee
IOC	International Olympic Committee
PWD	People with Disabilities
Pw/oD	People without Disabilities
ICF	International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health
WHO	World Health Organisation
LOCOG	London Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games
UK	United Kingdom
ICT	Intergroup Contact Theory
SST	Socio Spatial Theory
CAQDAS	Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software
UPIAS	Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation
VLT	Veículo Leve Sobre Trilhos
NLW	National Living Wage
CRPD	Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
UN	United Nations
BPS	Biopsychosocial

Statement of Copyright

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis is an investigation into the legacy of para-sport events; more specifically, London 2012 and Rio 2016 Paralympic Games, taking a perspective of the key beneficiaries of the Games – people with disabilities (PWD)[1]. This research project aims to provide a greater insight into PWD' lived experiences in host countries with respect to inclusion/exclusion as connected to the country hosting a para-sport event; namely the Paralympic Games.

The central goal underlying the study is to incorporate the voices of PWD and develop an understanding of individual experiences and perceptions of both inclusion and exclusion in objective spaces (i.e., tangible environment, which contains measurable factors (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013) and subjective spaces (i.e., an individual's imagined space (Soja 1996) or mental projections) pre-, during, and predominantly post-event. That is, the focus is placed on the lived experience of legacy in comparison to the claims of legacy made by host nations and the Paralympic Games' governing body, the International Paralympic Committee (IPC). By adopting this focus, the study delves into an emerging, albeit currently lacking empirical evidence, area in legacy studies (i.e. experience).

Consistent with current definitions of disability (ICF 2013; WHO 2018) present in both policy and research, this thesis adopts the biopsychosocial perspective on disability, to capture and examine how social, medical and contextual factors interact to determine an individual's overall lived experience linked to para-sport events.

For clarification, the content of this thesis has been updated to include information up to 30th March 2020. Any relevant information or articles published after this date are not included.

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[1] The researcher is aware of the continued contested terminology surrounding disability language. For the purpose of this study, the World Health Organisation (WHO) preferred statement of 'PWD' is used throughout.

1.1 Motivation

Over one billion people worldwide (equivalent to 15% of the entire population) are said to have some form of disability (WHO 2018)). The percentage of PWD varies from country to country dependent on how it is reported. In the past twenty years there has been increasing interest into para-sport and specifically the Paralympic Games (Brittain 2016). The Paralympic Games is a multi-sport event continuing to grow in size and scale with each event (Dowling and Legg 2017). As well as growth in size and number of athletes competing, the event continues to grow in popularity worldwide (Ekmekci et al. 2013). For the purpose of this study, the host countries of two previous Paralympic Games (London 2012 and Rio 2016) were chosen as the research sites. While there has been an abundance of research to date into the legacy of the London 2012 Paralympic Games (e.g. Braye, Gibbons and Dixon 2013; Brittain and Beacom 2016; Jackson et al. 2014; Weed 2013), there has been a noticeable lack of research specifically focused on the legacy of the Rio 2016 Paralympic Games or comparison with this event. Problematically, in legacy research in general, the voices of PWD in host countries of Paralympic Games have been largely absent from research into the area (Misener et al. 2013). Therefore, this study looks to remedy this current shortcoming by including the voices of PWD from previous host nations in order to assess whether a legacy is perceived to exist or not.

The Rio 2016 Paralympic Games were regarded by the organisers, the IPC (2017) as a catalyst for improvement in the lives of PWD in Brazil. However, its predecessor, the London 2012 Paralympic Games, were regarded by many as a turning point for para-sport events and indeed, the general lives of PWD in the UK (Christiansen 2013). These games were viewed by millions of people around the world, with over 3 million UK viewers alone at their peak, on Channel 4 (McCabe 2012), and showcased disability like it had never been seen before. In line with the event came increased media coverage featuring PWD, including the Channel 4 - led campaign ‘Meet the Superhumans’, which featured prominent Team GB (Great Britain) athletes training for their respective sports ahead of the London 2012 Paralympic Games. This campaign also addressed potential causes of disabilities and the process of rehabilitation, all to the soundtrack of ‘Harder Than You Think’, by Public Enemy.

Claims of success related to London 2012 included an increase in employment for PWD with one million more PWD reported as employed in the UK post-event (IPC 2018) and the supposed transformation of attitudes towards PWD in the UK post-event (BBC 2014). With the success of London 2012, it was an expectation of the Rio 2016 Paralympic Games to be as successful and influencing for the population with disabilities in Brazil, as a result of hosting the event (Craven 2016). While some media reports claimed positive social and sporting legacies in Brazil (Kirakosyan and Seabra 2018), for the most part these expectations failed to materialise with predominantly negative outcomes reported post Rio 2016 with respect to broken promises regarding infrastructure (BBC 2017), and poor accessibility for PWD (Kirakosyan and Seabra 2018).

However, this was also the case with the London 2012 Paralympic Games, whereby although positive reports were evident in the media shortly post-event, it was not without its criticisms. These included: a lack of appropriate equipment to facilitate an increase in sport participation for PWD (EFDS 2013); questioning of its impact on the lived experiences of PWD with respect to areas such as housing (Ahmed 2013); and its failure to facilitate lasting positive attitude change towards PWD (Scope 2013) to name but a few. These ongoing criticisms in both the UK and Brazil point out that, despite both events’ claims of success, experiences of continuing exclusion persist for PWD across many dimensions of their lived realities.

The legacy of Paralympic Games in recent years (particularly since London 2012) received considerable attention in social research more broadly and management research in particular (for example: Brittain and Beacom 2016; Coates and Vickerman 2016; Misener et al. 2013; Weed et al. 2012). However, there remains contention surrounding the manifestation of lasting legacies post Paralympic Games. Research surrounding para-sport event legacy has occurred predominantly in areas such as sport participation (Bloyce and Lovett 2012; Gold and Gold 2009; Weed et al. 2009; Weed et al. 2013), social improvement (Brittain and Beacom 2016; Weed and Dowse 2009), and empowerment of Paralympians (Jackson et al. 2014). The impact of the Paralympic Games on inclusion/exclusion of PWD has not, to date, been considered from the perspectives of PWD' lived experiences in the host cities and countries. Various media reports (Ashley 2016; Walker and Topping 2013), studies by disability charities (Scope 2013), and academic research (Brittain 2016), have shown discrepancies in findings surrounding the claimed legacy in both the UK and Brazil. In addition, the voices and experiences of PWD, the supposed key beneficiaries of para-sport events, remain largely absent from research surrounding issues focal to the lived experiences of PWD, including consideration of if, or how, events such as the Paralympic Games can create a legacy that leads to improved inclusion of PWD.

1.2 Research Parameters and Approach

This research seeks to advance the understanding of the lived experiences of PWD stemming from and/or linked to para-sport event legacy. In line with the research aim above, this study looks to contribute insights into PWD' lived experiences in host countries, focusing particularly on, their experiences of inclusion/exclusion connected to hosting a para-sport event; namely the Paralympic Games. This thesis develops a conceptual model of PWD' lived experience in a para-sport event space as a key contribution, to enable future event organisers and governing bodies to consider, anticipate and prevent identified issues reoccurring through the incorporation of inclusion/exclusion considerations in the planning and implementation of legacy-creation activities.

The study's purpose and focus on inclusion/exclusion in lived experiences of PWD necessitated a multidisciplinary integrative literature review, incorporating, several key bodies of literature as follows: disability studies (Barnes 1997; Friedman and Owen 2017; Michalko, and Titchkosky 2009; Shakespeare 2006), sport management, communication and policy (Brittain and Beacom 2016; Hiller 2006; McGillivray et al. 2019; Misener et al. 2013; Preuss 2018; Thomson et al. 2018;) consumer and marketing research (Baker, Holland and Kaufman-Scarborough 2007; Cross and Gilly 2017, 2014; Kaufman-Scarborough 2001; Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013), and social psychology (Allport 1954, 1935; Berry 1989, 1979; Carew, Noor and Brown 2019; Crisp and Turner 2012).

The key concepts adopted as a result of the multidisciplinary literature review and invoked in the upcoming research question and objectives are now outlined for clarity. Consumption is now regarded as a marketized existence (Firat 1997). That is, many experiences now occur within the boundaries of the marketplace structure. Given this premise, it is important for para-sport event managers to understand the experience of para-sport events in this wider perspective as an element of overall lived experience. Burgess et al. (2017: 487) define the marketplace as 'a stage on which the theatre of consumption is played out'. Based on this definition, in the context of para-sport events, the marketplace can be regarded as a space in which para-sport events are experienced. These experiences can be either inclusive or exclusionary of certain groups, in this study PWD. While marketplace inclusion 'involves access to and fair treatment within the market' (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013: 32); marketplace exclusion conversely regards 'the mechanisms through which certain individuals and communities are barred from the resources and opportunities provided by the market to other citizens' (Saren et al. 2019: 476). Hence, for the purpose of this study, para-sport events are considered a particular instance of the marketplace and as such will be referred to throughout as the 'event space'.

Experiences of PWD are often influenced by the presence of ableism in society. Ableism, as a form of prejudice, allows for PWD' inclusion/exclusion experiences and their underlying drivers to be understood (Wolbring 2011). Grounding this study in the theory of ableism was thus considered pertinent for examining how prejudice and stereotypes operate, through analysis of the lived experiences of PWD.

Currently the lived experiences of PWD linked to para-sport events is an under-explored area of interest, with the voices of PWD largely absent in the majority of extant legacy research (Misener et al. 2013). Thus, the research question posed by the author to guide the study was:

> *"How do PWD in the host country evaluate experiences in their lived realities linked to legacies of a Paralympic Games?"*

In order to address the research aim and posed question, four objectives were set, as follows:

1. To develop, through a multidisciplinary review of the literature, in-depth insight into how para-sport events impact upon the lived experiences of inclusion/exclusion of PWD in the event space and wider society.
2. To theorise the role of ableism in the marketplace inclusion/exclusion experiences of PWD across both objective and subjective dimensions of event space.
3. To explore the experiences of legacy post-event, from the perspectives of PWD in host countries by means of qualitative empirical studies.

4. To develop a conceptual model that allows future event organisers to consider, anticipate and prevent the reoccurrence of inclusion/exclusion considerations when planning and implementing legacy-creation activities.

With the research question and objectives set, the adopted research design was a qualitative approach utilised in order to explore the lived experiences of PWD in two countries, the UK and Brazil, considered representative of Paralympic Games host countries. An exploratory approach was determined most applicable due to this thesis examining an area that is under-researched to date (Creswell 2003, 2009). The semi-structured interviews were conducted with 46 participants: UK n=20; Brazil n=26. Visual data was collected by the researcher in both research sites and used to support findings.

The data collection and analysis both followed a derived etic approach (Berry 1979) whereby data was collected and analysed separately for each research site (i.e. the UK and Brazil), before the findings of both countries were integrated and contrasted, with a view to uncover contextually unique and cross-contextually similar phenomena. The collected data was analysed using thematic analysis technique outlined by Braun and Clarke (2016). A combination of processes were utilised to identify codes during analysis (Stuckey 2015). Firstly, three codes were set a priori based on the literature and conceptual framework developed to guide the study. The remaining codes were allowed to emerge freely from the data to compliment the use of a priori codes, facilitating pragmatic research (Creswell 2013). Both the a priori and emergent codes facilitated understanding of the lived experience of PWD in the event space and wider society.

1.3 Research Setting

The chosen research settings for this study aligned with the Paralympic Games being investigated; London 2012 and Rio 2016. Therefore, in Brazil, the research was conducted in the host city of the event, Rio de Janeiro, and Curitiba, a city over 800km south of Rio de Janeiro. In the UK, the research was conducted in London, the host city of the event, and counties including West Midlands and Yorkshire. Although the Paralympic Games take place in one city, the legacies of the event have been reported as applying to entire populations of the host country (for example, the UK Government report in which attitudes towards all PWD in the UK were said to improve (DCMS 2013)). Therefore, it is important to incorporate other national locations to provide insight into the spread of legacy.

1.4 Thesis Structure

Table 1. Thesis Structure Overview

Chapter Number and Title	Chapter Overview	Objective
1. Introduction	Provided an overview of this study by outlining the motivations, research approach and the research aims and objectives to inform the underpinnings of the study.	1
2. Theoretical Background	Reviews past and current research from multiple streams of social sciences literature, with a view of developing a theoretical foundation for this study. The literature included in this chapter covers research on various conceptual models of disability and their applicability within this study; lived experience of PWD alongside diversity and inclusion/exclusion; various issues associated with disabilities including vulnerability, prejudice, stereotyping and power; the underpinning theory of ableism; and mega-events and legacy culminating in the examination of the legacy of Paralympic Games. The main streams of literature include: disability studies (Barnes 1997; Friedman and Owen 2017; Michalko, and Titchkosky 2009; Shakespeare 2006), sport management, communication and policy (Brittain and Beacom 2016; Hiller 2006; McGillivray et al. 2019; Misener et al. 2013; Preuss 2018; Thomson et al. 2018;) consumer and marketing research (Baker, Holland and Kaufman-Scarborough 2007; Cross and Gilly 2017, 2014; Kaufman-Scarborough 2001; Saatcioglu	1 & 2

	and Ozanne 2013), and social psychology (Allport 1954, 1935; Berry 1989, 1979; Carew, Noor and Brown 2019; Crisp and Turner 2012).	
3. Conceptual Framework	Specifies and contextualises PWD' lived experiences of inclusion/exclusion as occurring in the event space of a Paralympic Games. Using a holistic approach incorporating the literature discussed previously and relevant theories, the conceptual framework was developed. The framework brings together the theories of ableism (Campbell 2009; Hehir 2002; Wolbring 2008), socio spatial theory of marketplace inclusion/exclusion (Saatcioglu Ozanne 2013) and intergroup and imagined contact theories (Allport 1954; Crisp and Turner 2012, 2009; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006; Pettigrew et al. 2011) to conceptualise lived experiences of the event space within PWD' lived reality. Drawing on the extant research reviewed in Chapter 2, the framework integrated ableism, socio-spatial theory, intergroup and imagine contact alongside the IPC legacy goals to conceptualise a model in which a Paralympic Games is considered with regard to multiple facets of space within their lived experience. A visual representation of the conceptual framework – a model of lived experience of PWD in the para-sport event space and wider society - is presented in conclusion identifying current gaps in knowledge related to legacy of para-sport events and lived experiences of PWD. This model and identified gaps informed the empirical research design.	2 & 4
4. Methodology	By engaging with the study's avowed goal of foregrounding the voices of PWD and the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 3, the methodology chapter details the researcher's philosophical stance and outlines the methodology utilised to examine the lived experiences of PWD linked to the Paralympic Games. Addressing the previously identified gaps, the study design, an exploratory empirical investigation with PWD in two research sites (the UK and Brazil) is presented.	3
5. Objective Space Findings	These chapters present the findings from both research sites, integrating illustrative data excerpts for each emerged theme. The findings are presented as two separate chapters; Objective Space Findings and Subjective Space Findings respectively, with findings for both research sites integrated.	3
6. Subjective Space Findings		3

7. Discussion	Brings together the key findings from both research sites, contrasting them with the postulated research question and conceptual framework. The key findings originating from this study are discussed in relation to extant research and applied to the conceptual model developed in Chapter 3 to inform future legacy planning.	4
8. Conclusions	The final chapter summarises this research project, closing with the study's theoretical and practical contributions, limitations and areas for future research.	1, 2, 3 & 4

1.5 Conclusion

As outlined above, the aim of this study is to incorporate the voices of PWD in order to generate insight into the lived experiences of PWD linked to the legacy of the two most recent Paralympic Games. Aligned with growing interest into research surrounding the legacy of Paralympic Games (for example: Brittain and Beacom 2016; Coates and Vickerman 2016; Misener et al. 2013; Weed et al. 2012) there has been a noticeable focus on theoretical anecdotal research. This has been at the expense of empirical research featuring the voices of PWD (Misener et al. 2013). This study's motivations seek to remedy this absence, supported by extant literature surrounding disability, para-sport events, lived experience and associated factors, presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Background

The purpose of this chapter is to delineate and determine the key areas of this study by examining the extant literature. This chapter is organised as follows. First, the author provides a short historical perspective on disability studies and the development of disability definitions, and a view upon disability in modern society. Second, different conceptual models of disability are examined. Third, key issues associated with disability are discussed. Fourth, the roots of discrimination towards PWD are addressed, including prejudice and stereotyping. Fifth, ableism as an underpinning theory is presented. Finally, in line with the previous areas addressed, the theoretical background will conclude with a discussion of para-sport events and their legacies.

2.1 Understanding disability and key associated issues

With many definitions of disability evident in policy, and more up to date than ever within international organisations (e.g. WHO 2018), those who work in disability organisations, academia and para-sport events specifically, require a definition which incorporates a number of aspects associated with disability; and not just the medical implications of previous outdated definitions.

Worldwide, society has attempted to undergo development in order to improve the lived experiences of PWD. For example, within a United States of America context, acts such as the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA 1990) and more recently the ADA Amendments Act (ADAAA 2008), have legally framed how ability must be considered with regards to levels of disabilities, in which some PWD are deemed ‘too disabled’ and others as ‘not disabled enough’ to require support (Areheart 2008). From a UK perspective, although there is no act specific to PWD, under the 2010 UK Equality Act, PWD are considered as having ‘protected characteristics’ (Mallett, Ogden and Slater 2016). This section will examine the development in definitions of disability, culminating in the definition chosen by the researcher to define disability in this study.

2.1.1 Defining disability

Disability has existed since the beginning of time, with the origin of disability as a term, and segregation due to having an impairment, thought to trace back to the introduction of Western civilisation in the early 1500s (Kliewer and Fitzgerald 2001). Attitudes prevalent today surrounding disability are said to be rooted in ideals from the Greek and Roman eras, and have since developed over time alongside humanity (Barnes 1997). The Ancient Greeks were renowned for their quest for physical perfection (e.g. Gods and Goddesses, Olympians etc.). Therefore, anyone who was considered to have an impairment was not welcome in their society, and this led to the widespread practice of infanticide (the intentional killing of children) to keep the population in line with their beliefs (Barnes 1997). This reference to disability in ancient times depicts a more adverse picture to today's experience of impairment, while lacking a concise term for PWD (Lodder 2017). Due to factors such as mass media, disability laws, and para-sport events, PWD are increasingly present in everyday life, making disability more apparent, with awareness surrounding disability growing worldwide (Albrecht and Verbrugge 2003). This growing awareness highlights a need for a well-defined term, which is uniform internationally across multiple contexts, including health and social policy (Altman 2001), in line with growing rights for PWD, such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UN 2006).

Before disability can be discussed in-depth it is crucial to differentiate between disability and impairment, as, although often thought of and used as such, they are not terms that can be used interchangeably. The concepts of 'disability' and 'impairment' are both fundamental within the lexicon of those who study disabilities (Thomas 2013). However, for those who may not be acquainted with the field, there can be confusion and inaccuracy surrounding the 'presupposed causal link between impairment and disability' (Thomas 2013: 10). This confusion has been addressed previously by authors within disability studies who are aware of the ongoing uncertainty surrounding the terms and seek to clarify the differentiation (Goodley 2001; Morris 2001; Oliver 1996).

The distinction between the two terms as highlighted by the British Council of Disabled People has been adopted from the work of Morris (2001: 2), in which:

> "*Disability is the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a society which takes little or no account of people who have impairments and thus excludes them from mainstream activity".* Whilst;
>
> "*Impairment is a characteristic, feature or attribute within an individual which is long term and may or may not be the result of disease or injury and may 1. Affect that individual's appearance in a way which is not acceptable to society, and/or 2. Affect the functioning of that individual's mind or body, either because of, or regardless of society and/or 3. Cause pain, fatigue, affect communication and/or reduce consciousness"*.

Thus, from these definitions it is clear that disability as a phenomenon exists at the intersection of a person's impairment and how society reacts to said impairment. As such, this differentiation signifies that an impairment is not automatically disabling in itself and should not be considered as such. This consideration is often evident in definitions of disability which incorporate impairment, to clearly explain what disability is. However, integrating impairment in the definition can cause issues such as deflecting from the view of disability as a central consideration, and lacks reflection of how disability is understood.

There are a variety of benefits associated with a consistent definition of disability, including clear understanding and communication between research, social structures and social policy (Altman 2001). However, there is difficulty associated with developing definitions of disability due to disability being regarded as a 'complicated, multidimensional concept' (Altman 2001: 97). Historically, definitions of disability and impairment placed emphasis on PWD as being abnormal alongside a poor social status, jobless and often sick (Albrecht and Verbrugge 2003). However, since the inception of the term 'disability', and especially in recent years (mid-1990s to present) with an increasing interest in the area, researchers worldwide have struggled to reach consensus on developing a comprehensive definition of the term. This interest is showcased by a growing number of disability specific academic journals, such as Disability & Society, Journal of Disability Policy Studies and Disability and Rehabilitation to name but a few, alongside the growing inclusion of disability-based research in mainstream academic journals, with a particular focus from educational research. With each new interpretation of disability there exists debates by researchers immersed in the field over their applicability due to inconsistency in the terminology used within definitions (e.g. Oliver 1983; Reisine and Fifield 1992; Verbrugge 1990).

Because the definitions of disability have potential to impact on PWD' lived experiences (Albrecht and Verbrugge 2003), this is a key element of importance for this study. Hence, extant definitions of disability, including their origins and development, will be discussed next, to determine the most applicable and comprehensive definition to be adopted.

Table 2 (page 33-34) presents a synthesis of several key definitions of disability that have developed and been applied over time in both policy and academic fields. These definitions were identified by two searches conducted on Google and Academic Search Complete with the keywords 'disability' AND 'definition(s)' in order to integrate academic and policy definitions. The researcher proceeded to read through the returned results to determine their applicability. A search was then undertaken in the relevant papers/websites to identify the definitions of disability found. A critical appraisal of each of the identified definitions follows, to determine the definition most in line with the study's aims, objectives and research question, linking in with an individual's lived experience. As is evident from Table 2 (page 33-34), much of the discussion to date on disability and definitions of the term has been placed within a policy realm, with minimal focus on definition development in academia. However, that is not to say that academia has avoided the definition of disability debate completely.

A synthesised view on the definitions presented in Table 2 (page 33-34) reveals a number of important observations. First, it signals a gradual shift in the understanding of disability in wider society. Second, it indicates that much of the discussion to date on definitions of disability has occurred in the policy realm. These observations are discussed in turn, next.

The term 'disability' has been considered within disability studies in general; for example, UPIAS (1976) attempted to define the term for use in academia (see Table 2). Although this can be considered a positive step in an attempt to develop a definition, their characterisation of disability placed too much attention on how exclusion is controlled exclusively by those in power in society as a whole. As such, PWD are seen as dependent on the choices of others to determine their experiences of inclusion in society, as opposed to being in control of their own lived experience.

In discussing disability, academic research often incorporates the definitions developed elsewhere such as those by WHO and ICF (see: Edwards 2008; Francescutti et al. 2011; Hagrass 2005). As opposed to the definitions synthesised in Table 2 (page 33-34), in scholarly research, defining disability is achieved by creating models comprised of concepts that have a mutual interlinked relationship (Altman 2001). The importance of a widely accepted definition of disability can be linked to its application in informing public policy, and essentially give meaning to the field of disability studies (Pfeiffer 1999). Disability is considered by Brisenden (1986) to be both a lived thing and an experience; that is, that an individual lives with their impairment on a daily basis within their self, but also experiences disability due to society's response to their impairment.

Table 2. Definitions of Disability

<u>Definition</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Model it aligns with</u>	<u>Limitations</u>	<u>Policy or Academic</u>
"disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organisation which takes no or little account of people who have physical impairment and thus, excludes them from participation in the mainstream of social activities"	UPIAS	1976	Social	Pure focus on how exclusion is controlled exclusively by society and PWD themselves are dependent on others to be part of society.	Academic
"any restriction or lack (resulting from impairment) of ability to perform an activity in the manner or within the range considered normal for a human being"	WHO	1980	Medical	Fully focused on inability of body to meet norms and respond to needs.	Policy
"disability is a complex phenomenon that is both a problem at the level of a **person's body**, and a complex and primarily **social phenomena**. Disability is always the interaction between features of the person and features of the overall context in which the person lives"	ICF	2002	Biopsychosocial	Well-rounded and wide consideration	Policy
"Persons with disabilities include those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others."	United Nations CRPD	2006	Biopsychosocial	Inclusive of impairment groups and interaction with barriers preventing inclusion	Policy
"a dynamic interaction between health conditions and environmental and personal factors"	ICF	2013	Biopsychosocial	Tries to balance medical and social	Policy

“not just a health problem. It is a complex phenomenon, reflecting the interaction between features of a person’s body and features of the society in which he or she lives.”	WHO	2018	Biopsychosocial	Quite holistic and encompassing	Policy
“a personal, medical problem, requiring but an individualized medical solution; that people who have disabilities face no ‘group’ problem caused by society or that social policy should be used to ameliorate”	Areheart	2008 (p.186)	Medical	Put cause of disability purely on individual and refutes social impact.	Academic

As a frequently used term, ‘disability’ is facing many issues in both society and researchers’ understanding due to its emergence in the past century as a popular term when referring to people who display certain traits (Wasserman et al. 2016). Although consensus on a definition of disability used internationally is yet to be reached, Leonardi et al. (2006) present a number of considerations which are critical for a widely applicable definition for all PWD, and can support discussion of lived experience, including: 1. Flexibility to describe all types of impairment and severity across disability; 2. The absence of reference to how disability occurred; and 3. Flexible enough to be used in multiple areas such as academia or policy. With key considerations now identified, the extant and current definitions by both policy and academic fields presented in Table 2 (page 33- 34) will be discussed.

One of the first widely utilised definitions of disability was developed in the early 1980s by the World Health Organisation (see Table 2 - WHO (1980)). This definition places the challenges of an individual’s ability for performing life tasks as a sole consequence of their impairment (Ranseen and Parks 2005). In recent years, policymakers and academics alike have continued to advance understanding of disability, and how it is defined from a more holistic perspective, taking into account the multiple complex facets associated with disability.

An example of these developments can be seen when considering the WHO, who, over time, became aware of the limitations of their previous definition, thus leading them to develop a more modern and up-to-date version in association with their newly created Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health division (see Table 2 – ICF (2002)). Although a development on their previous consideration of 'disability' as a purely medical phenomenon, with no consideration of external factors, this definition continued to lack thoroughness, flexibility and specificities, and fails to enlighten the public as to what factors are at play when discussing disability. However, this interest in disability definitions being driven by international organisations shows the growing input and importance that policymakers have placed upon the development of disability understanding in recent decades. Policymakers, (for example, governments), are taking more interest in the definitions of disability, as, with a definition that is not wholly encompassing of all disabilities, there is room for discretion and lack of consistency as to whether or not someone is classed as disabled (Altman 2001) when it comes to disability benefits and laws associated with PWD. This also allows for the definition to be used as a tool in order to delineate who can gain access to services and benefits. For purposes such as these, the most applicable types of disability definitions include relative and administrative definitions (Grönvik 2007) such as the UK Government's Equality Act (2010) who class a disability as "a physical or mental impairment that has a 'substantial' and 'long-term' negative effect on your ability to do normal daily activities". This reference to disability as being negative and needing to be substantial in order to count, can be seen as dismissive of impairments that may have led to life-long learning and adjustments by PWD.

Most recently, according to the WHO website (Table 2, page 33-34) the definition of disability is in line with the developing thought surrounding disability in which features of society intersect to determine a person's individual lived experience. This definition allows for the understanding that each person’s experience is distinct and is dependent upon the interplay between multiple factors, not all of which are under an individual’s control. This definition aligns with the criteria identified by Leonardi et al. (2006), as it allows variance in which area it can be used, makes no reference to how the disability occurred (i.e. acquired or congenital), and provides flexibility to address all types of impairment.

Therefore, within key definitions of disability by the WHO (see Table 2, page 33-34), it is noticeable that in the past 30 years, there has been much development and consideration of the concept of disability, and the definitions developed reflect this. While the initial definition by WHO (1980) was based upon medical impairments and the person with a disability regarded as the root cause of disability, the ensuing two definitions by the WHO (ICF 2013; WHO 2018) show development to incorporate societal factors alongside the impairment causing the experience of disability.

Highlighting the growing interest in society into disability, the WHO are not the only international organisation to take an interest in disability. In 2006, the United Nations (UN) developed the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) ‘*to promote, protect and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms by all persons with disabilities, and to promote respect for their inherent dignity.’* (CRPD 2006). To fulfil their commitment to PWD, the UN also presents a formal definition of disability from the outset in the first article of the CRPD (see Table 2, page 33-34). The importance of this convention is due to its vast application worldwide, with over 163 countries as signatories, in turn influencing how many countries view disability and account for the needs of PWD to allow the potential for equal experiences to their fellow citizens without disabilities. This definition incorporates multiple factors associated with having an impairment, with a focus on the interaction with various barriers in society. The reference to barriers can incorporate many types: physical, environmental, attitudinal or social, all of which may impact the daily experiences of PWD.

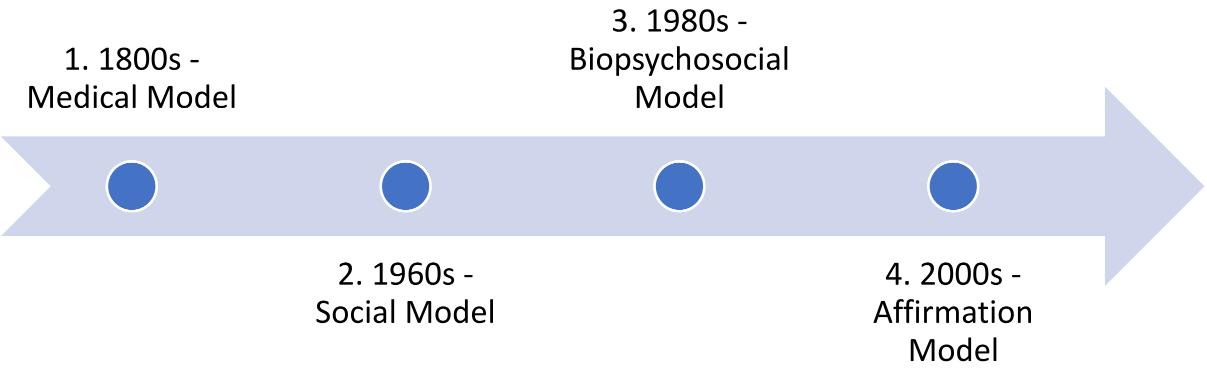
In order for disability studies to continue to develop with the most contemporary understanding of disability, it is first and foremost essential to have a definition of disability which is agreed upon across contexts, but, in this instance by academics. Hence, with consideration of many differing definitions showcased in Table 2 (page 33-34), for the purpose of this study as with many other disability studies in recent years, disability will be regarded in line with WHO's (2018) definition (see Table 2, page 33-34).This definition is most applicable in this study due to its contemporary understanding of disability and the interaction of an impairment with societal barriers where one lives. With the concept of disability now defined for this thesis, the next section will discuss the main conceptual models of disability.

2.2 Conceptual Models of Disability

As shown in Section 2.1.1, throughout history the way that people refer to disabilities and consider the placement of PWD in society has undergone constant transition. It is not simply how others without disabilities consider disability, but also how PWD themselves consider disability, that fluctuates. There is no uniform consensus by all PWD on their perspective of disability (McCormack and Collins 2012). In order to appropriately discuss and consider disability, academics and professionals alike have developed multiple models of disability in line with the beliefs surrounding disabilities and the social relations that PWD have with others in society (Zajadacz 2015). Disability is becoming more visible on a global scale, but different societies approach it differently, thus, different approaches to understanding are necessary.

Models of disability provide a basis for the development of disability research (Smart 2009) with several different models developed. The application of these models varies dependent upon the society in question at any given time. The most prominent of extant models include: medical model (Parsons 1951), social model (Finkelstein 1980; Oliver 1983), biopsychosocial model (Engel 1978; Waddell 1987) and affirmation model (Cameron 2014; Swain and French 2000). These four models have emerged over time (see Figure 1), with each model attempting to improve on the limitations associated with its predecessor. However, each new conception does not replace its predecessor, as the four models all remain - as differing contexts employ different models based upon understanding and needs.

Figure 1. Timeline of models of disability



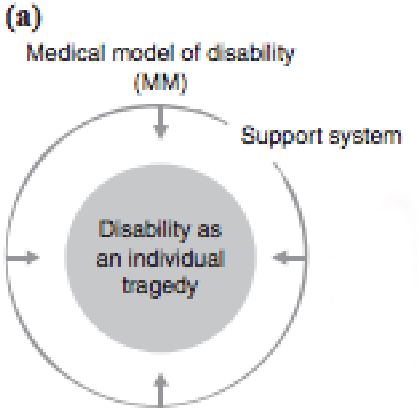
It is important to stress, that due to the complexity of disability, no single model encompasses all facets associated with having a disability; therefore, each model will experience inherent limitations (Smart 2009). The next section will discuss, compare and contrast four of the most prominent, well-respected and frequently discussed models of disability used in society. This allows for further consideration of the grounding of this study with respect to the most relevant model, and thus to answer the study’s research question as outlined in Chapter 1:

Introduction. This will also allow for greater understanding of the model of disability dominant in the respective research sites in this study, when discussing the findings. The models will be addressed in their order of development, as per Figure 1 (page 38), culminating in the presentation of the chosen model within this research study.

2.2.1 Medical Model of Disability

The first model to be discussed is the medical model, considered the pioneering model of disability, which grew from its inception in the 1800s (Retief and Letšosa 2018). This model is underpinned by a long-standing view on disability as a medical concept that needs to be fixed, cured, or ideally, if possible, prevented (Linton 1998; Marks 1997). The medical model of disability became prevalent in the early 1950s following its development by Talcott Parsons (Barnes 2014). The medical perspective on disability refutes the idea that society has any influential impact on the experiences of PWD, or that PWD as a group face discrimination or prejudice in their lived experience (Areheart 2008). Figure 2 (page 39), by Zajadacz and Sniadek (2014), presents a visualisation of how the medical model places the core origin of disability within the person themselves (Marks 1997).

Figure 2. Medical Model of Disability



Source: Zajadacz and Sniadek (2014)

As such, this model of disability has sustained the myth created at inception; that PWD are a population who require constant medical supervision and support in order to survive and live their life (Brisenden 1986), without which they cannot be independent. This aligns with the previously discussed idea of PWD in general being a group that requires protection. In the case of the medical model, it is the medical profession that is said to provide this protection through their exertion of power over the abilities of PWD. This power can be exerted by medical professionals attempting to treat or cure impairments (Wendell 1996). Often the authority of the medical profession is accepted over the experience of PWD (Addelson 1983; Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019). However, regarding medical personnel as experts of disability shows little regard for the everyday lived experiences of PWD as there is a misalignment of understanding.

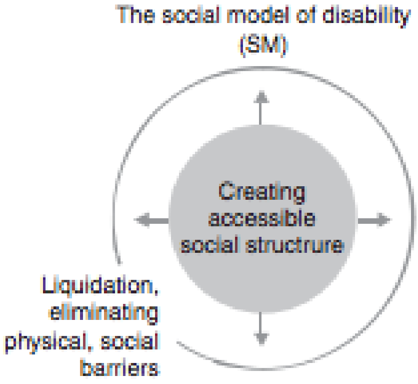
Although the origin of disability is seen as being within the individual, it also sees humans as flexible and adjustable (Llewellyn and Hogan 2000). Consequently, due to this flexible nature, it is considered the responsibility of the person with a disability to adapt to a rigid environment in order to optimise their lived experience. The medical model has received significant criticism from disability activists and academics alike, due to its integral focus on the core cause of disability being within the person themselves, as opposed to focusing on how disabilities impact the ways in which PWD are regarded by others (Zajadacz 2015). For example, Crow (1996) asserts that the medical model suggests the only way that PWD can fully participate in society, is if they are willing to find a cure for their disability with input from medical professionals, or work personally to overcome their disability. Similarly, Haegele and Hodge (2016) emphasise the influence of medical professionals over how PWD are treated in society through labelling and diagnosis as one of the model's major shortcomings. Understandably, PWD who are aware of the existence and influence of conceptual models of disability oppose the medical model, due to the power assertion maintained by medical professionals unable to appreciate the lived experience of disability due to the absence of such experience in their life (Smart 2009).

The medical model has the tendency to split PWD into two main categories – the pitied poster child, or the inspirational superhuman/supercrip (Areheart 2008). This 'supercrip' idea aligns with the notion of PWD overcoming society's low expectation of their abilities, and is most often associated with athletes with disabilities within a para-sport context (Silva and Howe 2012) as opposed to PWD in their everyday lived experience. Although once the powerhouse model of disability studies (Kerr and Myerson 1987; Smart 2009; Stone 1986), the medical model is now considered outdated due to its reactionary as opposed to progressive focus, in line with the rights of PWD, in turn fostering oppression (Beaudry 2016; Shakespeare 2006). As a consequence of questioning this powerful and dominant medical model, a reactionary model, which came to be known as the social model of disability (Oliver 1983), was developed to counteract the perceived shortcomings of the medical model. The social model will be discussed next.

2.2.2 Social Model of Disability

The social model of disability (Finkelstein 1980; Oliver 1983) is a model which places the origin of disability on the failure of society to adapt to PWD, as opposed to the impairment experienced by PWD being the cause, as per the medical model. The development of the social model of disability was conceived by South African psychologist Vic Finkelstein, alongside the Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) who defined disability as '*something imposed on top of our impairments, by the way we are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from full participation in society. Disabled people are therefore an oppressed group in society.'* (UPIAS 1976: 4). Building from this belief of society as disabling, Mike Oliver (1983) is regarded as the driving force in making the social model of disability mainstream in disability studies. Upon inception, and remaining true today, the intended use of the social model was aimed predominantly at professionals (in all fields) who work with PWD (Oliver 1983). The social model places emphasis on the importance of understanding the lived experiences of PWD by treating their subjective opinions towards society as valid, as opposed to people in power speaking for them (Brisenden 1986). How disability is produced in society has shifted in line with the social model whereby debate around disabilities has developed from the medical agenda to address areas around citizens and politics (Hughes and Paterson 2006). There is significant development from the medical model in UPIAS' (1976) definition of impairment (see, Table 2, page 33-34), to a focus on how society as a whole is responsible for limiting the potential of certain groups based on the characteristics they possess; as presented in Figure 3. Also, this definition of disability fails to recognise individuals with sensory or intellectual impairments and focuses solely on physical impairments.

Figure 3. Social Model of Disability



Source: Zajadacz and Sniadek (2014)

Figure 3 shows how creating accessible social structures is central to the model and can eliminate both physical as well as social barriers. Certain strengths are aligned with the social model, for example, the social model emphasises the requirement and necessity of society to develop greater accessibility through services and participation in everyday life for all members of the population (Zajadacz 2015).

Although now largely prevalent in disability studies, the social model, is not without associated limitations, the main of which were identified by Oliver (2004), the inventor of the term ‘social model of disability’. Five major limitations were identified by Oliver (2004) with respect to the social model of disability: 1. Inability to adequately address the realities of impairment; 2. Subjective experiences of pain associated with both impairment and disability are ignored; 3. Unable to incorporate intersectionality; 4. The issue of otherness and cultural values seeing PWD as ‘other’ and 5. Insufficient to be considered as a principal social theory of disablement. Within these five criticisms, three make this model inapplicable to a certain extent within this study: 1. The model is unable to deal with the realities associated with having a disability; 2. The model lacks a possibility to focus on intersectionality alongside disability; and 3. The model ignores subjective experiences deemed as negative. In contrast to the social model, which fails to incorporate the voices of the population being studied, this study regards the voices and subjective experiences of PWD as fundamental to the research. The social model also fails to consider the impact of intersectionality; a conceptualisation as to how membership of multiple minority groups can impact a person’s lived experience (Cole 2009). That is, intersectionality in disability studies can mean that PWD may not link their discrimination to their impairment, but instead to another facet of their being; e.g., gender, sexual orientation, race (Beaudry 2016). Intersectionality plays a large part in the cause of differences in individuals’ lives (Oliver 2013) and thus is essential to consider when researching lived experience.

The social model of disability offers an overly simplistic view of disability, in that it suggests that if society was organised differently, with PWD in mind, then any problems or restrictions that occur as a result of having a physical impairment, would all but disappear (Brisenden 1986). Thus, problems that are currently commonplace in society, such as prejudice, discrimination, and inaccessibility for PWD, are considered to be created by society and therefore can be remedied by society due to its undisputed power (Crow 1996). Yet, this consideration is abstract and not a viable way of alleviating barriers faced by all PWD, as not all of society is willing to do what it takes to improve the lives of PWD. While alleviation of barriers can be considered to be achievable and successful on a large scale, it is not successful or feasible for each individual and their diverse needs (Crow 1996) due to the complexity of disability.

Although a positive development from the initial medical model, the social model of disability continues to place the body within a medical understanding, with impairments considered within the said medical discourse (Hughes and Paterson 2006). Thus, the social model of disability, in all the years following its inception, has not entirely eliminated the use of the medical model. However, the social model is embraced and supported by academics and disability activists alike, particularly within UK society (Scope 2020).

Therefore, although the social model of disability to a certain extent allows for barriers faced by PWD in their daily lives to be identified and considered, it does not provide instructions or examples for those in power (often Pw/oD) to alleviate or remove these barriers (Cameron 2008). Therefore, in the next section, the further-developed biopsychosocial model of disability will be considered to determine if the shortcomings of both the medical model and social model of disabilities can be alleviated through the consideration of this new model and, in turn, make it appropriate for this study.

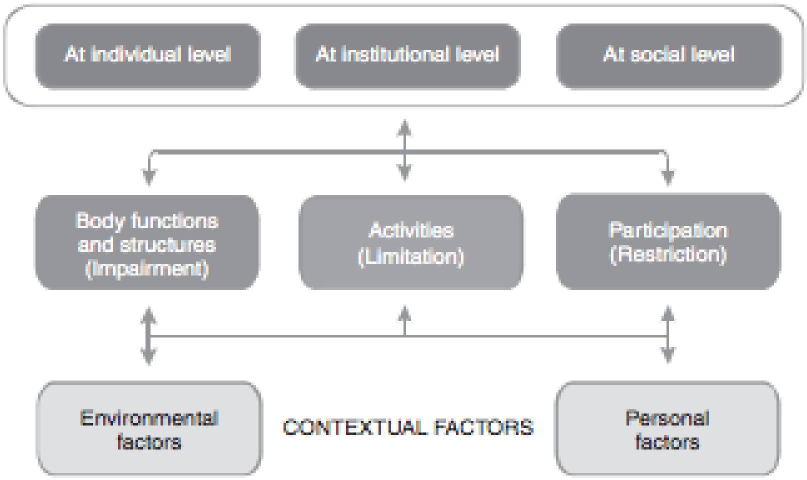
2.2.3 Biopsychosocial Model of Disability

The biopsychosocial model (BPS) stems from the late George Engel who developed the model as a viable alternative to the once dominant medical model (Engel 1977). The BPS model is a '*dynamic, intersectional, but dualistic view of human experience in which there is mutual influence of mind and body'* (Borrell-Carrio, Suchman and Epstein 2004: 581). From the development of models of disability and conflict over which model is most appropriate, the WHO now promotes the idea of disability as being dichotomous with neither the medical nor social model, but a fine balance between the two (WHO 2011). The biopsychosocial model understands disability as both the result of medical and social factors within a lived experience.

As shown in Figure 4 (page 46), the ICF developed a framework to facilitate understanding of the BPS model. The framework identifies how the model considers disability at multiple levels in order to allow for a comprehensive understanding of how contextual factors impact disability, while integrating both medical and social factors as fitting for the situation. Contextual factors interact to impact how a person experiences everyday tasks (activities, participation and body functions) within multiple areas of society at the individual level, institutional level, and critically, at the social level.

Overall, the BPS model attempts to strike a balance between an individual's impairment and barriers developed by society. The BPS model is regarded by some as a compromise between the medical and social models of disability (WHO 2011). The many levels associated with the BPS model allow for disability to be considered from the perspective of many factors surrounding lived experience.

Figure 4. Biopsychosocial Model of Disability



Source: ICF (2014)

However, there are limitations of the BPS model, that is, there is disconnect within the BPS model developed by Waddell and Aylward (detailed in Shakespeare, Watson and Alghaib 2017) and the BPS model upon which WHO and ICF have based their definition of disability. While the WHO's interpretation of disability seeks to provide a holistic understanding of biological, individual and social factors affecting an individual's health, Waddell and Aylward (2010) regard their interpretation of BPS as an extension of the medical model. Shakespeare et al. (2017) argue that the BPS has no coherent evidence or theory to support it. In the UK, the introduction of the Work Capability Assessment (WCA), although not often discussed is underpinned by the BPS (Shakespeare et al. 2017). This brings a negative connotation to the model as the WCA has been criticised for its role in the prevention of employment and accessing of benefits, as well as adverse consequences for mental health of PWD (Barr et al. 2016). Waddell and Aylward's (2010) BPS is focused more on explaining sickness absence in an attempt to manage disability.

2.2.4 Affirmation Model of Disability

The final model to be discussed, which has recently been developed, is the affirmation model. In response to the limitations of both the medical and social models of disability, an affirmative model has been proposed which is '*essentially a non-tragic view of disability and impairment which encompasses positive social identities, both individual and collective, for disabled people grounded in the benefits of lifestyle of being impaired and disabled*' (Swain and French 2000: 569). This definition highlights a movement towards the empowerment of PWD with a focus on a non-tragic view and consideration of the positives of having an impairment.

Although the affirmation model aims to address many of the shortcomings associated with the previous medical and social models, it is not itself without limitations. One of the most prominent issues associated with the affirmation model is the opportunity for any perceived benefits associated with disability to become synonymous with the lived experience of PWD and overlook the difficulties that are commonplace (Cameron 2008). Some, particularly Pw/oD, might term this as 'special treatment' being received by PWD to have access to certain benefits due to their impairment. For example, designated aisles in large stores for PWD to avoid the queues, can cause resentment towards PWD. There is still much ambiguity associated with the affirmation model, and this requires further clarification for greater applicability of the model (McCormack and Collins 2012). Thus, the model remains underused, as although Swain and French (2000) explain the model, they fail to explicitly specify it, and how it can be applied by others (Cameron 2008).

In sum, although this model attempts to allow for a more positive experience of disability, it falls short in explanation for its implementation and allowance for consideration of barriers (both physical and non-physical) that influence the daily lived experiences of PWD.

2.2.5 Assessing which model is most fitting for this study

Following consideration of the multiple models of disability above, the author also assessed the models from the perspective of which model represents the best fit for this study in order to achieve the study’s objectives, including developing understanding of lived experience and inclusion/exclusion in the marketplace post-event. Given the focus on subjective lived experiences of PWD, and the legacy of para-sport events and their influence on PWD in multiple aspects of life, the BPS model of disability was deemed most applicable. The WHO’s (2018) widely utilised definition of disability, as discussed in section 2.1, incorporates both the medical and social models associated with disability, culminating in the adoption of the BPS model in this study and recognises the cause of disability on interacting factors. As this model aligns with the consideration of social interaction as only one aspect of the lives of PWD, it allows for more nuanced consideration and discussion of the issues faced by PWD, separate to their social experiences. This model utilises multiple perspectives into experiences of disability aligned with the multiple facets of Paralympic events as demonstrated in Figure 6 (page 79). This model as a lens, allows the researcher to understand and discuss the experience of disability, as well as articulating this study’s perspective on disability linked to lived experience.

With the model of disability in which this study is set now indicated (BPS), the following sections address further issues associated with disability, such as fitting with societal norms, vulnerability, and the power struggles which contribute to lived experiences. Consideration of prevalent issues associated with disability in everyday lived experience allows for a more nuanced understanding of contemporary issues related to disability.

2.3 Factors Affecting PWD Lived Experience

The next section considers a number of issues at play in the lived experience of PWD in society connected to disability. These include; normalcy and the emergence and attainment of societal norms; sources and effects of vulnerability influenced by disability and power dynamics in society and how these impact PWD.

2.3.1 Lived Experiences of PWD

With emphasis placed within this study on disability as a lived experience, it is crucial to explore the meaning behind the term. This construction of lived experience is related to multiple facets of identity (Gopaldas and DeRoy 2015) which, for PWD, would include their impairment. In its most basic form, Dilthey (1985) considered lived experience in relation to poetry, and was one of the first researchers to explicitly expand on its meaning. Dilthey (1985: 16) provided one of the earliest definitions of a person's lived experience as involving *'a reflexive or "self-given" awareness which is an immediate, pre-reflective consciousness where there is not yet the distinction between act and content, subject and object that characterizes representational consciousness'*.

More recently, Boylorn (2008) defined lived experience as '*a representation and understanding of a researcher or research subject's human experiences, choices, and options and how those factors influence one's perception of knowledge'*. Dilthey (1985: 16) succinctly describes lived experience as a nexus which allows the past to have a presence in the present day. One factor which is key to a person's lived experience, and can be considered true for all lived experience regardless of the context in which it is being discussed, is that in order to be considered and discussed, a person must have completed the experience in order to reflect (van Manen 1990). In other words, an individual cannot truly foresee how their experience will be before it is lived, due to the variability of factors at play in life.

The lived experiences of PWD are greatly influenced (often unwittingly) by how disability is understood within the discourses of society, with varying models of disability working to sway public perceptions of disability and, most importantly, the perceptions of PWD by Pw/oD (Smart 2009). For the purpose of this study, a working definition of lived experience was developed by the researcher in which lived experience is understood as '*an individual's interpretation of residual feelings and understandings of phenomena in their lived space'*.

2.3.2 Lived Experiences of Inclusion/Exclusion

Diversity and inclusion have in recent years become buzzwords in multiple areas of life including academic research, education and in industry (Ferdman and Dean 2014). This terminology is often used when discussing many underrepresented groups in society based on impairment, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation or gender, to name but a few. Prior to discussion of the concepts, it is essential to define them.

> *'Diversity means all the ways we differ. Some of these differences we are born with and cannot change. Anything that makes us unique is part of this definition of diversity. Inclusion involves bringing together and harnessing these diverse forces and resources, in a way that is beneficial. Inclusion puts the concept and practice of diversity into action by creating an environment of involvement, respect, and connection.'* (Jordan 2011: 1)

The expansion of diversity and inclusion has allowed PWD to recognise the similarities (and differences) present in their lived experiences (Jaeger and Bowman 2005). This study seeks to examine these similarities and differences to inform future experiences in the event space and wider society.

Inclusion has often been a term associated with disability in academia prominently in the realm of education research (e.g. Campbell, Gilmore, and Cuskelly 2003; Collins, Azmat and Rentschler 2019; Gilham and Tompkins 2016; Kiuppis 2014). However, in recent years there has been a growth in the prominence of inclusion in both academia and the media in areas such as: social inclusion (Gannon and Nolan 2005; Kaufman-Scarborough 2015); workplace inclusion (Lindsay et al. 2018); sporting inclusion (Kiuppis 2018); and marketplace inclusion/exclusion (Baker 2006; Johnson, Thomas and Grier 2017; Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019; Saren, Parsons and Goulding 2019).

PWD often experience exclusion (the prevention of achieving acceptance) in many areas of life while pushing for greater levels of inclusion. The full inclusion of PWD is essential as 'No society can enjoy full development without proper inclusion of all its members' (Disability Rights Task Force on Civil Rights for Disabled People 1999). The inclusion of PWD has become a human rights issue in the majority of countries worldwide. In order to ensure the rights of PWD and social inclusion as active members of society, the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD). This is the most signed convention in UN history with a view to countries adopting legislation, policy and practice in order to support the inclusion and reduce/prevent the exclusion of PWD (United Nations 2007). Notably, for this study, both the UK and Brazil – the focal sites of the empirical part of the study - have signed and ratified the convention and associated protocol, displaying their commitment to the inclusion of PWD.

Jaeger and Bowman (2005) have highlighted the need for PWD to endeavour to achieve inclusion in all aspects of society, with a focus placed on finding new ways of educating society regarding the importance of inclusion for all its members. In the context of this study, para-sport events can be regarded as an opportunity to educate the general public regarding the importance of inclusion. While this understanding is needed in order for inclusion to occur, inclusion can promote greater understanding of disability by all members of society (Jaeger and Bowman 2005).

While the notion of marketplace inclusion encompasses access and fair treatment within the market, marketplace exclusion is often experienced as discrimination (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013). For example, PWD can experience exclusion in many areas of life such as access to venues, as they may be unable to access the venue due to various factors such as physical access or lack of education of employees who make decisions on PWD' behalf (Scope 2019). Although inclusion of PWD is becoming a more discussed topic in the Western world, the conversations in non-Western nations, while increasing, are not yet comparable, with particular impairments experiencing greater levels of inclusion; often in line with the hierarchy of disability (Tringo 1970).

Research and academic debate requires the views of PWD to be taken seriously (Barton 1998). This holds true twenty years later as the voices and views of PWD and their lived experiences remain an essential factor in reducing exclusion and facilitating inclusion. This study seeks to amalgamate the experiences of inclusion and exclusion of PWD in host cities and countries of para-sport events to determine viable areas and ways in which such events can potentially enhance inclusion for PWD.

In order to fully comprehend exclusion of PWD, it is vital to consider associated concepts that contribute to this experience of exclusion. The next section introduces the concept of normalcy, which captures how individuals and their characteristics are socially construed and compared to what is considered to be 'normal' (i.e. in this study Pw/oD), and considers the role of normalcy in social life in general and in PWD' exclusion in particular (Davis 1997).

2.3.3 Normalcy in Society[2]

Normalcy when considered through the lens of disability, is equated with 'everyday eugenics, which heralds a non-disabled person without 'defects', or impairments, as the ideal norm' (Madriaga et al. 2011: 901). Lennard Davis (1997) is regarded by many as the driving force in 'normalcy' research which came to the fore in the 20th century. Building upon this

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[2] Aspects of this section have been published by the thesis author – see Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019 Appendix 4

momentum, and bringing normalcy into the 21st century, Mallett and Runswick (2014: 23-24) explain the understanding of normalcy from Davis' viewpoint:

> *"In order to understand 'disability', we must begin by examining the idea of 'normal'. Indeed, he* [Davis] *draws our attention to what he describes as the hegemony, or dominance of the 'world of norms' (1995: 23). The world of norms is one in which intelligence, height, weight and many other aspects of the body are measured in comparison to the 'normal'."*

Normalcy, for the majority of people is an unobtrusive daily occurrence, which takes place in the background of lived experiences for people who are considered to meet society's perception of normal (Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019). However, for minority groups such as PWD, normalcy is consistently in the foreground of their lived realities, and as such, can impact their perceptions of their lived experiences in their environment (Goffman 1963; Mahtani 2001; Michalko and Titchkosky 2009). Normalcy encompasses what is considered by those who hold power to be the right thing to do, say or be, whereby all members of society should attempt to emulate these norms in order to fit in (Mallett, Ogden and Slater 2016). For PWD, expectations of normalcy are prevalent in how they are expressed in social relations, as often, when individuals encounter a stranger initially, their opinion on this individual is largely based upon the physical appearance the stranger exhibits (Munyi 2012). The concept of normalcy constitutes what can be classed as a 'legitimate way of being' by the majority in society (Michalko and Titchkosky 2009) when considering an individual's abilities and representative characteristics. That is, those who are considered to fit the socially construed norms are seen as being in a position to uphold power, which often leads to people trying to fit these norms (Michalko and Titchkosky 2009). While those who are considered to deviate from these norms often succumb to the power of others.

The preconception of disability by many as negative is often aligned with norms that have developed and been made public over time in society, as opposed to independent thoughts and interactions with PWD. The prominence of normalcy and societal norms is reinforced in the WHO's (1980) conceptualisation of disability (see Table 2 page 33-34) whereby, disability is discussed as being a deviation of ability from what is considered a 'normal' range for humans. The word normal being present in the definition suggests disability as being abnormal. In turn, if this is how the WHO considers disability, then society at large faces a predisposition to this idea of normalcy that can lead to a reluctance to question the ideas of an established international health organisation. However, the WHO (2018) has since developed their definition to omit the term 'normal', as their focus is now on interactions with society and not about PWD living up to a preconceived ideal way of being.

The notion of normalcy as an accepted ideal by society leads to insinuation that, for the majority, it is in their best interests to strive to be considered as part of the norm as opposed to falling outside of the parameters considered acceptable (Davis 1997). There are narratives present in the media currently in which PWD are considered as either normal or abnormal, or attempting to change the norm. Notable examples of UK adverts include: Scope's 'End the Awkward' campaign' looking to bring humour to discussing disability and Mars' range of adverts featuring PWD, with impairment groups including two wheelchair users, and two women who are deaf, discussing everyday experiences of their romantic lives (Mokhtar 2019). This campaign by Mars received mixed reviews from the public and criticism despite its endeavour to normalise disability (Launder 2018). With these narratives creating an expectation of how one should identify, this can lead to identity concerns for all enthralled in the narrative (Wilde 2010). This intersection between what people consider normal and what is prevalent with respect to disability is evident in many areas of lived experiences (Hodges et al. 2014).

This intersection and consideration of the real compared to the ideal has led to tensions in how normalcy within the population is regarded by PWD and Pw/oD. These tensions have led to society becoming apprehensive about discussing disability, and disability is thus now viewed as a 'socially sensitive topic' (Hodges et al. 2014). However, without discussion there is no potential for change in the preconception of norms. Once norms are present in society, this can impact PWD's lived experience manifesting as experiences of vulnerability and prejudice. These experiences will be discussed in turn, next.

2.4 Vulnerability associated with disability

Vulnerability has been described by Koopman (2013: 43) as 'the threat of unfulfilled needs' or being 'at risk and face the threat to suffer'. There are multiple forms of vulnerability that can present themselves in a person's everyday lived experience. These include perceived vulnerability, where an individual is believed by others to be vulnerable, but the individual may not agree with this assumption. Actual vulnerability occurs when an individual experiences vulnerability and this can only be understood through consideration of an individual's experience. Finally, consumer vulnerability, whereby vulnerability is a result of the interaction between an individual and all their characteristics when in a consumption setting (Baker, Gentry and Rittenberg 2005). Van de Beek (1984) identifies a number of factors which can impact how individuals experience vulnerability; such as social, physical, psychological, economic and political factors. Vulnerability is a state that any person or social group has the potential to experience; it is not limited to any one group or any one characteristic, such as having a disability. However, specific to PWD vulnerability, can entail ‘being unusually open to manipulation and exploitation by other, more powerful, knowledgeable, or unscrupulous people.’ (Scully 2014: 2010).

Vulnerability is not necessarily a constant experience and can fluctuate in certain situations (Satz 2008). In certain circumstances and situations vulnerability can be exacerbated due to individual traits that a person may possess (e.g., females in a male-dominated area can experience vulnerability). PWD are considered to have heightened vulnerability potential due to their impairment, and can experience disadvantage due to prejudice associated with said vulnerability (Satz 2008). Vulnerability has, in recent years, become highly associated with disability, with increasing research utilising the term in many areas of study, by authors such as Lid (2015) around disability inclusion and citizenship; Scully (2014) with regards to ethics and feminist philosophy; Koopman (2013) in the area of theology and disability; and Alschuler, Kratz and Ehde (2016) with respect to rehabilitation psychology. Such growing interest and links between the two phenomena can be explained by the consideration of disability being a well-known expression of vulnerability (Koopman 2013). This link can also potentially explain PWD being regarded as a weaker group in society who have heightened potential for experiencing vulnerability and as a result increased experiences of struggle, which is not necessarily the reality for all PWD.

Although PWD such as Paralympians (elite athletes) are often regarded as separate to non-athletic PWD and less likely to be vulnerable or struggle due to their impairment, their visibility can remind Pw/oD of the vulnerability of the human body as a whole (Hirschberger 2009). Athletes with disabilities, while often linked to stereotypes less likely to experience vulnerability (such as the supercrip stereotype – Silva and Howe (2012)), can in fact experience many struggles as a result of their sporting identity. For example, struggles include balancing training alongside working and studying; new identity once retired, and funding struggles associated with being an elite athlete (Bundon et al. 2018). As well as sporting struggles that may be faced, athletes with disabilities are not immune to struggles faced by non-athletic PWD such as issues with accessible housing (David Weir in BBC 2013), physical access to shops (Hannah Cockroft in Moore 2019) and lack of accessible facilities such as toilets on public transport (Anne Wafula Strike in Taylor 2017).

There are three main sources of vulnerability, as identified by Rogers, Mackenzie and Dodds (2012): inherent, situational and pathogenic. It is important to consider the varying sources of vulnerability in order to determine the potential or actual harm they can cause (Mackenzie, Rogers and Dodds 2014). Inherent vulnerabilities are sources shared by all human beings, regardless of race, gender or ability level (Rogers and Lange 2013). This can include vulnerability to physical or psychological illness such as loneliness or depression as well as death (Rogers and Lange 2013).

Meanwhile, situational vulnerabilities are distinct for each individual, as they are variable dependent on situational contexts and can often exacerbate inherent vulnerabilities of individuals (Rogers and Lange 2013). Situational vulnerabilities are more complex, as they have the potential to range from short term to enduring (Mackenzie, Rogers and Dodds 2014). An example of this for PWD who are wheelchair users, could be within transport, whereby in the short term the train station used to access work or education could have a staff shortage, resulting in an absence of staff on hand to prepare the ramp for entrance and exit of wheelchair users onto the train. Whereas, in the long term this station may have staff cuts and a contactless station, meaning no members of staff available to assist where necessary.

Finally, pathogenic vulnerabilities can be situational or inherent and connected to adverse social phenomena caused by injustice and repression, with the vulnerability faced by PWD often falling under this source when losing power due to discrimination (Rogers and Lange

2013). Pathogenic vulnerabilities can be considered as most relevant to PWD as they can often arise when an initial attempt to alleviate vulnerability in fact exacerbates existing vulnerabilities or creates new ones (Scully 2014). For example, certain acts passed meant to support people with intellectual impairments, such as the Mental Capacity Act (MCA) in the UK, can in fact exacerbate vulnerability by taking choices away from people as opposed to supporting autonomy (Clough 2017).

Koopman (2013) further highlights the greater likelihood of vulnerability in PWD' lived experience, by distinguishing PWD experience of vulnerability from that of their peers without disabilities. In context, physical vulnerability for PWD is intensified due to varying levels of physical inaccessibility in society; for example, a restaurant with a ramp but no accessible toilet is not an accessible environment for many wheelchair users, whereas physical vulnerability in accessing an environment is rarely an issue faced by Pw/oD. Of course, the latter is not without its exceptions, such as parents with prams, and the older generation who may struggle with steps. While Koopman (2013) discusses vulnerability in a physical context, there is no mention of psychological vulnerability.

In this vein, other studies identify that PWD also have a greater likelihood of experiencing vulnerability driven by financial or economic factors. For example, LaPlante, Kennedy and Trupin (1996) suggests that PWD are among the most susceptible in society to experience financial vulnerability, due to three key factors:

1. PWD often have a decreased capacity for earning as a result of their impairment(s).

2. The cost of accommodating impairments is expensive for employers and generally rising annually.

3. PWD, due to the unpredictability of their impairments and additional problems, are more disposed to financial shock as a result.

The heightened financial vulnerability for PWD can be associated with earnings when compared to Pw/oD. Figures from SIPP (Self-Invested Personal Pension) in the late 1990s detailed the disparity between pay of PWD regarded as having severe impairments, and Pw/oD, showing that PWD earned only around 60% of their counterparts without impairments (McNeil 1997). This disability pay gap remains present today, with PWD in the UK said to work eight weeks of the year for free compared to their peers without disability (TUC 2019). This ongoing gap is yet another factor which intensifies the financial vulnerability of PWD and in turn can exacerbate psychological vulnerability due to increased levels of stress and anxiety. Similarly, PWD are more likely to be exposed to increased costs of living due to their impairment (Batavia and Beaulaurier 2001) when compared with counterpart Pw/oD (Scope 2019). In line with the factors above, Batavia and Beaulaurier (2001) emphasise that when PWD are living their day-to-day lives, their vulnerability can be exponentially increased as a result of just one major event in their lived experience, such as job loss, illness or family issue. Overall, the multiple forms of vulnerabilities possible in the lived experiences of PWD as discussed above, are predominantly generated as a result of prejudice in society. The prominence of prejudice and its role in the inclusion/exclusion of PWD is integral for discussion of overall lived experience, as outlined next.

2.5 Prejudice

Prejudice is regarded as being '*an evaluative reaction – that is, as a negative attitudinal shift – that is elicited at the interface between individual beliefs and a social structure composed of social roles*' (Eagly 2004: 45). Prejudice can be experienced by any member of society due to certain traits they possess. For the most part, when attitudes towards PWD are discussed they are presumed to be negative and prejudiced (Söder 1990).

Prejudice is still evident in society, with people continuing to exhibit feelings of awkwardness, discomfort and sometimes fear during interactions with minority groups, which can often be accompanied and informed by misconceptions (Seifert and Bergmann 1983). Prejudice experienced by PWD can be linked to multiple factors such as: direct contact, with close personal contact resulting in situational and personal prejudice; group threat, where perceived threat to a group leads to unconcealed prejudice and individual hostility; and those likely to be increasingly hostile such as right-wing authoritarians (Fiske 1998). Furthermore, prejudice towards PWD specifically is linked to the medical model of disability, which, although created to develop understanding of disability has in fact increased prejudice as opposed to alleviating it (Hahn cited in Smart 2009). However, minority groups such as PWD are increasingly confronting this prejudice.

Not all Pw/oD in society have direct contact with PWD. As a result, this proportion of the population predominantly base their response to PWD on stereotypes they have been exposed to, or led to believe (Munyi 2012). PWD experience prejudice as a result of the attitudes of society. Alongside the importance of policy makers developing definitions of disability, as mentioned in the opening section of this chapter, many policymakers (such as UN agencies, governments and disability organisations) are striving to eliminate the prejudice and discrimination experienced by PWD (Munyi 2012) due to the negative effect on lived experiences. When discussing prejudice in-depth, an important indicator of the degree of prejudice is stereotyping by society (Söder 1990). The next section will address stereotyping, a concept linked to the previous discussed normalcy and prejudice, with a focus on the impact that interacting within a society influenced by stereotyping and misrepresentation through stereotyping has on the lived experiences of PWD.

2.6 Stereotyping

Although the word ‘stereotype’ emerged from the French painter Didot in 1798 (Ashmore and Del Boca 1981), stereotyping as a concept in the social sciences did not develop until the work of Lippmann (1922), and has undergone immense development since then. Historically there has been stark difficultly in gaining consensus on a definition of the term (Kanahara 2006).

In the mid-1930s, Allport (1935) developing the previous findings of Katz and Braly (1935) used his research to show a connection between stereotypes and the attitudes that people have and display, and the resulting prejudice. Allport (1935) believed that stereotypes were manifestly bad. While this is an assumption continuously questioned by researchers in the field, the majority of research into the concept to date regards stereotypes as social psychological constructs regarding certain traits that a person possesses (Ashmore and Del Boca 1981).

Over the years, many academics have attempted to create a comprehensive definition of stereotyping based upon their individual understanding and field of study, to ensure continuity. Ashmore and Del Boca (1981) were some of the first researchers to consider a meta-analysis of extant definitions, in order to develop a definition that considered the most central aspects for those previously identified. As a result of their systematic review, they developed a definition of stereotype as being simply ‘*a set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a group of people*’ (Ashmore and Del Boca 1981: 16). However, their definition does not explicitly state whether these beliefs are positive or negative.

Since then, continuing research such as that by Barker (1991: 227) expands on previous definitions by defining stereotyping as '*fixed ideas about an individual, group or social status*' that is, stereotyping is not automatically applied only to groups, but can also be experienced on an individual level. Similarly, Coon (2005: G-31) is of the belief that a stereotype is *'an inaccurate, rigid and oversimplified image of members of a social group, especially an outgroup*'. This definition employs a more descriptive and insightful overview of the various aspects of stereotyping. Kanahara (2006: 310) employs a more generalist definition of stereotypes as ideas which 'r*eflect our tendency to comprehend other individuals through our knowledge or understanding of particular groups that the individuals belong to*', as opposed to taking the time to make informed ideas from interactions. Therefore, with a greater understanding of the term in general, the term will now be discussed specifically with respect to disabilities and stereotyping of PWD.

PWD are generally exposed to stereotyping whereby they are seen as warm but incompetent (Rohmer and Louvet 2018). When considering stereotypes applied by society, PWD are expected to align with one of two majorly contrasting stereotypes due to an imbalance in the media of this underrepresented group as either positive 'superhumans/supercrip' (McGillivray et al. 2019; McPherson et al. 2016) or negative 'benefit scroungers' (Crow 2014). When PWD are present in the media, there is much under- and misrepresentation of the minority group (e.g., media reports featuring PWD only when negative experiences occur – such as a wheelchair user who was refused boarding to her flight as she was alone and could not walk (Coffey 2019), or films such as 'Me Before You' whereby a quadriplegic wheelchair user is portrayed by an actor who is a Pw/oD and an acquired impairment is seen as an unacceptable way of life). This issue of representation has caused delineation between the representation of PWD in the media, and the everyday lived experience of PWD, which they cannot resonate with (Hodges et al. 2014). Due in part to the issue of representation, many PWD believe the media to be enabling the dissemination of contrasting stereotypes of disability, that leads to the continued ostracism of PWD in society (Hodges et al. 2014). Until stereotypes are abolished, PWD will continuously be held to one standard or another, to the detriment of their lived experience.

As highlighted in the previous definition of stereotype given by Coon (2005), in general, stereotypes exist from the ‘in-group’ towards the ‘out-group’. As PWD represent a smaller proportion of the population than Pw/oD, in this context, PWD can be regarded as the out-group, with Pw/oD representing the in-group who create and perpetuate the stereotypes that surround disability. Dominant stereotypes currently associated with PWD can, to a certain extent, be associated with the development in popularity and visibility of para-sport events, such as the ‘supercrip’ stereotype that emerged alongside the growing representation of Paralympic athletes (Silva and Howe 2012). Stereotypes present within society can be internalised by PWD (Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019). In particular, negative stereotypes can be internalised by PWD in an attempt to meet the supposed norm, causing internalised oppression (Reeve 2002). This internalised oppression linked to stereotyping is said to be a feature of all marginalised groups to varying extents (Reeve 2002), and can be exacerbated by unattainable stereotypes showcased within society.

Although predominantly the case, stereotypes should not always be assumed as negative (Ashmore and Del Boca 1981). Some stereotypes, largely regarded by their creators as ‘positive’ and often developed in good consciousness, when publicised, are incompatible with individuals’ perceptions and can cause harm by exacerbating tensions and insecurities in the environments of individuals (Demangeot et al. 2019). Examples of these positive stereotypes include the ‘supercrip’ stereotype (McGillivray et al. 2019; Silva and Howe 2012) which has, since the London 2012 Paralympic Games, become a common representation of Paralympic athletes and has in recent years begun to be expanded into athletes being referred to as ‘superhumans’, thus creating standards of being expected by all Pw/oD, but refuted by many PWD (Moore 2019; Pepper 2016).

The stereotypes that have developed recently regarding disabilities related to the Paralympic Games have caused alarm amongst the community with disabilities due to their impact on lived experience of PWD. This alarm stems from a culture of fear in which a positive stereotype of ‘superhuman’ alludes to the possibility of being seen as too ‘able’ in their daily lived experience, and puts them at risk of losing their benefits which are constantly in flux and being assessed by the government (Brown and Pappous 2018). At the opposite end of the scale of superhuman, is the stereotype regarded as negative towards PWD; that of scroungers and benefit cheats (Crow 2014). Meanwhile, the negative stereotype of benefit scroungers and fabricators has developed an evident level of suspicion by Pw/oD towards PWD (Brown and Pappous 2018), which has led to an increase in the occurrence of hate crimes towards PWD (Riley-Smith 2012).

Stereotypes of PWD are often presented on a spectrum of humanity between the previously discussed supercrip/superhuman and PWD as pitied (Kama 2004; Schwartz et al. 2010). Pity is regarded as an accompaniment to stereotyping of PWD (Schwartz et al. 2010). By positioning PWD as objects of pity, this deems PWD as worthless and unable to survive without such pity from Pw/oD (Kama 2004). The pitied stereotype of PWD is present in many forms, from portrayals in the media whereby PWD are either absent or inaccurately portrayed (Schwartz et al. 2010); the hiding of PWD from public view (Wolfson and Norden 2000) and the general lack of suitable provision in physical space resulting in exclusion (Kama 2004).

Meanwhile, dependent upon the impairment type, disabilities that are regarded as mild/invisible to others do not evoke the same pity associated with stereotyping, in turn potentially leading to heightened vulnerability and blame (Schwartz et al. 2010).. The development of stereotypes is often linked to power (the powerful and powerless), as they are mutually reinforcing (Fiske 1993). Hence, it is necessary to consider how power and empowerment impact PWD within both the event space and wider society in their lived experiences.

2.7 Power[3]

Power as a concept has been extant in literature from the early 20th century, with Weber (1925: 28 in Wallimann, Tatsis and Zito 1977) saying: *'Within a social relationship, power means every chance, (no matter where on this chance is based) to carry through one's own (individual or collective) will (also against resistance)',* and is largely accepted as developing from the ideology of French philosopher Michel Foucault with respect to the power-knowledge discourse (Foucault 1976). The power-knowledge continuum can be used for greater understanding of how people in power use their experiences to interact with PWD, based on their judgements. In many countries the idea of disability was for many years chiefly grounded within the medical model of disability, (see section 2.2.1, page 39), with this positioning exported from Western nations to non-Western nations in order to inform the development of institutions (Turmusani 2003). This positioning of disability within a medical discourse, situated medical professionals as powerful members of society in comparison to PWD, due to their supposed greater knowledge regarding disability, and their supposed ability to cure and treat disability (Wendell 1996). This aligns with one of the three forms of power

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[3] Aspects of this section have been published by the thesis author – see Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019 Appendix 4

identified by Neath and Schriner (1998), which is ‘power over’, whereby PWD can experience social power by those in accordance with a hierarchy of norms, with PWD regarded as being at the bottom of the hierarchy.

From the perspective of disability, power in society is predominantly held by Pw/oD, as they are regarded as closest to the norm (of physical existence). In turn, Pw/oD are regarded as more competent in making decisions and holding power. However, with this power comes responsibility as expressed by Mackenzie, Rogers and Dodds (2014:13), who emphasise how ‘persons who are in positions of power and authority have special responsibilities towards those over whom they have power or who are particularly dependent on them.’ Specifically, that PWD are regarded as having no power over their lived experiences, but instead, it is seen as the responsibility of Pw/oD to make decisions in the best interests of a group instead of these decisions being made by each individual.

Therefore, with regard to PWD and Pw/oD the latter are regarded as being in control of decision making for both PWD and Pw/oD. Thus, it is necessary to challenge the current understanding of power in society and restore power at an individual level. It is essential for society and researchers to both recognise and accept the high value evident in the experiences of PWD which allows a celebration of difference as enriching to human experiences, as opposed to disability being undesirable (Howe and Silva 2018). In order to address power play issues, it is crucial for PWD to move towards empowerment in their lived experience.

Empowerment is defined as ‘the process by which a group of individuals become galvanised to act on their own behalf.’ (Gilbert and Schantz 2008: 250). The process of empowerment is initiated by recognising the injustice of power within social structures. This awareness is increased with the growing consciousness of diversity and inclusion in areas such as higher education, with chief diversity officers in many universities (Worthington, Stanley and Lewis 2014), and in industry, where inclusivity is now regarded as not only socially just, but can also be employed for competitive advantage (Witherow 2020). Moreover, an increase in empowerment of PWD as a group can take away the responsibility currently given to Pw/oD towards PWD, as PWD will no longer be regarded as dependent, as discussed above. This move towards empowerment is linked to “Nothing About Us Without Us”. This mantra, although originating in South Africa as a mantra for PWD, has since been adopted by disability rights activists worldwide to express the need for PWD to be central to decision-making on behalf of PWD (Franits 2005). This mantra links back to PWD having power over decision making that will affect their lived experience.

Extant research examining power in relation to PWD is predominantly linked to two areas; Paralympic Games (as discussed), and employment (Barnes 1999; Beverly and Alvarez 2004; Coleridge, Roulstone and Barnes 2005; Griffiths, Mannan and MacLachlan 2009; Neath and Schriner 1998; Shier, Graham and Jones 2009). However, the understanding of the links between PWD and power extends beyond these two areas into wider society. For example, some conceptual models of disability capture the role of power, such as the medical model of disability, whereby medical professionals are said to exert their power over PWD by trying to treat or cure their impairment (Wendell 1996). Emergent research considers how power operates in impacting lived experience of PWD in media representation contexts (Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019; McGillivray et al. 2019) and political economy contexts linked to para-sport events (Brittain and Beacom 2016). Much has been asked of whether, or how Paralympic Games can impact the empowerment of PWD (Gilbert and Schantz 2008; Howe and Silva 2014; Jackson et al. 2014; Peers 2009; Purdue and Howe 2012). The concept of empowerment has traditionally been related to disability sport, and, in particular the

Paralympics as Paralympians and the group they are said to represent (i.e. PWD), face disempowerment as a result of perceived social disadvantage (Howe and Silva 2014). There is some support for competitive sport as a facilitator of empowerment. However, there are simultaneous reservations and warnings not to be blinded by the propaganda of Paralympic Leaders (Gilbert and Schantz 2008). The IPC has long advocated for sport as a tool for empowerment (Purdue and Howe 2012). However, contrary to their advocation, athletes with disabilities were in fact regarded as controlled by the Paralympic Movement as opposed to being empowered due to their involvement (Peer 2009).

Empowerment is a subjective and wide-ranging concept (Purdue and Howe 2012) and under the value of inspiration, Paralympic Games look for athletes with disabilities to empower others to become involved in sport (IPC 2020). While the IPC sees Paralympians as potential empowerment facilitators for others, Paralympic stakeholders are of the belief that in fact, only Paralympians have the potential to be empowered by the games and as such, the Paralympic Movement as a whole only facilitates empowerment for those directly involved in the games (Purdue and Howe 2012).

In general, Purdue and Howe (2012) found that, by having more athletic lifestyles and often failing to self-identify as ‘disabled’ (for example, the supercrip rhetoric and representations do not extend to non- athlete PWD) (Silva and Howe 2012), there are limitations in the ability of Paralympians to empower the general population of PWD. Overall, Paralympic Games are seen as a potential (but not automatic) tool for the empowerment of PWD in general (Purdue and Howe 2012).

The review above showcases several factors that interact to impact the lived experience of PWD. In order to bring these factors together, ableism is considered as a theoretical lens appropriate for linking PWD' experiences to control and power in the event space and wider society within this study (Goodley 2014).

2.8 Ableism

The idea of ableism evolved from disability rights movements in both the USA and UK in the 1960s-1970s (Billawalla and Wolbring 2014). Ableism as an official term can be traced back to its origin in the 1981 Oxford English Dictionary, and since its inception, has become contemporary terminology when referring to discrimination, particularly with respect to disability within research. The theoretical lens of ableism allows the study to view PWD based on relations with others in society (Wolbring 2011). Ableism is defined by Wolbring (2006, 2008: 252-253) as:

> *'A set of beliefs, processes and practices that produce – based on abilities one exhibits or values – a particular understanding of oneself, one's body and one's relationship with others of humanity […] and includes how one is judged by others.'*

Therefore, ableism is considered a form of prejudice, which allows us to better understand discrimination experienced by individuals due to certain traits that a person possesses based on an ability-based view of their body when compared to others in society (Wolbring 2011). This ability-based view culminates in discrimination against those who do not meet societal norms with respect to ability (Wolbring 2008). Although not explicitly disability-specific and known to be applicable to and encompass other -isms such as ageism, racism, sexism etc. (Wolbring 2008), ableism is a term that in recent years has been increasingly attributed to discrimination of disability and widely used within disability research.

In today's society, people of all abilities face growing threats associated with a society that is ever more governed by the multiple forms of ableism (Campbell 2009), in which any variation from the norm is seen as negative. However, for the remainder of this thesis, in the context of this study when referring to ableism it is intended only as disability-specific, unless stated otherwise. When considering disability-specific ableism, also referred to as 'disableism', the definition by Kitchin (2000) cited by Kitchin and Law (2001: 289) as *'the systematic discrimination of disabled people by non-disabled people through individual, institutional and social/cultural means*' is highly applicable as it considers the discrimination of PWD by Pw/oD as systematic, taking place through many channels including individual, societal, cultural and organisational means. Ableism allows for a sociological understanding of prejudice discussed above with consideration of how society plays a role in the lived experiences of PWD.

Ableism, as a whole, has the potential to fundamentally impact PWD in their lived experience, as highlighted by Campbell (2009: 166):

> *'Regimes of ableism have produced a depth of disability negation that reaches into the caverns of collective subjectivity to the extent that the notion of disability as inherently negative is seen as a 'naturalized' reaction to an aberration.'*

As a form of social prejudice, ableism expresses a preference for, and as such further caters for, members of the population who are deemed to have abilities more in line with what is considered 'normal' (as discussed in section 2.3.3, page 52). Storey (2007) posits that ableism, while intangible, is currently commonplace, meaning it is experienced daily by many PWD, both directly and indirectly, but is often overlooked and under addressed as a barrier to PWD attaining full inclusion. PWD often experience discrimination as a consequence of their disability and are made to feel 'less able' than their peers without disabilities and thus, less accepted, due to their perceived deviation from societal norms. Such experiences can take the form of non-provision of products and services to PWD by public and private organisations operating in a given market, online abuse of PWD, which continues to rise (Ryan 2019) and verbal abuse towards PWD in public places (BBS 2019) or physical abuse such as eggs being thrown at PWD on the street (BBC 2019), damage to property and attacks on assistance dogs (Scope 2020).

Ableism is rooted in negative assumptions towards PWD, predominantly from Pw/oD (Hehir 2002). These negative assumptions entail a belief that PWD, as a group are inferior to Pw/oD (Linton 1998) due to their impairment(s). Such assumptions position Pw/oD as the more powerful group over PWD and, thus, the more accepted population, which allows them to retain their power and control over groups seen as 'less' or 'different' (see Section 2.7, page 65). As such, Pw/oD are generally tasked with decision-making and planning on behalf of society, which often either does not think to accommodate the needs or experiences of PWD, or assumes the acceptable accommodation on behalf of PWD. Therefore, engagement with the theory of ableism allows for a greater understanding of how PWD and Pw/oD view disability, view themselves and view provisions in lived experiences. As well as this understanding, ableism as social prejudice has become more commonplace and needs to be addressed in all areas of lived space.

The concept of normalcy influences power relationships between groups, as power is based upon normative values central to ableism. When considering ableism from the perspective of PWD, how one deviates from what is considered the 'norm' is dependent upon physical and intellectual abilities, whereby the population without impairment is seen as the most legitimate form of being in today's society and what all people should strive to achieve. This prioritisation of Pw/oD by many societies due to being perceived as the norm leads to:

> *'…societal attitudes that uncritically assert that it is better for a child to walk than roll, speak than sign, read print than read Braille, spell independently than use a spell-*

> *check, and hang out with non-disabled kids as opposed to other disabled kids'* (Hehir 2002: 2).

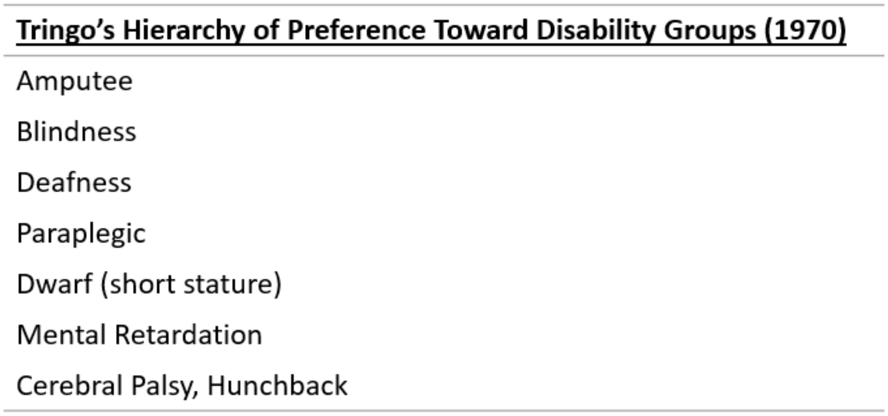
Therefore, even societies who claim to be accepting of all PWD, adhere to a norm continuum whereby, dependent on the degree of impairment, they are considered with respect to the norm; that is, whether they are closer or further from the norm (Deal 2003) in order to inform how one acts. The less provisions that need to be made for PWD by Pw/oD, the more they are generally accepted.

Ableism is 'deeply and subliminally embedded within the culture' as opposed to being forthright and palpable meaning it can subtly yet pervasively impact PWD position in the social order (Campbell 2008: 153). For example, the roots of discrimination discussed previously in sections 2.5, 2.6, 2.7, are shown to interact manifesting together as ableism, as illustrated by a new definition by Bogart and Dunn (2019: 651) in which; 'Ableism is stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination, and social oppression toward people with disabilities'. This contemporary definition of ableism showcases the link between ableism and aspects of PWD' lived experience. Therefore, even stereotypes of PWD considered by Pw/oD to be positive and empowering, can in fact, lead to social exclusion of PWD.

While one might assume that only Pw/oD harbour ableist tendencies and behaviours causing social oppression of PWD, this is not the case. PWD can also be ableist towards either others with disabilities, or, in some cases harbour internalised ableism (Campbell 2009), whereby PWD can experience animosity towards themselves and their body in which they view their body and impairment as being the problem (Brittain and Beacom 2016). In turn, internalised ableism employs a bilateral strategy in which it both distances PWD from others with disabilities and the emulation of ableist norms by PWD (Campbell 2009). Due to the complexity of disability, there is a variation between impairment groups, and it is regarded as easier for those deemed closer to accepted norms (Brittain, Biscaia and Gerard 2019).

How people are regarded with respect to the norm and how their disability is viewed from an ableist perspective, can also often be hierarchically structured, as captured by the concept of hierarchy of disability developed by Tringo (1970); also subsequently referred to as the 'hierarchy of impairments' by Deal (2003). This hierarchy considers how people view certain disabilities as more acceptable than others via a ranking system. Specifically, within the hierarchy of impairments, people with physical impairments such as amputees and wheelchair users, are viewed as more socially accepted than those with intellectual disabilities or cerebral palsy, for example. Although dated in its origin, the hierarchy has been shown to be just as applicable today. In the empirical study by Thomas (2000), Tringo's (1970) hierarchy of disability was revisited with responses from over 170 PWD. This hierarchy can be seen in Figure 5 (page 73), showing how Tringo (1970) ranked impairment groups based on social acceptability.

Figure 5. Tringo's Hierarchy of Preference towards Disability Groups (1970)



Tringo's Hierarchy of Preference Toward Disability Groups (1970)
Amputee
Blindness
Deafness
Paraplegic
Dwarf (short stature)
Mental Retardation
Cerebral Palsy, Hunchback

Source: Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis (2019)

Although the terminology may have developed since its inception (i.e. mental retardation and hunchback are no longer socially acceptable terms) the associated impairments remain the same and were proven as still applicable when examined by Thomas (2000) at the start of the 21st century. By being open to incorporating the voices of all physical impairment groups and people with visual impairments, this study will not align itself with the hierarchy of most accepted groups included; instead, all physical impairment types and visual impairments are included and regarded with the same importance.

A growing area of interest for researchers specific to the theory of ableism is the concept of 'aversive ableism', which has developed from the aversive racism theory (Deal 2007). While many people consider their behaviour as accepting of all cultures, and believe themselves free of prejudicial behaviours, the notions of aversive ableism and racism contest the truth of this position. As such, aversive ableism refers to behaving in a prejudiced way, although not deeming the behaviour as prejudiced, as it is not deliberate or obvious, and often this prejudicial behaviour is due to the existence of unconscious prejudices (Friedman 2016). This is particularly evident in situations where individuals believe they will not be caught in their actions, or judged on such (Friedman 2016). Often, those engaging in prejudicial behaviour do so unwittingly, with their behaviour potentially influencing how groups are perceived by peers, as it is regarded as socially unacceptable to discriminate against PWD (Friedman 2018). Therefore, aversive ableism is a way in which people can express their prejudices without fear of judgement or fear of insulting said group, as the ableist behaviour is not experienced directly by PWD.

Ableism is a helpful theoretical lens that links alienation of certain groups (in this context PWD) and inequalities of control within social spaces (Goodley 2014). When ableism is considered from a marketplace inclusion/exclusion perspective, disparities can arise from inaccessibility (full or partial) within interactions in the marketplace or misalignment of the management mechanism that produces commercial media representation, with how one perceives sense of self (Baker, Gentry and Rittenburg 2005; Kipnis et al. 2013). While the focus of this study is PWD, Pw/oD are not necessarily immune to control issues within marketplace interactions. However, in the case of PWD, the further that people deviate from society's norms, the more susceptible they are to experience discrimination (in areas such as employment) (Finkelstein 1993), if the marketplace interacts with society from an ableist standpoint.

Ableism can be seen as both applicable and impactful on both dimensions of the IPC legacy goals determined prior to the event (more detail in section 2.9.4, page 88), as ableism is strongly linked to sport, which often showcases the abilities of those regarded as above the mainstream standard (Duncan and Aycock 2005). Similarly, ableism within the media has the potential to impact a person's experience of their imagined space. The following section details mega-events; their scope, definitions and legacy as a result of such events.

2.9 Mega-events and their legacy

In order to understand the relevance and value of examining the dynamics of the lived experience of PWD in relation to the legacy of para-sport mega-events, it is first necessary to consider why, and how studying mega-events and their legacy has gained prominent interest from both researchers and policy makers alike. Overall, many events are routinely organised and hosted in various locations such as street festivals, music festivals and sporting events. There exist varying types of mega-events, both non-sporting and sporting. For example, the most researched non-sporting mega-events include World Expositions and European Cities of Culture (Bocarro, Byers and Carter 2018); while from a sporting perspective, the FIFA World Cup, Olympic and Paralympic Games and Commonwealth Games are regarded as prominent sporting mega-events. However, events of a larger scale (national and international) are considered platforms for tourism and knowledge dissemination as well as large-scale media reach. At the same time, such events require significant investment and long-term planning (Stewart and Rayner 2016), and therefore require their components to be clearly defined to ensure effective delivery. Müller (2015) offers a helpful categorisation of large-scale events; illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3. Scoring matrix for event classes according to size (Müller 2015).

Size	Visitor Attractiveness No. of tickets sold	Mediated reach Value of broadcast rights	Cost Total Cost	Transformation Capital Investment
XXL (3 points)	>3 million	>USD 2 billion	>USD 10 billion	>USD 10 billion
XL (2 points)	>1 million	>USD 1 billion	>USD 5 billion	>USD 5 billion
L (1 point)	>.5 million	>USD .1 billion	>USD 1 billion	>USD 1 billion
Giga Event	11-12 points total			
Mega-event	7-10 points total			
Major Event	1-6 points total			

The largest of all events, the 'Giga Event', is quite rare in practice and to a certain extent, almost unattainable, as it requires such an unprecedented level of investment and total cost. Due to the rarity of Giga events, much of the focus of event literature is placed on the second largest event; Mega-events. To date in the literature, there has been much ambiguity as to how the concept of 'mega-event' should be defined (Bramwell 1997; Müller 2015; Preuss 2007). However, in recent years, Müller (2015) has developed a definition that provides a more comprehensive understanding of the once elusive concept, for both researchers and event organisers. This definition consists of the four dimensions (Table 3, page 76) that must be considered to determine if an event reaches a ‘mega’ level; in order for it to be referred to as such.

According to Müller (2015: 629), mega-events are ‘ambulatory occasions of fixed duration that: 1. Attract a large number of visitors; 2. Have large mediated reach; 3. Come with large costs; and 4. Have large impacts on the built environment and the population’. For an event to be classed as ‘mega’ in size, it needs to meet set criteria across these four dimensions, as determined in the scoring system presented in Table 3 (page 76). Meanwhile, in line with the four event dimensions, when considering the large investment made by the host country, the impact on society is expected to be not only profound, but also lasting post-event, in order to justify the use of public finances and resources (Silvestre 2009). One of the most important aspects of a mega-event is the notion of the event’s transformative impact. This impact can include the built environment and urban planning, but also the social impact of the event on the population themselves whose support is crucial during the bidding process, but expendable once planning and delivery begins (Müller 2015).

Having defined mega-events in general, it is imperative to further characterise para-sport-specific mega-events, as this currently lacks a specific definition in the literature. Therefore, a para-sport mega-event definition in this thesis has been developed by adapting the mega-event definition developed from Müller (2015), as being a ‘sporting event for PWD that attracts a large number of visitors (over 1 million), has a large mediated reach, a large cost and has a large impact on the built environment and population’. This definition regards para-sport events as requiring the same criteria as a non-para-sport event, with the crucial integration of disability as a central component. Adapting a widely accepted and applied definition of mega-events highlights para-events as being regarded with the same importance as their non para-event counterparts.

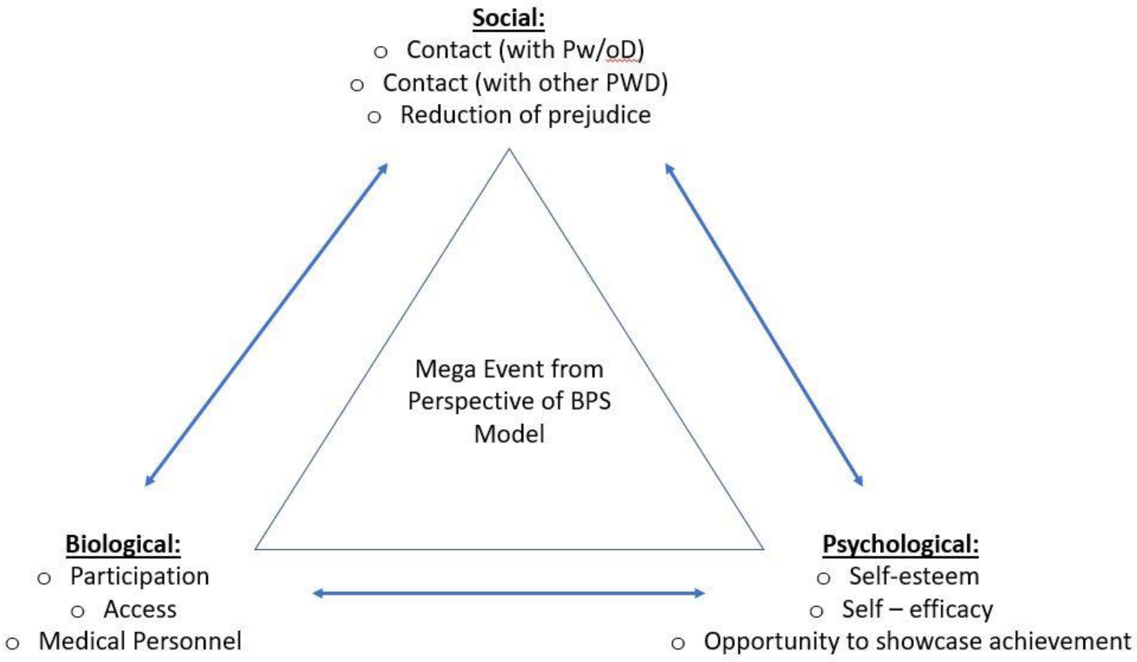
Within the sporting realm, there are different types of para-sport events that take place with ultimately different missions and aims. These events include: the Invictus Games, an event for injured servicemen/women, which aims to inspire recovery and understanding of those who serve their country (Invictus Games Foundation 2016); Special Olympics, which utilise sport as a tool to empower people with intellectual impairments (Special Olympics 2020); and Paralympic Games, predominantly regarded as the peak of para-sports, and considered to be the pinnacle of a para-athlete's career (Darcy 2017; Martin 2017), which also encompass a more holistic inclusion and humanistic element around legacy and social perceptions.

2.9.1 Para-sport events through the lens of Biopsychosocial Model of Disability

As this study aligns with the BPS model of disability (ICF 2014), it is essential to consider para-sport events with respect to the multiple aspects of the model. The three components of the BPS model (biological, psychological, social) all combine to different degrees to create lived experience of PWD in relation to para-sport events.

As depicted in Figure 6, there are multiple facets associated with para-sport events with respect to an individual's experience. Firstly, from a biological perspective, para-sport events provide opportunities for PWD to participate fully, unlike events for Pw/oD, which are often limited to individuals aligning with societal norms. Thus, participation is dependent on degree of disability, or acceptance by those in power to make allowances. Similarly, access within para-sport events offers an accessibility occasion in which PWD can be fully independent in an environment developed with disabilities specifically in mind. Sporting events and mega-events allow for PWD to reach their full potential and increased participation acts as an aspect of social inclusion (Kiuppis 2018).

Figure 6. Biopsychosocial Model and Para-sport Events



Source: Adopted from Brittain 2004

Secondly, psychologically, mega para-sport events can have a profound effect on how PWD view themselves in comparison to the participants. The event itself extends potential for increased self-esteem, which is crucial, as PWD (particularly women) often experience low self-esteem in their lived experience due to inability to meet societal norms (Hargreaves 2013). Self-esteem is regarded as how individuals perceive their worth when compared with their own expectations and the expectations of others (Magsamen-Conrad et al. 2016). Low self-esteem can result from the attitudes and opinions of others as opposed to internal personal factors, and due to being socially imposed, can be more difficult to alleviate within individuals (Brittain 2004). Through improved experience of acceptance and contact as a result of mega-events, the potential for PWD to have improved self-esteem is in place. With improved self-esteem, PWD have the opportunity to showcase their abilities; whether as an athlete, or being out and about with friends and family in an independent fashion. For example, for athletes, showcasing a high level of sporting prowess can result in increased self-efficacy (Blauwet and Willick 2012), which can potentially extend to other areas of life and culminate in a more positive lived experience, or can potentially have the opposite effect.

Finally, a key area associated with mega-events, is the social aspect the event affords to the population within the host country and city; where an integral social element is the multiple forms of contact experienced by the population that can occur as a result of para-sport events taking place; including contact between PWD and Pw/oD, PWD and others with similar or different impairments and Pw/oD with Pw/oD. This contact provides an opportunity for prejudice to be maintained, produced, increased or relieved, impacting the lived experience of the population experiencing the prejudice.

As well as the criteria outlined in the definition above, in order to achieve mega-event status, events set legacy goals for each event which align with the event ethos. This is discussed in the next section.

2.9.2 Understanding the legacy of mega-events

The main aim of event legacy should be, and in general is, to maximise the quality of life of the local population long-term post-event (Preuss 2018). In order to address legacy, firstly, the extant definitions of legacy must be considered. The concept of legacy has seen recent growth and has been incorporated into games bids from the mid-2000s onwards (Leopkey 2009). Although deemed an official requirement, legacy was often ignored by organising committees who believed their true duty was to organise a ‘perfect games’ which led to the omission of legacy plans prior to the event (Preuss 2018). Since its rise in popularity there have been several attempts to define legacy; however, researchers are often hesitant to claim they have defined legacy, as the repercussions of a poorly defined term can be problematic when utilised in research; as extant definitions often allude to legacy as a predominantly positive concept (Cashman 2006). At times, it has even been regarded as a dangerous term

(Cashman 2006); however, more recently, the term legacy has become a 'vogue or fashionable expression, frequently used, often overused, greatly misused and seldom understood in the context of mega sporting events organisation' (Gilbert and Schantz 2015: 161). Without a common definition, many event organisers and governing bodies are quick to claim they have created a legacy without sufficient evidence to substantiate these claims.

Table 4 (page 81) presents a number of definitions of legacy, both from academia and international organisations and considers how various sources understand legacy, providing a platform to allow a more holistic understanding of the term. As is evident from extant definitions, the majority of definitions have been developed with the Olympic Games in mind, with a notable absence of a legacy definition from the IPC.

Table 4. Definitions of Legacy

Definition	**Source**	**Year**	**International Organisation or Academia**
"the material and non-material effects produced directly or indirectly by the sport event, whether planned or not, that durably transform the host region in an objectively and subjectively positive or negative way".	Chappelet and Junod	2006	Academia
"irrespective of time of production and space, legacy is all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for and by a sports event that remain longer than the event itself"	Preuss	2007	Academia
"Legacy is a planned and unplanned, positive and negative, intangible and tangible structure created through a sport event that remain after the event"	Gratton and Preuss	2008	Academia
"[…] legacy is the result of a vision. It encompasses all the tangible and intangible long-term benefits initiated or accelerated by the hosting of the Olympic Games/sport events for people, cities/territories and the Olympic Movement."	International Olympic Committee	2017	International Organisation
"any outcomes that affect people and/or space caused by structural changes that stem from the Olympic Games"	Preuss	2018	Academic

Table 4 spotlights how, in their definitions of legacy, researchers have the potential to be as ableist as the general public. This is evident from the dominant focus on sports for Pw/oD when referencing the source of legacy, such as the Olympic Games. Particularly, Preuss' (2018), most recent definition of legacy stemmed exclusively from the Olympic Games, disregarding the potential of other mega-events, including the Paralympic Games.

The definition, which initially gained greater acceptance than most, with the emergence of legacy research, is that of Gratton and Preuss (2008) (see Table 4, page 81) who developed a definition of legacy which is specific to sporting events and as such, can be applied in both sporting and event contexts. This definition is considered well-rounded, as it contemplates the dimensions of time, space, and all changes (Preuss 2015) leading to what can be regarded as a comprehensive overview of legacy. This development of legacy as a concept, which exclusively stems from the Olympic Games, highlights the need for greater research into the legacy of the Paralympic Games as a similarly competitive and impactful mega-event. Legacy is not only linked to Olympic Games, nor are structural changes the only aspects that can be classed as legacy.

When considering mega-events and their prospective legacies, the legacies of such events are often complex, dynamic, and dependent on factors which present themselves both locally and globally. Therefore, prediction of legacies proves to be a very difficult aspect in the planning and implementation of events (Preuss 2007). Legacies stemming from events can incorporate a number of different aspects, with many authors attempting to define which types of legacy are addressed. For example, Cashman (2006) has identified six types of legacy stemming from sporting events (physical, infrastructure, economic, sports, politics and education). In a similar vein, Gratton and Preuss (2008) have identified six event structures which are an outcome of legacy (knowledge, infrastructure, emotion, culture, education and image). Many other authors list what they consider to be key types of legacy, that are found to overlap with the aforementioned types (for selected examples see Chappelet 2008; Hiller 2006).

Alongside his most recently developed definition, Preuss (2018) identifies six structural changes that influence legacy with respect to either space or people: urban development, environment enhancement, policies and governance, human development, intellectual property, and social development. For the purpose of this study, all of these structural changes can be regarded as central to the study. Centrally, human development is pivotal to the creation and understanding of new knowledge surrounding an event (Preuss 2018). From a Paralympic Games perspective, the games harness the potential to disseminate new knowledge to the public surrounding disabilities and abilities, as well as how to talk about disabilities and the language used. This knowledge creation and dissemination can help PWD and Pw/oD to establish new contacts and networks and develop relationships through amplified positive contact.

Similarly, from a people perspective, social development is a key component for this study, as social development can address the beliefs of the public and change how they view or think about societal issues such as racism, gender, the environment (Preuss 2018), and from the perspective of this study, disability. Therefore, with many types of legacy evident, how they present themselves within society will be considered and discussed in the next section.

2.9.3 Determining Legacy of Sporting Mega-Events

Legacy research with respect to sporting mega-events has seen significant growth in the past ten years. In comparison with research as a result of the Sydney 2000 Games, in which only one article was published on sporting event legacy, post-London 2012 there has been a spike in legacy research, which has since remained high, with between 37 and 50 articles on the topic per annum (Thomson et al. 2018). With respect to the extant literature on legacy associated with mega sporting events, some areas are considered much more valuable to organisers, and thus to the country that is hosting the event. For example, it is easier for organising committees to prove success in certain areas of legacy post-event where the legacy is considered to be tangible, such as tourism and infrastructure. The ability to report back to governments, governing bodies and organising committees with figures, and support claims quantitatively, leads to much of the reporting stemming from this area existing within a limited domain. The limitation associated with this focus is accepted in an attempt to garner further funding, and present a positive response and outcome of said event. This is reinforced by a systematic review by Thompson et al. (2018), in which two-thirds of extant studies on legacy were identified as focusing on tangible legacy, while only one-third of studies since the year 2000 discuss the more intangible aspects of legacy such as changes in attitudes and media representation.

In a recent systematic review undertaken by Scheu and Preuss (2017), the authors identified four key issues currently associated with research in the area of sporting mega-events (i.e. Olympic and Paralympic Games):

a. A lack of studies that consider legacy beyond 5 years post-games
b. Insufficient/inapplicable methods by which intangible legacy can be measured/considered
c. Limited valid measurements for tangible legacy
d. A greater focus on certain legacies, limiting the legacies measured (Scheu and Preuss 2017).

As evident from the issues identified above, there is a great deal of scope for further examination of legacy, to further our understanding of the concept of legacy and to extend knowledge of the key under-explored areas identified above. This study looks to address a selection of these issues, including; considering legacy more than 5 years post games, and placing greater consideration on intangible legacies and the population with disabilities within the host countries.

To date, there has been considerably less attention paid to research in the realm of the legacy of para-sport events such as the Paralympic Games or Deaflympics. In the past 18 years, the terms ‘Paralympics’, ‘para-sport’ and ‘disability’ do not appear within the top 20 used terms in article titles associated with sport event legacy, whereas the term ‘Olympics’ is ranked as number one (Thomson et al. 2018). This discrepancy questions if the perceived importance associated with non-disabled sports, as opposed to para-sport events, within academic research can be expanded to general society.

In an attempt to address these shortcomings, there has been increasing focus in recent years on the area of Paralympic legacy (see; Brittain 2017; Brittain and Beacom 2016; Misener et al. 2013; Pappous and Brown 2018). However, to date, the IPC, while heavily discussing and pushing the concept of legacy, does not have its own definition of legacy that can be considered a standard definition specific to para-sport events.

One of the little discussed aspects of legacy is that, following an event, legacy can be perceived as either positive or negative. Although planning of such events incorporates purely positive legacy plans and aspirations, often these positive plans can change and develop into a negative as the execution of events meets unexpected problems or hurdles. Due to the term often being misused and misunderstood, the importance of considering both positive and negative legacies has been highlighted by many authors in the field (Cornelissen, Bob and Swart 2011; Dickson, Benson and Blackman 2011; Gilbert and Schantz 2015; Gratton and Preuss 2008; Preuss 2015; Weed et al., 2009;).

In order to determine if legacies are positive or negative, one must consider the type of legacy discussed. Legacies in general can be categorised as tangible (hard) and intangible (soft), with tangible encompassing physical aspects such as urban infrastructure and transport and intangible focusing on aspects such as knowledge and attitude change (Holt and Ruta 2015). The past ten years have seen a proliferation in the consideration and focus placed on 'soft legacies' following events. Prior to this, soft legacy was somewhat neglected, while hard legacies were at the forefront of legacy planning and consideration by organising committees (Holt and Ruta 2015). In order to consider both tangible and intangible legacy, it must first be determined whether the legacy itself is positive or negative in nature. Table 5 highlights some of the key positive and negative legacies that can potentially occur following an event, as outlined by Gratton and Preuss (2008). These examples emphasise, to a certain degree, the types of legacy that have been considered by organising committees and researchers to date, such as tourism, economic factors and infrastructure.

Table 5. Examples of Positive vs Negative Legacy

Positive	**Negative**
Increase in Tourism	Loss of tourism
New infrastructure	Unused infrastructure
Generation of employment	Debt
Urban revival	High opportunity costs
Renewed community spirit	Displacement of locals
Education	Miseducation
Popular memory	Unneeded

(Source: Gratton and Preuss 2008)

In order to plan effectively for legacy, it needs to be considered that certain aspects of an event can potentially lead to negative legacy, and as such, plans must be fluid in order to ensure more positive than negative legacies result from events. Table 5 (page 86) gives examples of both positive and negative legacies and shows how legacies generally considered positive have the potential to transition into negative without the right management post-event. For example, with respect to new infrastructure, which is highly praised and utilised at the time of the event and in the following year or two, all too often becomes overly expensive to run or repair and is allowed to fall into disrepair; the infrastructure is then seen as a negative legacy of the event (for example, a Judge has recently closed the Rio 2016 Olympic Park due to safety concerns (Morgan 2020)). This grey area around legacy illustrates that positive legacies are not necessarily an automatic outcome of an event, and must not be treated as such (Darnell 2010; Preuss and Solberg 2006). In order to ensure positive legacy, there is clear need for greater consideration and planning in advance of the event, and most importantly, support post-event.

Similarly, negative legacy should not necessarily be regarded as synonymous with only unfavourable outcomes, as a negative outcome can develop into a positive contribution to future games when considered in certain circumstances. For example, a legacy that is regarded as negative can be used by future bid cities as an example of what not to do in order to allow them to better plan their legacy (Preuss 2018). Legacy goals of sporting events can differ between para-sport and non-para-sport events; however, there is naturally some overlap between the legacy goals of both types of event, as is to be expected. Both para-sport events and non-para-sport events, aim to create physical activity and sporting legacies as well as urban regeneration. However, while non-disabled events focus more on creating economic legacy (Preuss 2007) for the host city/country as a whole, para-sport event legacies can be regarded as more person centric.

In order to plan for legacy, goals are put in place, with legacy development beginning with bid preparation and continue during and ideally (but not always) post event (Coakley and Souza 2013). However, in general, when it comes to legacy plans and development, there is growing potential for longer-lasting legacy, which could be achieved through greater commitment at inception. Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge that although mega-event organisers generally plan for legacy, it is also possible for sporting mega-events to have unplanned legacy as the result of an event (Preuss 2007). Consequently, legacy planning as a strategy making exercise for a sporting event necessitates the setting of goals over pre-, during, and post-event periods as there is a need to support their development.

In order to determine legacy, it needs to be supported by data. The small amount of attention paid to para-sports legacy in research has, for the most part not been based on empirical data, but rather on theoretical or anecdotal data (Misener et al. 2013). However, this lack of empirical study identifies a gap in the research on para-sport events, as the importance of the Paralympic Games includes the potential to not only advance PWD in a sporting context, but to advance the social wellbeing of PWD in all aspects of life through the changing of attitudes and behaviours towards the population with disabilities (Weed and Dowse 2009). There are multiple dimensions associated with legacy of mega-events, and this chapter will now take a comparative look at the legacy aspirations of a non-para-sport and para-sport mega-event.

2.9.4 Olympic Games vs Paralympic Games: Goals and Legacy

The largest of the aforementioned sporting events, regarded as mega-events, are the Olympic and Paralympic Games, which are multi-sport mega-events that take place consecutively every four years, for roughly two weeks each and incorporate athletes and spectators from all over the world. The focus of this thesis is the Paralympic Games; however, it is necessary to consider how these games differ from their sporting counterparts the Olympic Games as well as how they are linked. The Olympics are an elite competition for athletes without disabilities (with the exception of some Paralympic athletes who have competed at Olympic level; for example, Oscar Pistorius who competed in the men’s 400 metre race at London 2012

Olympics, as well as Paralympics. Melissa Tapper also competed at the Rio 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games in table tennis). The Olympics are governed by the International Olympic Committee (IOC), while the Paralympic Games are an elite competition for athletes with disabilities, governed by the IPC.

Both events are now organised by a single Organising Committee, working in unison to deliver the events in quick succession in the same host location. Both governing bodies (IOC and IPC) develop event goals, which they hope to achieve as a result of the games taking place. It is important to consider the differences in goals of both events, and how this may influence their execution and legacy planning. The differences between the goals of each event showcases the prejudice that exists between the two events. This can be best exampled by considering the Olympic Games as seeking to foster friendship and solidarity; while the Paralympic Games seeks to utilise the event as a tool to achieve equality for PWD. Terms such as inspiration and courage are used by the IPC, which are more focused on developments outside of sporting life and detract from the sporting focus of the event.

As evident from Table 6 (page 90), there is no overlap in the terminology used when discussing the legacy goals of both the IOC and IPC. The IOC' goals can be seen as clear cut, with a focus on maintaining a steady momentum with more people becoming involved in sporting activities. However, the IPC goals focus on pushing boundaries and supporting those who want to achieve high sporting accolades, as well as breaking down barriers and achieving equality for PWD.

Table 6. Olympic v Paralympic Legacy Goals

Olympic Legacy Goals	**Paralympic Legacy Goals**
Physical Activity Legacy	Infrastructure – focused on accessibility in venues and facilities – as well as urban.
Tourism Legacy	Development of sport organisations and structures for those with disabilities to be inclusive.
Enhance international reputation	Changes in attitudes and perceptions of abilities of PWD as well as increase in self-esteem of PWD.
Additional employment	Improvement in opportunities available for PWD to be fully integrated in society to reach full personal potential in ALL ASPECTS OF LIFE. Not just sporting context.
Urban regeneration	
Promote attitude changes and reject racial, religious, political and gender exclusion.	

Sources: Preuss 2007; IPC 2011; IOC 2013

Legacy planning is a critical component of mega sporting events for achieving these goals, with growing reference to, and discussion of, legacy by both organising committees and host cities alike (Thompson et al 2018). Governing bodies and organising committees work together in order to disseminate and achieve these legacy goals (Reis et al. 2017). The legacy of the Paralympic Games is discussed in detail in the next section.

2.9.5 Legacy of Paralympic Games

For the purpose of this study, the Paralympic Games have been chosen as the event considered with regard to lived experience of PWD, due to the games' aspiration to create a more equitable society (Fitzgerald 2012). Since inception 60 years ago, the Paralympic Games have fast become one of the largest sporting events in the world (Bartsch et al 2018; Legg and Steadward 2011). The Paralympics is a multi-para-sport event, which also places significance on broader social issues for PWD such as transforming the attitudes of those with and without disabilities towards PWD, promoting social inclusion and overall equality (Fitzgerald 2012). As the event seeks to influence the lives of PWD in general and not just athletes with disabilities, investigating the legacy of the Paralympic Games allows for insight into the overall lived experiences of PWD.

Para-sport events, such as the Paralympic Games, often see the creation of so-called positive stereotypes linked to athletes with disabilities and disseminated via the media. With a focus on elite athletes, that does not resonate with the daily lived experience of all PWD, due to unrealistic expectations developed by Pw/oD with respect to the abilities of PWD based on the achievements of Paralympians during the event. Despite only 0.00004% of the world's population with disabilities taking part in the most recent Paralympic Games in Rio 2016[4], the stereotyping associated with the event has led the general population to have a certain, often unrealistic expectation level of what PWD can achieve, as well as diversion from current issues facing PWD in their daily lives (Pepper 2016). This unrealistic representation stems from the 'superhuman' and 'supercrip' narratives often associated with Paralympic Games (Silva and Howe 2012). Although popular with the general public, these labels have received wide criticism from PWD and disability studies scholars alike, for their furtherance of an often-unachievable goal for many, the consequences of unrealistic expectations from the general public, and subsequent attitudes and prejudice encountered by many PWD who do not live up to this stereotype (Duncan 2001; Wendell 1996).

In line with the expectations of Olympic Games, which require intensive preparation over a timeframe of seven years, and billions of dollars to organise (Preuss 2018), the Paralympic Games follows the same timeframe and also requires substantial funding. The power struggle and uneven dynamic which exists between PWD and Pw/oD can be exacerbated by the

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[4] 4,328 athletes competed at Rio 2016 (IPC 2016). With one billion PWD worldwide (WHO 2018), this would dividing the number of athletes who competed, by the number of PWD worldwide, multiplied by 100, gives a representative percentage of 0.00004%.

occurrence of sporting events. As outlined by Sage (1993), sport, in this case para-sport, namely the Paralympic Games, is grounded in the power of those in society who organise the event. Therefore, it is those in power who develop, and ultimately are responsible for, the attainment of event legacy.

The London 2012 Candidate File (LOCOG 2004: 189) supports the placing of importance on para-sport events, and claims that the Paralympic Games have the ability to 'build respect…for disabled people by changing society's perceptions'. Although the IPC believes and claims, that sporting events like the Paralympic Games have the potential to empower PWD, these claims have been found by a number of researchers to be uncorroborated (Braye, Dixon and Gibbons 2015; Hodges et al. 2014; Howe and Silva 2018). For example, from the perspective of PWD, there is a clear absence of symbolic representation of lived experience of PWD within ordinary everyday life (Hodges et al. 2014). This absence of relatable representation is considered within this study through the voices of PWD being utilised in order to consider the true lived experience associated with a para-sport event.

Due to the growing importance of mega-events having a lasting impact on society, the concept of legacy, linked to and often discussed alongside the phenomenon of mega-events, has in recent years gained prominence in mega-event research. The next section will therefore provide an overview of legacy dimensions of the Paralympic Games.

2.9.6 Understanding legacy dimensions of a Paralympic Games

As evident from the four main legacy goals of the IPC in Table 6 (page 90), a key underpinning legacy goal promoted by the IPC is the opportunity for greater inclusion for all PWD in the wider society (IPC 2013). Although instrumental in the development of elite level sports for athletes with disabilities, one must question whether in this modern world where events are increasingly driven by sponsorship, judged as successful by numbers (of spectators or generated revenue), with each event striving to be bigger and better than the last, the IPC legacy goals, so instrumental upon IPC inception have become lost in translation. With proclamation and claims of the Games changing attitudes and improving inclusion, ideally there would exist a model or instrument to substantiate these claims, but to date this is not the case.

The IPC (2011), has created legacy goals for the Paralympic Games that encompass multiple dimensions of driving inclusion (inclusion in this case considered as 'enabling of participation, a welcoming, or an opportunity to engage in a particular social situation or environment' (Kaufman-Scarborough 2015: 160)) namely:

Dimension 1: Increasing accessibility

a) Infrastructure – overall development of urban (or lived) environments that do not preclude access

b) Sport accessibility and participation from grassroots to elite level

Dimension 2: Driving attitudinal change to PWD by both disabled and non-disabled members of society

a) Self-esteem building

b) Social integration opportunities

c) Changing perceptions of PWDs position in society from an invisible, devalued marginalised population that relies on society's support to a visible and independent part of society.

Consideration of these dimensions of legacy, often only addresses one dimension at a time, but this is counterproductive, as dimension 1 is of little value without dimension two and vice versa. Since the Salt Lake City Winter Games in 2002, the Olympic and Paralympic Games have had a single integrated Organising Committee within the host city (Gold and Gold 2007). This partnership between the IOC and IPC is now extended until at least 2032 (IOC 2018), with the games (Olympic and Paralympic) from 2026 expected to be held to a significantly higher standard of legacy development than all previous Games. Unlike for previous Games, from 2026, the host city will be obligated to track legacy for many years post games, using consultancy from the IOC to inform legacy planning and evaluation (IOC 2018). This increased dedication to and responsibility by the host city with respect to legacy aligns with points made by previous research (see: Grix 2014; Misener et al. 2013; Preuss 2007, 2015) which stress the concept of legacy as central to identifying the prominence of lasting benefits from mega-events. With increasing withdrawal in the past decade of countries bidding for future games, as a result of opposition from host populations (Könecke and De Nooij 2017), it is more important than ever for legacy to be utilised as a tool to promote positive potential for countries who host future games, specifically to include all members of the population

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter presented a multidisciplinary review of extant literature concerned with several areas related to the lived experience of PWD in events and the wider society. The chapter examined the key facets of social organisation that intersect to impact upon individual lived experiences. This review of the literature identified that a gap exists in an approach to remedy the absence of voices of PWD in the legacy planning and reporting of para-sport events in various aspects of their lived experience. This gap, if filled, could enable a strategy for PWD to experience improved inclusion in their lived experiences surrounding para-sport events and long-term in the wider society. Specific to para-sport events, legacy research and planning needs to move beyond the current anecdotal approach and incorporate lived experiences with consideration of the key beneficiaries of such events. The next chapter considers the role of legacy goals in the lived experiences of PWD in both an event space and wider society, with the development of a conceptual model to guide empirical data collection, to address the posed research question and objectives.

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter, following synthesis of the literature on disability, models of disability, ableism, prejudice, mega-events, and legacy, identified that a gap exists for a model enabling a holistic interpretive view of a para-sport event's goals, tools, and mechanisms, supporting the goals with respect to lived experiences of PWD. Building on the review of extant literature, contrasted with the legacy goals of Paralympic Games, and integrating socio-spatial theory of marketplace inclusion/exclusion, this chapter introduces a model to research PWD' lived experience in both the event space and wider society. Having a model that allows for a comprehensive, integrative view, and consideration of para-sport events with a holistic view of how PWD experience para-sport events and marketplace inclusion/exclusion will provide useful insights for three major stakeholder groups. First, PWD whose lived experience will be at the forefront of the findings. Second, organising committees of para-sport events who develop legacy plans for PWD in their planning. Third, urban planners who consider accessibility for PWD will be afforded the opportunity improve access conditions for PWD.

As discussed in section 2.8, ableism is considered a form of prejudice allowing for enhanced understanding of discrimination faced by individuals or groups (in the context of this study PWD) based on certain traits that a person/group possesses (Wolbring 2011). Ableism is most often a result of discriminatory practices by Pw/oD towards PWD (Hehir 2007), but it can also be present from one impairment group to another. Ableism can also manifest as internalised ableism (Campbell 2009) whereby PWD have a negative view towards themselves in relation to others.

While ableism presents a valuable theoretical lens through which aspects concerning the causes and manifestations of inclusion/exclusion lived experiences of PWD as related to para-sport events can be examined, it does not offer a solution to address the issues identified and facilitate an alleviation action plan; therefore, it needs to be built upon with action. Although ableism is considered to be prevalent in social organisation of societies, occurring in a variety of ways (Friedman and Owen 2017), identifying ableism and those who engage in ableist behaviours is problematic. In particular, there is currently a pervasiveness of ableism as being elusive and aversive whereby it often takes place in situations whereby ableist behaviours are not seen to be judged or seen as directly exclusionary (Friedman 2016). This challenge in identifying ableist behaviours of individuals or organising committees and their inability to be measured, leads to difficulties with preventing ableist practices/decisions occurring when organisers of para-sport events are planning legacy. A theory helpful in addressing these shortcomings is the Socio-Spatial Theory (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013). The next section presents this theory to conceptualise the experiences of inclusion/exclusion in the event space.

3.2 A Socio Spatial Conceptualisation of Para-sport Mega-event

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, a given para-sport event potentially impacts multiple dimensions of PWD experience, such as accessibility of infrastructure, access to sport participation opportunities and changes in attitudes and perceptions of PWD. Furthermore, the chapter highlighted that, ableist conceptions of disability continue to be present in the everyday experience of PWD. This was also linked to events such as the Paralympic Games. Despite advancements in understanding of disability from a perspective of wider societal structures and actors (i.e. decision makers surrounding accessibility of space) in PWD' experience of social surroundings, discriminatory practices remain more commonplace for PWD compared to Pw/oD in society. Pervasiveness of ableism can be problematic from a legacy planning perspective, because often the process is led by Pw/oD as opposed to PWD;

thus, legacy planning should embrace its complexity and have a more holistic view of the event as a whole. This can be achieved by accounting for the multiple dimensions of experience associated with events, which will allow organisers to anticipate the potential effects of ableism.

While ableism as a theory enables understanding of how discriminatory views and actions upon disability can be (re)produced, it does not enable a systematic capture of its' impacts on the multiple dimensions of para-sport mega-events. Thus, a theory helpful in taking such a holistic view on the multiple dimensions of how PWD experience a given para-sport mega, and how the event should set out to create positive legacy, is socio-spatial theory (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013; Soja 1996). This theory considers space as a medium by which interactions and relations are shaped and distinguishes whether they are inclusive or exclusive in nature (Visconti et al. 2010). Space is produced rather than given and shaped by social relations between both people and places (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith 1991). It is critical to consider space, as a person's experience of space is regarded as central to an individual's lived experience of the world (Watkins 2005). The production of space occurs at the intersection of two facets of space; abstract and social (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith 1991) also known as objective and subjective space (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013).

Current research can benefit from a broader conception of the marketplace and society that takes due consideration of how socio-spatial dynamics can impact individuals (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013). Recently, SST has been introduced into management research with a view to examine how consumption of space informs people's perceptions of social inclusion/exclusion. Although Lefebvre (1974, 1991) and Soja (1996) also addressed a person's experience of space, their conceptualisations of SST are not explicitly applied to the context of the marketplace. Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis the conceptualisation of

SST by Saatcioglu and Ozanne (2013) is deemed most relevant, as they have applied the theory in a marketplace inclusion/exclusion context.

Objective space encompasses a tangible environment, which contains measurable factors (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013) such as access to and within buildings, transport, and the social environment. The design of objective spaces, created and managed by public and private (commercial) actors/organisation; such as shopping facilities, airports, rail and metro transport networks and aeroplanes, continues to be affected by past and current ableist conceptions (Livingston 2000; Nourry 2018), which this study terms infrastructural ableism. Such state of play is explained by the fact that objective spaces continue to be predominantly created with Pw/oD as the primary occupiers, to be shared with PWD (Jones 2013). For example, shoppers with a disability, and disability advocates report that objective, physical access to a shopping experience remains incomplete (Jackson 2017). This issue has been highlighted by extant literature on marketplace inclusion/exclusion focused on non-accommodation for the physical aspect of impairments (Baker, Holland, and Kaufman-Scarborough 2007; Dennis et al. 2016). For example, while some restaurants may have braille or large menus for consumers with visual impairments, this provision is of no benefit to wheelchair users if there are steps at the entrance (see Kaufman-Scarborough and Baker 2005). Although policy guidelines are in place, due to their broad nature there is lack of understanding of the policy, whereby there remains much room for interpretation to align with shop ideals rather than consumer needs (Baker, Holland and Kaufman-Scarborough 2007; Kaufman-Scarborough 2015; 1999). While the store environment could for the most part be seen as a purely objective space, there are also social cues present that PWD must contend with (Baker, Holland and Kaufman-Scarborough 2007) such as the understanding and knowledge of people within the space. Understanding of space is not always clear cut as spaces can overlap. In the context of a para-sport event, objective space entails the event space (venues), transport in host cities and accessibility of the event as well as access to sport participation. PWD are often restricted from certain aspects of space due to its predominant production by Pw/oD in society.

Within an individual's objective space there are contrasting experiences whereby PWD can experience infrastructural ableism because, their physical environment and access is determined by the choices of Pw/oD in power at any given time. This infrastructural ableism leads to inaccessibility within public spaces both during and after para-sport events. However, in the lead up to, and during para-sport events there are often accessibility drives, whereby organisers push to make the public space and host city more physically accessible for all PWD (for example, in Rio de Janeiro prior to Rio 2016 Paralympic Games, a number of high profile tourist attractions, such as Sugarloaf Mountain and Copacabana beach, received funding in order to become more accessible for PWD, as well as concentration on levelling of pavements and roads (IPC 2015)). In the context of Paralympic Games, this drive for accessibility is expressed in dimension 1 of the legacy goals of the IPC, who explicitly outline one of their legacy goals as being solely focused on the transformation of physical infrastructure, seeking to ensure accessibility in venues and facilities as well as in the general urban environment (IPC 2017). This change in accessibility can also help to facilitate a change in the perceived/real lived experience of PWD.

However, the objective space of a mega-event is not limited to access. There are multiple dimensions of objective space that need to be considered from a legacy planning perspective in the host country. Although access to the event is a key element, there are further legacy goals that sit in objective space, including accessible transport, and the growth of para-sport participation by PWD. These components of objective space interact and influence each other’s development. For example, increased accessible transport can facilitate PWD to attend events or to join a sport club that they may not have had access to before. Therefore, legacy planning is about more than planning for PWD to access the event, but to consider long term, the impact of the event on the objective space of PWD.

Meanwhile, subjective space refers to an individual’s imagined space, which can be an inspiration to social action (Soja 1996); such as representation in the media (tv, print, radio, online), attitudes (between PWD and Pw/oD, as well as PWD and PWD) and relationships. As discussed by Soja (1996), this idea of subjective space organises an individual’s space and conceptualisation of space with respect to metaphors, codes and symbols. Often, similar to objective space, the design of PWD’ subjective space is managed by Pw/oD, with representation of PWD in the media potentially influencing attitudes of the general public without impairment towards PWD (McEnhill and Byrne 2014).

In the context of para-sport events, subjective space includes the media representation of the event, which generally facilitates greater exposure of PWD to Pw/oD prior to and during the event to raise awareness about and understanding of disability as an experience, and encourage interactions between PWD and Pw/oD during or after the event. Specific to the Paralympic Games, this media representation can also potentially develop stereotypes surrounding PWD. While one of the most prominent stereotypes linked to para-sport events is the ‘supercrip’ stereotype (Silva and Howe 2012), this stereotype has developed alongside the Paralympic Games and since the London 2012 Games the ‘superhuman’ stereotype has remained prominent. In line with this stereotype, Channel 4 developed the ‘We’re the Superhumans’ campaign, creating for many PWD, unachievable stereotypes and resulting in vulnerability (Moore 2019). The campaign presented PWD to the public as superhuman for achieving sporting and everyday tasks. The campaign from Rio 2016 features 132 PWD across seven impairment groups (Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019). In the advert PWD are showcased ranging from elite athletes at the Paralympic Games, to a double arm amputee flying an aeroplane to a mother with her child.

As well as representation, subjective space also encompasses attitudes towards PWD (originating from both Pw/oD and PWD) and attitude development influenced by other aspects of space. The Paralympic Games aspire to act as a tool to facilitate positive attitude change towards PWD in their everyday subjective space and overall lived space. The importance of subjective space is linked to its considered indirect impact on the development of objective space, as changes in an individual's subjective space (i.e. reduced experiences of prejudice and anxiety, as well as experiences of more positive attitudes towards PWD) can lead to opportunities for PWD to experience greater levels of inclusion in the objective space. Due to subjective space being regarded as more intangible, research focus is generally placed on individual's objective space (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013). However, a person's lived experience cannot be reported on without consideration of subjective space. Therefore, it is vital to ensure that studies focusing on spatial experiences take a holistic approach view on both spaces and their intersections.

Within an individual's subjective space, as with objective space, contrasting experiences are possible. PWD can experience what this study terms representational and perceptual ableism within areas of media (Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019; McGillivray et al. 2019; McPherson et al. 2016). That is, representation of PWD in the media may be influenced by ableist ideals in which PWD seen as closer to the societal 'norm' (such as elite athletes) are chosen as representative of PWD as a whole, in ways that align with what is accepted by Pw/oD (such as 'superhumans'). However, in turn this manifestation of ableism in multiple forms of media (e.g. journalism, tv, radio, film) fails to portray the true lived experiences of the majority of

PWD. At the same time, PWD can experience a favourable change in attitudes of both PWD and Pw/oD that can lead to feelings of inclusion within society. An example of this is the short-term attitude change reported in the media during and immediately following Paralympic events (Walker and Topping 2013). These attitude changes align with the second dimension of the IPC legacy goals (IPC 2011). Through improvement in opportunities available for PWD to become fully integrated in society (IPC 2011), this goal and attitude change can potentially be perceived to be achieved. However, according to disability charity Scope, in fact 81% of PWD surveyed in the UK did not notice improved attitudes one-year post the London 2012 Paralympic Games (Walker and Topping 2013).

According to Saatcioglu and Ozanne (2013), considering a person's objective and subjective space experiences more holistically, informs how each facet of space interacts to impact a person's lived space. An individual's lived space is regarded as a fusion of their objective and subjective spaces (Soja 1996), which as society changes and develops is in constant flux. Although not discussed specific to PWD, how experiences influence marketplace, and by extension, overall societal inclusion/exclusion can be applied to all groups. In the context of PWD, this relates to their lived experience. Thus, in order for PWD to have a more holistic lived experience, inclusion needs to be the dominant experience in both their objective and subjective spaces. From this, the Paralympic Games as an event space can be considered an instance of both objective and subjective space.

In order to consider the changing lived experience of PWD through SST lens, a matrix was developed which drew on the inclusion/exclusion relationships, the Ability/Inclusion Matrix developed by Kaufman-Scarborough (2015), and the matrix developed by Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis (2019: 25), that sought to be 'a helpful inception for unravelling ableism's complexity and how, when enacted by marketplace decision-makers, it can shape societal conceptions of inclusion/exclusion in relation to PWD’. As shown in Figure 7 (page 104), both dimensions of space can impact the overall inclusion/exclusion as experienced by PWD in their lived space.

The matrix presented in Figure 7 can be used to conceptualise the possible lived experience of PWD within mega-events. For example, although PWD may have physical access and perceive their objective space as inclusive, this does not automatically signify that their subjective space will also be perceived as inclusive. The experience of inclusion and exclusion within space is a balancing act, and whichever space has the more dominant and lasting experience will most likely inform the lived experience that the person subscribes to.

Figure 7. How experience of space informs lived experience of PWD

Inclusive Subjective Space + Inclusive Objective Space **Lived Experience: Universal Inclusion**	Exclusive Subjective Space + Exclusive Objective Space **Lived Experience: Exclusion**
Inclusive Subjective Space + Exclusive Objective Space **Lived Experience: Selective Inclusion**	Exclusive Subjective Space + Inclusive Objective Space **Lived Experience: Selective Inclusion**

Adapted from: Kaufman-Scarborough 2015; Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019

The combination of both facets of space can be influenced by ableism, due to its constant presence in the everyday experiences of PWD (Storey 2007). That is, potential for inclusion or exclusion can be determined based on the level of ableism impacting the space (re)production and the interaction between spaces. Therefore, in order to plan for future events and inclusion of PWD, firstly PWD' overall lived experience in both the event space and wider society, that is, their experience of inclusion/exclusion in objective and subjective space, must be reflected on in order to inform change.

How PWD experience their space (whether objective or subjective) is affected significantly by the contact they experience within their respective spaces and the population in this space (Allport 1954; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006) during or as a result of mega-events. Although SST and ableism consider the production of, and immersion in, space and society, they do not consider the impact that contact between groups (i.e. PWD and Pw/oD in this context) within such spaces has on the attitudes of individuals.

Similarly, there is a gap with regards to how this attitude change can lead to a reduction in prejudice and impact the perceived inclusion/exclusion of PWD. Therefore, complimentary micro theories are needed to bridge this gap and contribute to a more holistic conceptualisation. The chosen theories will be discussed in the following section.

3.3 Intergroup Contact Theory

Intergroup contact theory (ICT) was originally developed by psychologist Gordon Allport (1954) in his book entitled 'The Nature of Prejudice' and has seen extensive application in research since its inception. In the words of Meleady and Crisp (2017: 132) 'Intergroup contact occurs when members of different cultural groups interact and come to know each other in ways that cut across group fault lines'. Allport (1954) hypothesised that the positive effects of intergroup contact can only occur in situations that meet what he identified as the four vital conditions: i) equal group status within the condition; ii) both groups share common goals; iii) intergroup cooperation; and iv) receiving support from authorities and law.

In an attempt to synthesise the extant research on ICT, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) conducted a meta-analysis of over 500 studies, which resulted in findings that showed a robust and positive impact of contact upon intergroup relationships. These positive findings, however, did not consistently correlate with all four key conditions developed by Allport (1954). However, contact is important, as social contact allows for greater perceptions of inclusion by PWD (Amado et al. 2013). This greater freedom to adhere to some (but not all) of Allport's conditions, allows greater employment of the theory and higher applicability to more studies. Thus, this flexibility within conditions that need to be met within intergroup contact shows the potential within the theory to maximise scope for this study and others.

Although Allport (1954) initially developed the ICT to explain prejudice towards racial groups, the theory has been subsequently successfully applied to other minority groups, such as PWD (e.g. Maras and Brown 2000). Within ICT, how groups are perceived is dependent on the viewpoint of the study; for example, from the perspective of Pw/oD, PWD would be classed as the 'outgroup', with Pw/oD being referred to as the 'in-group'. From the perspective of PWD, they would consider themselves the 'in-group' unless internalised ableism is present and PWD see themselves as the 'out-group'. For example, contact is experienced in the run up to and during mega-events, with para-sport events incorporating two groups; those with disabilities (athletes, spectators and professionals) and those without disabilities (spectators and professionals). As one of the main aims of the IPC legacy plan is to change the attitudes of both PWD and Pw/oD with respect to how they perceive disabilities (IPC 2007), ICT works in sync with the previously discussed macro theories to support the outcome of this legacy goal. Following on from this point, the next section will discuss the process by which ICT reduces prejudice and improves attitudes.

Intergroup contact has been shown to improve intergroup attitudes through the process of reducing feelings of threat and anxiety, as well as an increase in empathy and trust towards the outgroup (Pettigrew and Tropp 2008). This decrease in anxiety as a result of contact has been shown to lead to a reduction in prejudice (Pettigrew et al. 2011). Idealistically, the legacy of a para-sport event would incorporate a reduction in prejudice towards PWD, and an increase in the levels of inclusion being experienced. It follows therefore that contact, as a result of para-sport events, can potentially lead to PWD perceiving a reduction in prejudice in their everyday lived experience.

When people experience contact with ‘out-groups’, the quality, openness and agreeableness of the group are essential factors for how this contact will be perceived (Hodson, Turner and Choma 2016). Prejudice is more often reduced when this contact is perceived as being non-superficial and group salience is at a high level (Pettigrew et al. 2011). It has been shown in recent research that even contact considered to be indirect within subjective space, through channels such as the media, can play a role in reducing prejudice (Pettigrew et al. 2011). This reduction of prejudice through positive exposure and representation of outgroups in the media, links back to an individual’s subjective space and is considered to be perceived differently by each individual.

One point which emphasises the importance of contact is that the effects of contact from a specific situation can often be generalisable to other forms and experiences of contact (Pettigrew et al. 2011). Given that contact can be applied to other situations, it is perceivable that PWD who experience positive contact during an event are more likely to engage in contact in everyday life once the event has ended. The development of cross-group friendships as a form of contact is thought to be pivotal to the success of intergroup contact (Hodson, Turner and Chana 2017; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). With respect to para-sport events, this contact, and the development of friendships, can occur in many areas, such as the event itself, between volunteers at the events and within the organisation team.

‘While it is now beyond any doubt that positive intergroup contact can reduce prejudice, its implementations is more problematic’ (Meleady and Crisp 2017: 132). This quote highlights one of the limitations associated with utilising this theory within research. For example, it can be difficult to get ‘out-groups’ presented in social situations in which they have the potential to interact in positive conditions with the ‘in-group’ and for this to be natural, as members of the ‘ingroup’ often tend to shy away from contact thought to be unappealing or possibly uncomfortable. Therefore, an example of where out-groups (in this case PWD) can be positively presented is in the run up to and during para-sport events. Due to the exposure associated with mega-events, there is a wide scope of opportunity for activities and events which can bring the ingroup and outgroup together and create prospects for contact. Although ICT has been shown to reduce prejudice, it is imperative to take the time to consider the best method of implementation in order to ensure positive outputs. Given that contact can be applied to multiple situations, it is perceivable that PWD who experience positive contact during an event are more likely to engage in contact in everyday life.

Although the growing implementation of ICT in research is considered to be a step in the right direction, as is evident by its considerable employment in current research (Cross and Gilly 2014; 2017; Demangeot and Sankaran 2012; Johnson and Grier 2011; 2013; Sankaran and Demangeot 2011) it is essential to contemplate the associated limitations.

Extant studies have predominantly focused on the effects of positive contact at the expense of considering the potential impact of negative contact (Graf and Paolini 2016). While attempting to produce the optimal conditions for contact to occur, it is in a sense unrealistic to adhere to all four of Allport's (1954) key conditions, as all four are extremely specific, and simultaneously achieving optimum conditions presents both logistical and time challenges. However, it must also be considered that not all contact helps to reduce prejudice and can for some, in fact escalate the experience of existing prejudice (Pettigrew et al. 2011). Some researchers consider the theory as a whole to somewhat gloss over the harsher realities of social life (Dixon, Durrheim and Tredoux 2005), which can be considered a regular occurrence in the lived experiences of PWD; with the voices of PWD and their experiences ignored to a certain extent within social aspects of life and research. Therefore, one must consider the type and experience of contact deemed most suitable by the group themselves. The researcher proposes that incorporating the perspectives of PWD will allow for the development of future legacy through the input of PWD.

Yinger and Simpson (1973) consider type of contact in their work on the 'Paradox of Contact', which suggests that prejudice can be both increased and decreased as a result of contact. As identified, this negative or unsuccessful experience of contact between groups is under-researched and under-addressed in society. Contact between groups can be unsuccessful due to a number of reasons; such as misrepresentation during a stressful experience of contact, an inability to overcome deep-rooted stereotyping and prejudices and a lack of openness in the experience. However, one possible explanation for unsuccessful contact can be ableism (as discussed in section 3.3). When ableism is prevalent towards PWD by members of society, experiences of contact can be predetermined by Pw/oD prior to the experience itself due to the characteristics of the group.

Alongside the prejudices extant prior to contact, ableism can also be seen as enhancing the explanatory power in contact. When Pw/oD seek out or encounter contact with PWD, for the most part, the power in the intergroup contact can be seen as lying chiefly with the Pw/oD in-group as opposed to PWD. This evident power imbalance can lead to negative experiences of contact or unsuccessful intergroup contact, which is vital due to its role in the reduction of prejudice and anxiety, and improvement in the incidences of further positive contact between groups (Allport 1954).

This ableist viewpoint towards contact can prove contradictory to Allport's theory, as the criteria for contact cannot counteract deep-rooted prejudices from certain members of society. Thus, it is essential to consider this when discussing contact through para-sport events in relation to prejudice and especially whether contact not only reduces, but possibly also increases prejudice. For example, with respect to para-sport events, while the events themselves harbour the potential to reduce prejudice, they can also exacerbate prejudice towards PWD who do not meet the athletic identity portrayed at these events.

However, although research into contact and its possible impact for attitudes and perceptions has considerable potential for future studies, many researchers fail to consider the participants' understanding of what contact is, and how they define it (Dixon, Durrheim and Tredoux 2005). These points must be considered and addressed in upcoming research, in order to present potential downfalls in the research and minimise limitations associated with the research itself.

3.4 Imagined Contact Theory

Leading on from ICT is development of the theory that can act as a precursor termed 'imagined contact theory' (Crisp and Turner 2009). The imagined contact theory hypothesises that 'simply imagining intergroup contact with an out member may promote positive intergroup attitudes and prepare individuals for future contact' (Crisp and Turner 2009: 2012). Imagined contact can be classed as a 'mental stimulation of a social interaction with member(s) of an outgroup' (Crisp and Turner 2009: 2012). Simply put, as opposed to physical contact, merely imagining a successful social situation can, to a certain extent, cause a similar effect as the physical experience itself. Therefore, when ICT is present alongside imagined contact theory within an individual's subjective space, there is the potential for a change in attitude, as well as a decrease in prejudice and anxiety.

This imagined contact is most usefully applied directly before an intervention that involves extended direct contact in order to maximise the success of social interventions (Crisp and Turner 2009); for example, the Paralympic Games involves intense direct contact over a two-week period. However, it can also be successful when applied during and after direct contact or an event. Imagined contact pre-event exposing people to the minority group in question (in the case of this study, PWD) prepares them for future direct contact, occurring for example through inclusion of PWD in mainstream tv shows or representation of Paralympians in mainstream advertising and/or representation of mainstream athletes alongside images of Paralympians. This pre-exposure can potentially help reduce prejudice and anxiety associated with contact, leading to improved intergroup contact, as the group will generally be presented in a positive upbeat light pre-event (Carew, Noor and Burns 2019).

Getting groups to physically interact and have direct contact across group lines is not always straight forward, hence the need for 'imagined contact' (Miles and Crisp 2014). In recent years, imagined contact theory has swiftly become one of the most employed psychological interventions, with a focus on reducing prejudice towards outgroups (Meleady and Crisp 2017). Therefore, imagined contact can be applied across a number of areas such as media and marketing, which are consistently utilised in the lead up to events. Imagined contact during an event can help support the intergroup contact that can/does occur during the event, and thus increase forms of contact, which has been shown to decrease prejudice and anxiety whilst improving attitudes. Finally, post event, imagined contact allows for the effect of positive intergroup contact that was evident during the event to continue long-term.

Imagined contact theory can be particularly valuable for examining the role of the media in para-sport events' legacy creation. Media associated with para-sport events has widespread reach, encouraging contact through both public and commercial, audio-visual and print media (Paluck 2009). Therefore, in the context of para-sport events generally and Paralympic Games in particular, media coverage and representation of PWD can potentially change the attitudes of the general population towards disabilities and the attitudes of PWD towards different types of disabilities. This change in perception due to positive exposure can also lead to improved attitudes and social inclusion. Conversely, negative exposure during para-sport events can potentially result in the social exclusion of PWD and unchanged or increasingly adverse attitudes. Imagined contact is the first step in reducing prejudice on the continuum of contact (Crisp and Turner 2009). One of the major values associated with imagined contact is that it has been found to encourage people to seek out contact instead of avoiding it (Crisp and Turner 2009), which is a main goal of the Paralympic Games (i.e., increased social inclusion).

The area of imagined contact has been shown to foster interest in engaging in future interactions with out-groups as well as increasing levels of contact self-efficacy (Meleady and Crisp 2017). Crisp and Turner (2009) propose that the imagined contact approach is 'deceptively simple yet remarkably effective', which is why it will be one of the theories applied in this study.

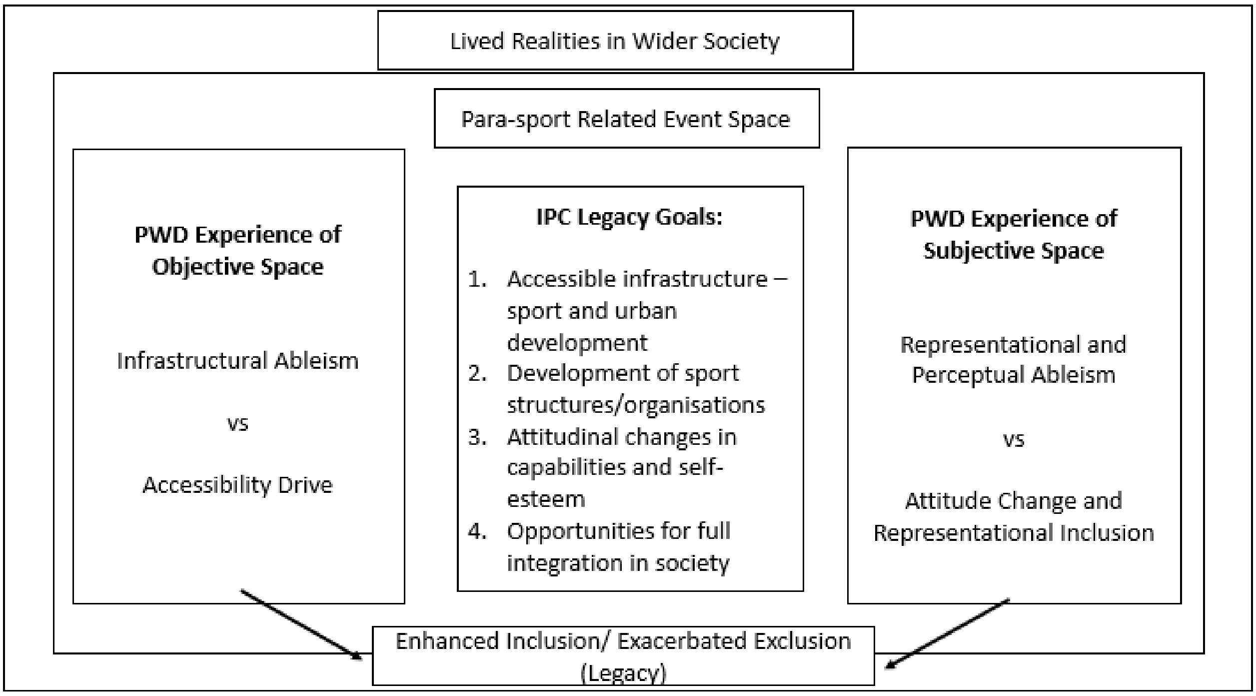
With all relevant theories and their applicability in this study now discussed, the following section brings these theories together by developing a conceptual model of PWD lived experience in a para-sport event space. This model allows for consideration of the para-sport event as an event space within PWD' lived realities within wider society.

3.5 A Conceptual Model of PWD Lived Experience in a Para-sport Event Space

In order to create a conceptual model to inform future organising committees and governing bodies surrounding event legacy linked to lived experiences of PWD, the previously presented theories of ableism, socio spatial theory, intergroup and imagined intergroup contact, were brought together for the model's development. Figure 8. (page 114), presents the representation of the lived experience of PWD in a para-sport event, related to their lived realities in the wider society. The legacy goals of the IPC, that have remained constant since London 2012, are central to the experiences of the event in order to determine how experiences may or may not have changed as a result of the event. As these goals intend to extend past the event, this necessitated incorporating the lived experience in wider society post-event.

This conceptual model theorises that, in order to determine the lived experience of PWD in host countries of Paralympic Games, it is necessary to consider how experiences of both objective and subjective dimensions of Paralympic Games space interact to create the overall lived experience (enhanced inclusion or exacerbated exclusion) both during the event (short-term legacy) and post event in the wider society (long-term legacy).

Figure 8. Conceptual Model of PWD Lived Experience in a Para-sport Event Space



Within this model, objective space incorporates infrastructure and accessibility dimensions experienced by PWD. While, subjective space includes representation and perceptions of PWD as well as attitudes experiences by PWD. For both dimensions of space, contrasting experiences are evident, as within each space there is potential for inclusion or exclusion to be the dominant experience. In order to obtain enhanced inclusion, positive experiences within the para-sport event space (i.e. both objective and subjective spaces) must combine to create a positive legacy of enhanced inclusion in the wider lived reality.

3.6 Conclusion

In sum, this chapter building on the review of literature, sought to address the identified gap in the knowledge concerned with the absence of voices of PWD in the legacy planning and reporting of para-sport events in various aspects of PWD lived experience. This gap signified the need for a model enabling a holistic interpretive view of a para-sport event’s goals, tools, and mechanisms. In order to address this need, the researcher identified two macro theories as central to the model’s development; namely, ableism and SST. Furthermore, ICT and imagined contact theory will be incorporated into the model as supporting micro theories, to strengthen context and applicability. Utilisation of these four theories aims to bridge the gap identified with respect to the lived inclusion/exclusion experiences of PWD in the marketplace and wider society, as previously discussed.

The model shown in Figure 8 (page 114) places an individual’s lived experience, resulting from a combination of their subjective and objective spaces, in the context of a para-sport related event space. This conceptual model guided the collection of empirical evidence in both the UK and Brazil research sites in order to answer the research question. The next chapter presents and discusses selected methodological tools to test the conceptual model, which are informed by the literature and guided by the researcher’s philosophical stance.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction and Chapter Structure

The previous chapter proposed a conceptual model outlining how the study aims to answer the overarching research question: *"How do PWD in the host country evaluate experiences in their lived realities linked to legacies of a Paralympic Games?".* The conceptual model (Figure 8, page 114) theoretically characterises dimensions of PWD evaluation of para-sport events' impact on their lived realities of objective and subjective experiences of space within the boundaries of a para-sport event space. This conceptual model guided the empirical research design. This chapter outlines the research design that was adopted in order to test the previously developed conceptual model, as guided by the researcher's philosophical stance and the key considerations of prioritising the perspectives of PWD.

The chapter starts with a brief overview and comparison of philosophical paradigms, culminating in the most appropriate stance for the study as deemed fitting with the researcher's views on reality. Thereafter, the chapter presents the development of the research design by considering: 1. Research design; 2. Data collection strategy; 3 Data analysis strategy; and 4. Key methodological considerations.

4.2 Research Design Rationale

4.2.1 Philosophical Stance

When considering philosophical stances, consisting of multiple ontological and epistemological dimensions (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner 2007), it is vital to take time to reflect on both the ontological and epistemological considerations, as no ontology exists without an accompanying epistemology (Feyerabend 1980). The notion of ontology refers to how a researcher views the nature of reality (Hudson and Ozanne 1998), 'our beliefs about the kind and nature of reality and the social world (what exists)' (Al-Saadi 2014: 1) or, put simply, how a researcher considers 'what is' (Gray 2004). Meanwhile, epistemology places greater focus on how the researcher perceives the relationship between themselves and reality (Carson et al. 2001). That is, epistemology refers to, from the perspective of a researcher, what it means ‘to know’ (Gray 2004). Through consideration of both ontological and epistemological standpoints, the researcher discerns how the development of research questions should be approached and the tools required to develop a relevant methodology; which then can be adequately adopted for the research undertaken (Gray 2004).

Each philosophical paradigm has distinct ontologies, epistemologies, methodologies and inquiry aims (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba 2018). A paradigm is defined as being:

> *‘a system of ideas, or world view, used by a community of researchers to generate knowledge. It is a set of assumptions, research strategies and criteria for rigour that are shared, even taken for granted by that community’* (Fossey et al. 2002: 718).

Paradigms consider how a researcher sees the world, and the assumptions they make though this viewpoint (Gabel and Peters 2004). Therefore, it is essential for a researcher to reflect on their ideas and consider how they align with their view of the world, in order to further inform their choice of philosophical stance. The following sections will consider the differences in several of the major paradigms to determine the appropriateness of each paradigm in the context of this study. Through comparison of each paradigm, the researcher will identify the most applicable paradigm for this study in line with her views and further explain its utilisation.

4.2.2 Positivism

A positivist stance is ‘a research paradigm that is rooted in the ontological principle and doctrine that truth and reality is free and independent of the view and observer’ (Aliyu et al. 2014: 81). Within a positivist ontology the researcher believes that there is a single truth, which they can measure and study (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba 2018); while epistemologically, a researcher based in a positivist paradigm regards pure objectivity as a more salient factor of research than interaction with participants (Guba and Lincoln 2005). From a methodological outlook, positivist research employs a largely numeric approach (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba 2018), and is generally considered to more typically apply to quantitative methods (Aliyu et al. 2014) as opposed to qualitative. However, although a generally accepted assumption, this is not a fixed association as the paradigm's applicability is dependent on a number of factors, such as the researcher's epistemology, which in turn leads to an applicable methodological outlook and appropriate methods adopted. Therefore, positivist studies can also utilise qualitative data (Lin 1998). When this is the case, there is often a larger sample size required to ensure a representative sample, including sub-segments of the population, with this being common practice particularly in a USA context (Boddy 2016).

As disability studies were originally based within a purely medical field, positivism was at one time the leading paradigm within this area, particularly in the area of health research (Oliver 1998, 1992). However, as disability studies have largely shifted from a medical perspective to a social perspective (discussed in Section 2.2.2) it is no longer the dominant paradigm within disability studies, due to positivism's association with the now somewhat outdated medical model of disability (Diedrich 2005; Galis 2011; Glynne-Owen 2010). Some disability study researchers believe that positivist paradigm can be seen as oppressive towards PWD (Stone and Priestly 1996). Therefore, this paradigm is not suitable for this study due to the value placed on participant experiences by the researcher.

Similarly, researchers with a focus on disabilities and special education, now consider the positivist paradigm to be largely unsuitable for the purpose of studying the lives of PWD due to the inability to consider how a person's perspective impacts their ability to derive meaning from experiences (McPhail 1995). This challenge to incorporate an individual's perspective resonates with the researcher, as the ability to reflect and contemplate meanings of experiences is pivotal to the development of an individual's reality, which can then be conferred and examined by the researcher. Thus, this perspective does not align with that of this study's researcher, as the focus of this research study is primarily on the insights and opinions of the participants providing a platform for their perspectives. As this paradigm is not considered applicable, the researcher must consider other paradigms, to evaluate their appropriateness, and these will be addressed in the following sections.

4.2.3 Critical Theory

A researcher within the paradigm of critical theory has an overall objective to be an agent of change in order to help individuals who are currently oppressed by power (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba 2018). From an ontological perspective, critical theory considers society and the world to be rooted in a struggle for power, which can cause either privilege or oppression. This struggle for power can be based on several aspects, including the physical abilities that people display (Bernal 2002), as would be fitting for this study. Moreover, according to Merriam (1991), from an epistemological standpoint, critical theory has a focus on extant social structure, oppression and power, with researchers of the belief that knowledge has the potential to change existing power dynamics and remove these oppressive barriers. As the researcher wants participants to reflect on historical insights (namely the London 2012 and Rio 2016 Paralympic Games) (Guba and Lincoln 2005), it would be possible for this stance to be applied in the case of this study. However, while oppression is a concept frequently discussed in studies that prominently feature PWD, the critical focus of power struggles, while addressed, are not a focal point of this study. Therefore, critical theory is not the most suited paradigm for the purposes of this study, and the researcher must consider another philosophical stance.

4.2.4 Realism and Critical Realism

Realism as a philosophical stance considers the researcher as 'someone who thinks that there is a spatial world, with the objects in it existing independently of our or any experience and thought' (Ayers and Snowdon 2002: 295). Ontologically, in realism, the researcher views the world as existing independent of theories, constructions and individual perceptions (Maxwell and Mittapalli 2010). As this study is concerned with the impact of subjective and objective space on the existence of PWD it negates realism's consideration of the researcher's belief. However, an extension of realism that emerged from the 'paradigm wars' of the 1980s between positivist and constructivist paradigms, is critical realism (Denzin and Lincoln 2011); a paradigm which must be considered in its own right.

Critical realism is considered one of the fastest developing philosophical paradigms in modern research, as it considers the process of inherent subjectivity within the production of knowledge (Madill, Jordan and Shirley 2000). Critical realism has gained acceptance as a prevalent philosophical framework, particularly in social science research (Fletcher 2017). In his work, Bhaskar (2009) discusses the possibility that all philosophical positions have the potential to be considered critical realist so long as they argue that there is a questionable kind of entity. Easton (2010) considers how critical realism assumes an inspirational realist ontology alongside an interpretivist/realist epistemology. Within this critical realist epistemology, the researcher is accepting of the fact that there is a 'real' world, but that one's knowledge of this world is highly conditioned by society, and as such is often subject to change and reinterpretation (Della Porta and Keating 2008). From an ontological perspective, one person's view of the world is not identical to another's, and due to changes in society this viewpoint can change and develop (Guba and Lincoln 1994). As the study will consider multiple differing views of reality from the perspective of PWD, critical realism is a potentially applicable paradigm for this study. However, to determine whether it is the most appropriate paradigm for ensuring a rich understanding, the researcher needs to consider yet another paradigm, and this will be outlined in the next section.

4.2.5 Interpretivism

From an interpretivist stance, a researcher's ontological view is that there are multiple realities and these realities are dependent upon each individual (Guba 1996). Within the relativist ontological position of interpretivism, it is believed that realities are subjective, and that individuals all have their personal reality (Scotland 2012). As individuals are responsible for their own construction of reality (Guba 1990), this is reflected in this study through the incorporation of participants' experiences of their reality post event.

Interpretivists believe that epistemologically, a person's knowledge is constructed through an individual's lived experience and through interaction with others in their community (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba 2018). This importance of interaction in knowledge production highlights the importance of researchers participating in the research process, as they will then be in a position to offer a reflection of their experienced reality (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba 2018). An interpretivist standpoint adopts a research approach that is considered to be more personal than many other philosophical approaches (Carson et al. 2001), due to the typical use of qualitative methods (Angen 2000) and first-hand personal interaction between researcher and participant. Subsequently, this contact allows the researcher to comprehend what the participant's understanding of reality is (Carson et al. 2001). By delving into an individual's experience, the researcher can gain more in-depth access to subjective interpretations and construction of the participant's reality.

While there are many paradigms in which qualitative research can be explored, as it is not explicitly linked to a single methodology or paradigm (Denzin and Lincoln 1994), qualitative research is most often associated with the interpretivist paradigm (Goldkuhl 2012). Furthermore, due to the fact that the methodological approach of an interpretivist researcher centres on the way individuals perceive and understand their subjective reality (Holloway and Wheeler 2013), this paradigm is applicable in the context of this study.

Essentially, 'an interpretivist inquirer or researcher advocates that there is no worldwide and universal truth. This type of investigator understands, comprehends and interprets from his/her own outline of orientation and reference' (Aligu et al. 2014: 82). Within an interpretivist approach, both subjective (an individual's opinion based upon a person's feelings or beliefs that is regarded as unmeasurable) and objective (an individual's opinion based upon fact not influenced by an individual's feelings, which is measurable) meanings are intensely linked, with the emphasis being on a person's subjective meaning at the core of knowledge created and collected (Della Porta and Keating 2008). Thus, the interpretivist approach is applicable in areas where research considers historical events or attempts to create an understanding of social phenomena. The development of this understanding is impossible without incorporating the perceptions of individuals who are positioned within the event/location (Della Porta and Keating 2008); in the context of this study, PWD in the host country and city of a Paralympic Games. This interpretivist approach is essential for research that aims to allow participants' subjective experiences within a specific time and contextual parameter to be understood with regards to their personal motives and perceptions (Hudson and Ozanne 1998; Neuman 2000).

When all strengths and limitations are considered, the interpretivist stance is most applicable within this study as it aligns with the researcher's worldview of multiple possible realities and experience variance between people's lived experiences. This 'lived experience' refers to an individual's reflective as well as subjective interpretation of the experience being studied

(Reid, Flowers and Larkin 2005). In this case, the experience of PWD both before, during and after a para-sport event; whereby those who experienced the Paralympic Games in either their home city or country will discuss how they perceived the build-up, the actual event, and the post games experiences. This paradigm also aligns with the research objectives of this study, where experiences of objective and subjective space, as well as understanding of experiences are studied. Therefore, through interaction with a portion of the population of PWD through multiple qualitative methods, a rich description of lived experience of PWD in the UK and Brazil can be achieved (for more detail see the next section). This interpretation can then allow the researcher to come to a conclusion regarding experiences, and inform future para-sport events based on the perspectives obtained. This belief fits with the researcher's stance on people's views of reality and the importance of incorporating them into the study. Therefore, as evidenced above, this paradigm not only fits with the researcher's personal views, it is also most applicable to this study. How the interpretivist paradigm guides construction of a methodology will be discussed in the next section, thereby informing the research design adopted for this study.

4.3 Research Design Selection

4.3.1 Methodological Approach

This section will detail the methodological approach chosen for this study, outlining the data collection, sampling and analysis strategies, including reflections on positionality and ethical considerations. Methodology 'refers to the way in which we approach problems and seek answers' (Taylor, Bogdan and DeVault 2015: 3). The next section elaborates on the suitability of a qualitative approach for this study. It then will discuss the units of analysis for this study and their suitability within the study's context.

4.3.1.1 Qualitative approach

For the purpose of this study, the researcher first had to determine whether a qualitative or quantitative approach was most applicable in context. As demonstrated in the previous chapters, incorporating the voices of PWD within disability studies is an under-explored area; therefore, a more exploratory approach to research is required. In its most overarching sense, a qualitative research approach refers to research which principally aims to produce linguistically descriptive data from the population being studied (Taylor, Bogdan and DeVault 2015); while often, quantitative data places emphasis on numbers and analysing numerical data (Taylor 2005). Hence, the most applicable methodological approach for disability studies focusing on PWD is a qualitative approach, because within qualitative research the researcher has a primary aim of exploring an identified gap, and honouring the voices of participants and representing the perspectives of participants (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018).

In previous decades, while the focus of research was largely placed upon large narratives and big theories, there is now necessity for a shift in this focus towards a local and limited narrative specific to chosen situations (Flick 2009). As this study seeks to obtain perspectives based on lived experiences of PWD in host cities/countries of past Paralympic Games, it adheres to the shift in focus towards locally focused narratives. Furthermore, employment of a qualitative approach answers the call of Laurent (2000), who pleads for management research to incorporate the perspectives of those with first-hand knowledge of the area under study, through the utilisation of qualitative techniques. Three of the main advantages of using a qualitative approach are its ability to allow for: 1. Deep exploration; 2. Thick, rich description; and 3. More room for participants, rather than the researcher to guide/narrate knowledge discovery (Laurent 2000). Therefore, a qualitative approach was deemed well suited for the purposes of this study.

As well as aligning with the researcher's philosophical stance and the research objectives, for the most part although not exclusively, descriptive studies within the area of para-sport legacy have predominantly been situated within a qualitative methodology (for examples see: Bush et al. 2013; Taylor, Werthner and Culver 2014), as this focus allows researchers to not only describe, but also lead the focus of the study towards being more meaningful in its exploration (Sofaer 1999). This use of qualitative methods in past research in similar areas supports its employment in this study as a relevant and applicable method. Moreover, this aligns with both the objective of disability studies as mentioned above and this study's objectives, as a qualitative methodological approach allows the researcher to adopt a more flexible research design, necessary for obtaining descriptive insights into lived experiences of PWD (Marshall and Rossman 2011; Taylor, Bogdan and DeVault 2016).

Nevertheless, although a qualitative approach is seen as a fitting choice for this study, due to strengths such as a deeper understanding of the context in which the study is situated and providing an opportunity for the voices of participants to be heard (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018), it is necessary to acknowledge its accompanying limitations. These include a potential lack in generalisability particularly linked to qualitative research, due to restrictions in how the research can apply to situations outside of those studied (Morgan and Drury 2003). Generalisability is also criticised in qualitative research due to the often-smaller numbers of participants when compared to quantitative studies (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018). Another challenge to generalisability that was prevalent in this study, was consideration of the participants' sensitivity, and, as such, safeguarding was necessary by knowing the line between pushing participants for information valuable to the study but avoiding distress for the participants (Patton 2002). Therefore, in order to manage these limitations, the researcher will triangulate data across different qualitative methods which contributes to the robustness of the data collected.

4.3.2 Units of Analysis

For the purpose of this study, the two most recent summer host countries were chosen as representative of Paralympic host locations; namely Brazil (hosted Rio 2016 Paralympics), and the United Kingdom (hosted London 2012 Paralympics). Within each country, two in-country data collection sites were selected: Rio de Janeiro and Curitiba in Brazil; and London and cities more than one-hour travel from London (including Coventry and Leeds) in the UK. Two research sites were chosen in each country to examine the potential spread of legacy in the host country post-event. By including participants who lived in the host city, this allowed the researcher to consider the wider impact of the event on society. By utilising these two countries as units of analysis, this study sought to compare and contrast the lived experiences of PWD in a developed versus developing country.

With regards to data collection site selection, in both countries the choices were informed by several considerations. Within Brazil, Rio de Janeiro was chosen as the host city of the event, while Curitiba was chosen for two reasons. Firstly, Curitiba is also often regarded as the city in Brazil most akin to a European city and considered a more affluent city than Rio de Janeiro which provided an opportunity for comparison. Secondly, as the plans for Paralympic Games aims to extend beyond the host city, considering a city elsewhere in the country allowed for consideration of legacy reach. From a practical standpoint, the researcher had a contact at a university in the city who was happy to help with the data collection and act as interpreter.

Within the UK, the researcher originally planned to collect data in London (the host city) and Coventry (city of the researcher’s university). However, due to slow uptake on calls for participants the researcher made the decision to extend the research sites boundary in the

UK in order to achieve a comparable number of participants to Brazil. These locations included London, Coventry, Leeds and Yorkshire. This extension also allowed for greater consideration of legacy spread in the UK, particularly as London 2012's legacy as set out by the UK Government committed to making the most of the Games for the whole of the UK (GOE London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games 2010) and has since been advertised as the Games that 'transformed a nation forever' (IPC 2014).

As is often the case in disciplines such as management, a plethora of research occurs in more advanced and developed economies, with an absence of focus on so called 'emerging markets' also known as countries', whose economies are considered to still be developing (Burgess and Steenkamp 2006); for example, Brazil. This absence of context-specific research results in Western theory being applied in non-Western contexts, at the risk of being cross-culturally insensitive (Whetten 2009).

The researcher was aware of cultural sensitivities that may have been present, and sought to minimise and manage these concerns by interacting with Brazilian contacts and reading around current issues in Brazil prior to data collection. It is crucial to consider non-Western contexts in their own right, as in many areas, these countries are becoming emerging markets (Sheth 2011). Although there have been other instances of Paralympic Games within both developed and developing contexts (for example, both the USA and Canada (developed) have previously played host to Summer and Winter Paralympic Games, while China (at the time developing) hosted the Summer Paralympic Games in 2008), it was decided to conduct research on the two most recent games, as discussed in the next section.

4.3.3.1 Rationale for Selection of Paralympic Games

The Paralympic Games, according to Brittain (2016), are regarded as the second largest multi-sport event worldwide. Through the Paralympic Games' place as one of the leading mega-events, not just para-sport events, there is much to be derived and considered about the games' place in society. Although the Summer and Winter Games both provide a platform for elite athletes with disabilities to showcase their athletic prowess to the world, the Summer Paralympic Games was chosen as the focus of this study due to the figures associated with the event. For example, when comparing the statistics of the past two Winter and Summer Games as seen in Table 7 (page 128-129), it is evident that athlete engagement, audience participation, and media reach is substantially larger for the Summer Games as opposed to the Winter Games. Also, it is apparent that the Summer Games are continuing to grow each year. When the latest Paralympic Games (Rio 2016) are compared to the first officially recorded Paralympic Games (Rome 1960), there has been a very large growth in athlete participation; from 400 athletes to 4,350 (over 1,000%) (IPC 2019). Therefore, the two most recent Summer Games are considered best suited for the purposes of this study due to their overall size and reach, and the timeline between the events and this study allowing for participants to reflect on their experience of the event. Issues of legacy timeline, such as an appropriate passage of time in order to successfully measure legacy, are evident in many studies with a focus on mega-events.

Table 7. Overview of figures associated with Summer and Winter Paralympics.

Host City	Rio de Janeiro (2016)	Sochi (2014)	London (2012)	Vancouver (2010)
Type of Games	Summer	Winter	Summer	Winter
Number of Athletes	4,350	550	4,302	502
Cost of Event (Olympic and	$13.2 billion	$51 billion	$12.3 billion	$7 billion

Paralympic combined)				
Media Reach	4.1 billion	2 billion	3.8 billion	1.6 billion
Number of Attendees	1.8 million	316, 200	2.7 million	230,000
Number of Nations	160	45	164	44

Source: IPC (2016, 2014, 2012, 2010)

Researchers are unable to reach consensus on an appropriate timeline for legacy to become measurable following the hosting of a mega-event (Preuss 2007). Therefore, based on the difference in legacy timeline (combined with the statistics outlined in Table 7, page 128-129), the past two Summer Games were deemed suitable for measuring legacy of a mega-event. The two games are suitable because they provided what was considered to be an attractive opportunity to compare and contrast medium-term (6 years) and short-term legacy (1 year). With the two Games to be investigated, selected, the next section provides a background into the events and how they were perceived by both organisers and the media.

4.3.3.2 London 2012 Paralympic Games

Throughout the duration of the games and shortly after the closing ceremony, the London 2012 Paralympic Games was hailed an enormous success, and was considered by many to have been one of the most successful games of the modern era (Freedland 2012; Harris 2016). This was as a result of exposure to considerable media coverage in the UK and worldwide, with the IOC publishing post-games articles supporting this, with titles such as: ‘London 2012 legacy continues to be felt across UK’ (IOC 2014), and ‘London 2012 legacy lives on in Great Britain’ (IOC 2016). Nevertheless, these overtly positive proclamations by the IOC are not absolutely transferable to the Paralympic Games. Some media reports, such as those by The Guardian newspaper declared that ‘Paralympic legacy has failed to widen access to exercise, say campaigners’ (2016) or ‘Paralympic legacy fails to shift attitudes to disabled people’ (2013) as explored by Brittain and Beacom (2016). With the scale of the media focus that was placed on the London 2012 Games, it is unsurprising that these games have provided the basis of research on Paralympics, para-sport and legacy (see: Brittain and Beacom 2016; Misener et al. 2013; Weed and Dowse 2009; Weed et al. 2012).

While some of the aforementioned researchers present data supporting the idea of positive legacy post-London 2012, there is also much uncertainty reported with respect to the supposed positive legacy. However, much of the research to date has omitted the voices of PWD and lacks empirical evidence to support its positive attitude change claims. This research is often theoretical in nature based on published work in the media. As such, my research looks to bridge this current gap by providing additional empirical insight into the lived experiences of a range of PWD post-event linked to the three legacy themes set out prior to the event by the UK Government’s Department for Culture, Media and Sport, which read as follows:

“Theme 1: Transform the perception of disabled people in society—with a focus on changing the perception of disabled people’s economic contribution to society

Theme 2: Support opportunities to participate in sport and physical activity.

Theme 3: Promote community engagement through the Games” (ODI/DCMS, 2011).

4.3.3.3 Rio de Janeiro 2016 Paralympic Games

Meanwhile, the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Paralympic Games was considered a suitable addition to this study, as the legacy themes set out by the Rio2016 Organising committee were freely available to the public and in turn set expectations for the event that could be evaluated. These legacy plans included:

1. "Fresh inspiration: New and diverse heroes and leaders with disabilities will emerge, to educate and inspire
2. Inclusive culture: Children and young people will have a positive regard for people with disabilities, improving inclusiveness throughout society
3. Tangible legacy: Both physical and social, with new infrastructure and venues such as the Olympic Training Centre facilities which will integrate Olympic and Paralympic athletes, an extensive workforce trained and ready as a resource for future events in Brazil and South America, and changes in the perception of people with disabilities."

(Rio 2016 website, 2016a)

However, within six months post-games, unlike London 2012, there were numerous and widely documented media reports that addressed the 'legacy' and negative results of the Games (Farand 2017; Kaiser 2017). This contradicted the pre-Games report, in which the Organising Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games in Rio in 2016 set expectations for the event, as they claimed that 'Legacy is our main motive. The Rio 2016 Games will be sustainable, from the economic and environmental points of view, and committed with the social legacy and urban transformation of the city.' (2016: 6).

Similar to London 2012, the Rio 2016 Paralympic and Olympic Games were also exposed to worldwide media coverage, which included predominantly negative headlines such as: 'Legacy of Rio Olympics So Far is Series of Unkept Promises' (Kaiser 2017); 'The Troubled Legacy of the 2016 Rio Olympics' (Whitefield 2017); and 'Rio 2016 Olympic venues left in disrepair as Brazil struck by its worst recession in modern history' (Farand 2017). This media backlash due to pessimistic media reports and their negative connotation to the games, provided this study with additional rationale for Brazil’s inclusion in this research, as it highlights an opportunity to determine whether PWD have had the same experiences of the games as broadcast and disseminated post-event. Evidence of the tangible legacy being in trouble six months post games, identified a need to delve deeper about what can be supposed and demonstrated regarding intangible legacy, as this is often less reported. The media coverage that addresses the legacy of the games can be considered a defining factor for the chosen units of analysis, due to the focus of Paralympic Games on legacy (see: Ahmed 2013; Bloyce and Lovett 2012; Bush et al. 2013; Misener et al. 2013).

Through analysis of the experiences of PWD, this cross-cultural research design, which compares the lived experiences of PWD in two Western/non-Western contexts, can provide insights on contextually specific versus universal factors impacting lived experiences of the games by PWD. These insights can inform legacy planning for future games and create a more relevant and sustainable planning process in which the lived experiences of PWD are the central focus. Based on the absence of voices of PWD in the research identified above, this study will examine the lived experiences and perceptions of legacy of PWD in the host countries of both aforementioned Paralympic Games. In the next section, key methodological considerations guiding development of data collection tools will be discussed.

4.4 Data sampling strategy

As there were multiple data collection sites within this research study, it was a key concern of the researcher that the samples of each site were comparable, and representative of the chosen population (i.e. PWD). When collecting data, the researcher was required to identify and recruit a sample conducive to the information required. In general, sample sizes for qualitative studies are smaller than those used in quantitative research (Mason 2010). A smaller sample size can be due to factors such as qualitative research methods often being more labour-intensive and time-consuming (Mason 2010). While the actual size and number of participants sufficient for a qualitative inquiry has long been debated, for the sake of this research, the opinion of Charmaz (2006) is applied; whereby for qualitative studies, 25 participants is considered adequate. This study aimed to collect at least twenty interviews in each data collection site, as this is regarded to be the minimum number of participants required to reach saturation within data collection (Dworkin 2012). Once the general numbers to aim for were decided, the next factor to consider was how participants would be recruited within this study. The researcher made the decision to incorporate a predominantly purposeful sampling strategy. Patton (2002) is considered by others (such as Suri 2011) as the expert on purposeful sampling, and he defines purposeful sampling as:

> *'The logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information rich cases for study in-depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of vital importance to the purpose of the inquiry thus the term purposeful sampling' (Patton 2002: 30).*

A purposeful sampling strategy was utilised as it allowed the researcher to identify participants who could provide information related to the research topic; namely, in this study, PWD who lived in the country prior to, during and after the Paralympic Games taking place (Palinkas et al. 2015). This particular sampling technique was employed as the study required participants especially knowledgeable about life as PWD in Rio de Janeiro, Curitiba, London and Coventry.

Although the dominant sampling procedure was purposive, a snowball sampling technique was employed alongside purposeful sampling once initial participants had been identified in each country. Snowball sampling is a procedure which allows the researcher to seek the details of others who meet the sample criteria, from those key informants initially identified for the study to provide more information-rich participants (Suri 2011). The use of snowball sampling has been classed by researchers to be well-suited to cross-cultural research (Craig and Douglas 2005), as it allows the researcher to use various stakeholders to provide access to contacts that can identify participants who meet the study criteria (Suri 2011). Thus, it is deemed appropriate for this study across two country contexts. Moreover, by combining two sampling techniques, the limitations associated with one, such as limited availability of lists and access to participants, can be reduced (Craig and Douglas 2005). Therefore, this study identified an initial pool of key participants prior to data collection through purposeful sampling, and continued with the data collection through both purposeful and snowballing techniques.

Furthermore, before these sampling procedures were initiated, a sample criterion needed to be developed to ensure all participants were eligible for the study. The researcher came to the decision that the sample group for this study would include people with physical and visual impairments who had lived in the host country for at least three years pre-event, during the event, and for a minimum of one-year post-event. These criteria ensured that participants had been exposed to the development of the games and the planned legacies. It also guaranteed that the participants had experienced life as PWD in the chosen city before the event. This meant that they could also consider whether, in their opinion, the proposed legacies have come to fruition post-event.

Having set the sampling criteria, the researcher utilised personal contacts in data collection sites to identify people they knew with disabilities, who then identified further people they knew who met the study criteria. This technique allowed the researcher to approach participants with very specific characteristics (i.e. physical or visual impairments and local to the area). The researcher provided her contact information to pass onto people with disabilities who might be interested in taking part in the study. This allowed interested participants to initiate contact with the researcher, or, if preferred, the identified participants could provide their contact details back to the researcher via the informant, to be contacted for an initial discussion about the study. When participants had been successfully sourced and interviews scheduled, the data collection was ready to begin; this will be discussed in the next section. In total, the researcher conducted 26 interviews in Brazil (see Appendix 2 for detailed participant backgrounds) and 20 interviews in the UK (see Appendix 3 for detailed participant backgrounds).

4.5 Data Collection Strategy

When deliberating on a data collection strategy, there are many options which could be considered applicable in a qualitative approach, including: focus groups, participant observation, case studies, key informant interviews, structured observation, and content analysis of relevant documents (Sofaer 1999). In the planning phases of this study, the researcher identified certain methodologies that she hoped to engage with in order to provide the opportunity for a more participatory focused methodological approach. That is, approaches "which aim to reflect, explore and disseminate the views, concerns, feelings and experiences of research participants from their own perspectives." (French and Swain 2004: 3). This is not to be confused with its ensuing development, participatory action research, in which participants co-produce knowledge and are involved in every stage of the study from design, to data collection and evaluation of the data (Goodley and Lawthom 2005; Khatri and Ozano 2018: Zarb 1992).

The first methodology considered was walking interviews, whereby the researcher would have accompanied participants on a daily route in order to visually see their lived route and discuss their experiences with them in a relaxed atmosphere. Within a ‘participatory walking interview’, while the researcher leads the interview, the participant chooses the route they want to take (Kinney 2017). However, following completion of a University risk assessment, this method was deemed as too much of a risk to the researcher due to government guidelines on Brazil and in turn too much of a risk to the participants. With walking interviews no longer a viable option, the researcher next considered the use of diaries. However, following discussion with academic contacts in Brazil who were facilitating the purposive sampling technique, it was decided that in fact diaries were not a feasible option due to a wide variation in participants with respect to literacy levels, access to necessary materials (i.e. pen and paper or computer) and access to participants pre-interview. Therefore, in order to ensure all participants had the opportunity to equally provide their lived experiences and take part in the research, diaries were also rejected as a potential method.

Finally, the researcher considered the use of ‘photo diaries’ or ‘photovoice’ whereby participants would take photos of their objective and subjective spaces in order to discuss during their interviews as previously employed in disability research (Lam et al. 2020; Wang and Burris 1997). However, again this was deemed impractical due to the need to access technology, which again may have resulted in the unintended exclusion of some participants. Overall, while the hope was to incorporate a participatory methodology in which participants could showcase their lived experience through means other than traditional discussion at interviews, social and economic factors in Brazil, as well as practical considerations such as safety (of researcher and participants), access to necessary materials and literacy levels of participants, resulted in a change of direction for this particular study. In order to maintain consistency in data collection, these participatory methodology options were also excluded from the UK context.

Similarly, the use of participatory action research for this study was incompatible due the structural and practical difficulties associated with such data collection and analysis (Khanlou and Peter 2005). These difficulties included the international nature of the data collection within this study, pre-data collection access to participants, as well as language barriers, meaning it was unfeasible to undertake a participatory action approach in which post data collection the researcher could interpret the research findings alongside participants (Lawson 2015). The study instead prioritised a cross cultural comparison versus participatory research. Therefore, although there were many approaches that could have applied in the context of this study, as discussed previously, the researcher decided on a mixed qualitative method approach consisting of interviews and visual research. Both interviews and visual research, and the strategies employed will be discussed in the upcoming sections.

Therefore, although there were many approaches that could have applied in the context of this study, as discussed previously, the researcher decided on a mixed qualitative method approach consisting of interviews and visual research. Both interviews and visual research, and the strategies employed will be discussed in the upcoming sections.

Interviews were chosen as within the realm of international research; personal interviewing is considered the most flexible form of data collection (Craig and Douglas 2005). Concurrently, in an international context for a general qualitative setting, interviews are seen as the most accustomed strategy for data collection (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006). Therefore, employment of interviews is essential due to opportunity for the researcher to adapt questions in the field, to apply to a certain participant and probe deeper for answers (Craig and Douglas 2005). This advantage of adaptability of set questions is essential for assessing lived experience, as it allows for a more thorough and deep understanding, which often cannot be achieved with a rigid and structured survey or questionnaire. Therefore, interviews are highly applicable in this research context and allowed for the collection of rich data sets in each site.

Although interviews provided the researcher with in-depth information on participants' subjective experiences in both their subjective and objective spaces, integrating a visual research method allowed the researcher to identify inclusive/exclusive qualities within the participants' objective space. As well as exploration through interviews, it is possible in this study for visual research to be used in combination with other data collection methods (Kvale 2007), as, in recent times, it has become a prominent approach employed by qualitative researchers in many disciplines (Banks 2008). Research has long focused on both spoken and written homilies; however, there are other forms of communication that can be utilised within research, focusing on communication such as visual images (Riessman 2008). As well as images developed with a specific purpose (such as advertising campaigns, social media posts and television images), images can also be created by researchers themselves, through photography, to identify problem areas or show examples of best practice in this specific context with regard to the lives of PWD, as was the case in this thesis.

The inclusion of visual research within studies can be included in all studies within today's society, as images are seen as being pervasive (Banks 2008). Researchers can either employ images to support their story or tell a story about images creating a unique narrative (Riessman 2008). By using images to support text, researchers can bridge the gap between what the text and image are trying to communicate (Harper 2004). Therefore, the researcher created first-hand images in three main areas of Rio de Janeiro; Central, Carioca and Copacabana. These images are photographs taken to capture examples of both accessible and inaccessible features within the city, which reiterate the points discussed by the interview participants. These images were collated and used to triangulate the findings of the preceding interviews. To ensure reliability, the same visual data collection process was undertaken in Curitiba (Brazil), London (UK) and Coventry/West Midlands (UK).

4.5.1 Interview Protocol

Prior to data collection, based on the model developed in Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework, the researcher developed an indicative interview protocol for use in the interviews in each data collection site. The interview protocol developed included questions to enquire into PWD' lived experiences of objective and subjective spaces in their home city, informed from a number of sources including the IPC legacy goals and extant literature on legacy, lived space and experience. Although a protocol was developed, as associated with qualitative interviews, there was a certain level of probing that took place in each interview to garner more information on topics of interest. The full protocol can be found in Appendix 1.

The interview protocol was consistent for both research sites. However, in Brazil, it was necessary for a translator to be present to conduct the interviews (apart from one, where the participant requested the interview to take place in English, but the translator remained for the duration for consistency). The process consisted of the researcher asking the question to the participant in English, and the translator then repeating the question in Portuguese. The participant would then answer in Portuguese, and the translator would relay the answer to the researcher, who could then determine whether to build on the answer or move to the next question.

4.5.2 Interview Administration: face-to-face and via Skype

Although the majority of interviews (where possible) were conducted face-to-face, due to time, economic and geographical restrictions (i.e. cost for participants to attend interviews, inaccessibility of transport, traveling large distances between areas within Rio de Janeiro and the UK), it became necessary for Skype interviews to be utilised alongside face-to-face interviews. The above restrictions are often barriers to face-to-face interviews (Carter 2011); however, due to the increasing popularity of the internet and emerging communication software such as Skype, it is now possible to include those people previously restricted from taking part in research, in conditions that are convenient for them. Additionally, this method of interviewing is also seen as less disruptive to a person's schedule (Janghorban, Roudsari and Taghipour 2014; Seitz 2016). As such, within a research setting, Skype provides a novel opportunity as a method to collect qualitative data (Deakin and Wakefield 2013). In total, the researcher conducted 2 Skype interviews and 24 face-to-face interviews in Brazil. In the UK 9 Skype interviews and 11 face-to-face interviews were conducted.

As well as providing an opportunity for those who would otherwise have been unable to take part, utilising Skype interviews was seen as a positive inclusion; as found by Deakin and Wakefield (2014), whereby participants can be more responsive in Skype interviews than face-to-face interviews, due to increased comfort and openness (Seitz 2016). Thus, Skype interviews were regarded as a valuable research collection tool, allowing for a greater range of participants and experiences. Although not always used in Skype, when selected by participants, a web camera, alongside audio, leads the interaction over Skype to be comparable to its onsite equivalent of face-to-face interviews, as both forms of interview allow the researcher to observe the presence of social and nonverbal cues (Stewart and Williams 2005; Sullivan 2012).

Although there are limitations associated with use of Skype within data collection, such as the necessity for participants to have access to high speed internet, as well as an acceptable level of digital literacy (Deakin and Wakefield 2013; Hamilton and Bowers 2006), these limitations were weighed against the benefits in order to determine Skype's worth as an addition to this study (Janghorban, Roudsari and Taghipour 2014).

4.6 Data Analysis Strategy

This study requires interpretation of both oral and visual data. Within the study, the majority of data requiring analysis, was derived from the semi-structured interviews that took place in both research sites. The interviews were first transcribed verbatim, yielding 349 pages of text in the UK and 203 pages of text in Brazil. The interviews were transcribed verbatim by the researcher for the UK data set; however, this was not possible for the Brazil data set, and thus, the interviews were subcontracted to a Portuguese native speaker and transcribed verbatim in Portuguese and then translated from Portuguese into English.

4.6.1 Transcription of UK Interviews

In order to make the most informed decision, the researcher considered the cost and expertise required when choosing the analysis protocol (McLellan, MacQueen and Neidig 2003). Particularly in the case of audio-recorded interviews, the researcher must decide whether it is more advantageous to transcribe the vast amounts of data, or instead, to utilise researcher notes and a review of the audio tapes (Patton 2002). For the purpose of this study, the interviews conducted in the UK (n=20) were transcribed verbatim by the researcher. As with all forms of data analysis, there were challenges associated with transcribing verbatim, such as, background noise, overlapping sentences, and determining carefully when and where punctuation should be used (McLellan, MacQueen and Neidig 2003). However, with these challenges in mind the researcher was meticulous in ensuring that the challenges impacted as little as possible, or where an impact was evident that it was made clear in the transcript. Details of the interview and transcription equipment can be found in Table 8 (page 142).

Overall, although transcribing large amounts of audio data verbatim is a time-consuming method, this process was invaluable, as it allowed the researcher to immerse herself in the data and improve familiarity with the interviews and participants. Once the interviews had taken place, they were transferred from the researcher's Dictaphone to a secure Microsoft

One Drive folder. Initially the researcher had planned to play the audio and transcribe directly into a Microsoft Word document; however, this proved fiddly and overly time-consuming. From here, the researcher tried and decided to use an online programme (oTranscribe) to aid efficiency and ease of transcription. To ensure that transcriptions were anonymised at all times, no names or identities were typed during the transcription process. As oTranscribe is an online platform, the researcher cleared the audio and written transcriptions following each writing session, as the Timestamp feature allowed the researcher to pick up at the exact same spot when transcription resumed, and nothing was saved online. This feature allowed the interview to be removed from the programme online, every time the webpage was closed.

Table 8. Interview and Transcription Equipment

Type of Equipment	**Brand**	**Model**
Dictaphone	Sony	ICD-PX370
Transcription Software	oTranscribe.com	
Headphones	Sony	MDRZX110P
Data analysis software	Microsoft	Word Office 365

4.6.2 Transcription of Brazilian Interviews

For all the interviews collected in Brazil (n=26), as they were conducted and thus recorded in Portuguese (the native language of all participants) it was necessary for the interviews to be outsourced for translation and transcription in English, to allow for analysis. Only one participant requested that the interview be conducted in English, as he wished to showcase his grasp of the language and to practice in English, this was willingly facilitated by the researcher and the researcher transcribed this single Brazilian interview verbatim following the same procedure as with the UK interviews.

Transcripts that incorporate translation from one language to another are regarded in qualitative research as complex and challenging (Davidson 2009), as experienced first-hand by the researcher in this study. As a non-native speaker of the language in which the interviews were conducted, it was necessary to employ an interpreter and transcriber (Moerman 1996). Upon returning from Brazil, the researcher found a translator who could transcribe and translate over 13 hours of audio recordings. Once the translator’s cost quotation had been considered and accepted by the university who were funding the service, the next step was to develop a contract in line with new data protection laws. A contract was then signed on the researcher’s behalf by the university’s legal team and the translator, and put in place.

Once all the legal aspects were complete, the audio files were then shared with the translator via access to a password-protected Coventry University version of Microsoft OneDrive. Following discussion with the researcher, the translator then followed the protocol of transcribing the interviews verbatim into Brazilian Portuguese and these transcriptions were then translated into English. This process allowed time for the translator to ensure the translations were correct, and cross-compare with the Portuguese transcripts.

4.7 Data Analysis Strategy

Once the data was transcribed, at this point, the researcher considered the advantages and disadvantages associated with use of computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) in the transcription and analysis process. In particular, NVivo was considered due to its availability in the university and popularity in extant qualitative analysis, plus relative simplicity of use (Welsh 2002). However, it was also considered by the researcher that computer analysis programmes can, at times restrict as opposed to aiding the qualitative analytical process (Blismas and Dainty 2010). Due to the fact that the researcher was not transcribing both sets of interviews, the decision was made to conduct the analysis by hand so as to ensure maximum immersion in the data.

Semi-structured interviews were employed as the primary data collection method in this study, resulting in 552 pages of 1.5 line spaced, size 12 text for the researcher to work through. To make sense of the data, it was necessary to consider and decide on the most appropriate data analysis method for this study. When conducting analysis of qualitative data, two approaches are deemed prominent: content-based analysis such as thematic analysis (originally developed to analyse texts such as journal articles and transcribed interviews (Spurgin and Wildemuth 2009)) and interpretive analysis such as discourse analysis (Sgier 2012). For the purpose of this study, a content-based analysis, namely thematic analysis was deemed most appropriate, due to its accessible and flexible approach, which can be utilised across varying ontological and epistemological positions (Nowell et al. 2017).

'Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data' (Misener et al. 2013: 333). It is becoming increasingly recognised as a 'unique and valuable method in its own right alongside other more established qualitative approaches' (Braun and Clarke 2012: 57). Thematic analysis is considered an appropriate method for analysing any data which looks to utilise interpretations of participants, due to its systematic approach to analysis (Alhojailan 2012). Unlike other forms of analysis, thematic analysis is not tied to any one theoretical framework, making it applicable in many types of research (Braun and Clarke 2014). This analysis method has been successfully employed in previous research focused on Paralympic Games legacy, such as that of Misener et al. (2013).

As the study followed an interpretive approach, the researcher attempted to interpret the accounts of participants to greater understand their meaning (Welsh 2002). Once the interviews had been transcribed, the researcher coded, following a read, in order to familiarise herself with the data. Undertaking a thematic analysis allowed for the data to be coded and categorised into applicable themes (Alhojailan 2012). Three codes were developed a priori based on the theoretical background and conceptual model. From there, the phases outlined by Braun, Clark and Weate (2016) were adhered to when coding the data and allowing relevant themes to emerge. These included: Phase 1-2 familiarisation and coding; Phases 3-5 Theme development, refinement and naming and Phase 6 Writing Up (Braun, Clark and Weate 2016). The coding process can be seen in as per Table 9 (page 145-146) which shows how the initial coding followed a systematic process to collapse into themes.

Table 9. Coding of Data

Pre-Set Codes	**Sub-Codes Level 1**	**Sub-Codes Level 2**	**Sub-Codes Level 3**
Objective Space through the lens of ableism	Experiences in Social Environment	Access	-Event -Wider Space
		Transport	-Event -Wide Space
		Employment	-Event -Wider Space
	Growth of Para-sports	Participation Levels	n/a
		Visibility	n/a
	Policy (Implemented)		
	Perceived Experience	Inclusion	n/a
		Exclusion	n/a
	Future Improvements in Obj Space		n/a
Subjective Space through the lens of ableism	Perceived Attitudes	Pw/oD → PWD	n/a
		PWD → PWD	n/a
		PWD → Self (Hierarchy of Disability)	n/a
		PWD → Disability	n/a
	Media Representation	Impressions	-Inclusion -Exclusion
		Expectations	-Legacy -Wider Space

		Hierarchy of Inclusion	-Tokenism -Sensationalism -New stereotypes (Superhumans)
	Policy	Ideation vs Ideology	n/a
	Future Improvements		n/a
	Perceived Experience	Inclusion	Characteristics of included participants
		Exclusion	Characteristics of excluded participants
Lived Experience	Individual Experience	n/a	n/a
	Group Experience (PWD)	Idea of norm and normal	n/a
	Disability as a wider issue	n/a	n/a
	Link to Paralympics	n/a	n/a
	Family Perspectives	n/a	n/a

4.8 Key Methodological Considerations

Obtaining insights into the experiences of the Games by PWD (both with and without interest in sport) was a crucial consideration to the study design. As highlighted by McGillivray, McPherson and Misener (2017), the hosting of sporting events can often highlight a clear division between the sporting experiences of the athletes involved and the lived experiences of the general population with disabilities. Although previous research has largely considered the perspectives of elite athletes (e.g. Purdue and Howe 2012; Silva et al. 2012), many PWD are currently inactive and as such, have no desire to be linked to the 'supercrip' stereotype, whereby PWD have to fight to overcome their impairment to achieve success (Silva and Howe 2012). This stereotype is perpetuated by the Paralympic Games, whereby athletes taking part have in recent games, begun to be referred to as 'superhumans'. With the IPC's goals broad, and seeking to impact the lives of all PWD, not just the athletes involved in the event itself, it is critical and a central facet to incorporate the experiences and voices of general PWD, as well as athletes through an appropriate methodology to garner a more holistic view.

4.8.1 Cross-Cultural Considerations

As this study was conducted across nations there was a need for cross-cultural considerations in the study design, as the approach encompassed both emic (inside) and etic (outside) viewpoints (Berry 1989). In this study a qualitative approach was justified, as the aim was to explore an under-studied group-level phenomenon (i.e. lived experiences of PWD) (Malhotra, Agarwal and Peterson 1996). The researcher was cognisant of common problems with qualitative research in developing countries including accessibility and sampling (Goodyear 1982). This was addressed by contacting academics in Brazil, facilitated by one of the interpreters, prior to visiting the research site, and employing purposeful sampling supported by snowball sampling.

Additionally, the design was premised on the consideration that it is essential to recognise and be respectful of the fact that the UK and Brazil have two distinctly differing national cultures. While Brazil is regarded as more of a mixture of people as opposed to diverse (de Hilal 2006), the UK is very protective of its diversity (Wood, Landry and Bloomfield 2006). Both research sites also differ in their types of society, with the UK regarded as an individualist culture, while Brazil is seen as a collectivist culture (Hofstede Insights 2020).

McPhail (1995:162), believes that ‘culture is not something constructed outside of consciousness or the constitutions of meaning, but rather, is co-constructed in lived experiences both on the individual level and the group level’. This definition is in line with the researcher’s view of culture, and is especially cognisant of the impact that lived experiences have on an individual’s culture. As this study aims to determine lived experience and legacy effect post-Paralympic Games, this definition is suitable and provides the basis for the ensuing section.

In order for the research sites to be comparable they require common as well as differing features (Malhotra, Agarwal and Peterson 1996). In the context of this study these sites are comparable as they have a common feature of both being host cities of previous Paralympic Games, but differ as they are Western and non-Western nations. As the research sites were Western and non-Western nations, this was one of the most pressing concerns, as, all too often in research, phenomena being studied is defined and operationalised in Western contexts and applied directly without consideration of its transferability to non-Western contexts (Yaprak 2003).This potential limitation was considered by the researcher prior to data collection in order to ensure construct equivalence (Yaprak 2003) across research sites.

In the initial stages of the study, an adoption strategy was applied in which the data collection instrument, in this study the interview protocol, was translated to the target language (He and Van de Vijver 2012). This was chosen as within empirical research it is simple to implement while providing high face validity (He and Van de Vijver 2012). This approach as with all approaches has associated limitations such as, only usable when items in the source (UK) and target (Brazil) language have an adequate coverage of the construct being researched (He and Van de Vijver 2012) as was the case in this study as legacy was an area of discussion in both nations.

In cross-national research it is important to note any differences in the procedure employed (Yaprak 2003), in this study both research sites utilised face to face and Skype interviews. At the implementation stage a standard interview protocol was used by the researcher (He and Van de Vijver 2012) and the supporting interpreters in the Brazilian research sites. Brislin (1986) expressed the importance of selecting the right interviewers, in this case, the researcher was the primary interviewer supported by interpreters conducting the Portuguese language aspect of the interviews. In the Brazilian context, in Rio de Janeiro a native Portuguese speaker, who is also an academic at the researcher's university with experience in interviewing supported the researcher. In Curitiba a local researcher fluent in both Portuguese and English facilitated and supported the interview process.

The research established construct equivalence (Craig and Douglas 2000) as in this study's context, the legacy goals remain quite constant for all host cities/countries, improving experiences, attitudes and accessibility would be the same across contexts. Translational equivalence was addressed by ensuring that the interview questions assessed the same constructs in both research sites (Yaprak 2003). The interview protocol was translated so the questions were understood by respondents and have equivalent meaning (Malhotra, Agarwal and Peterson 1996). This translation took place with the interview protocol, informed consent and participant information sheet all translated by a native Portuguese speaker and subsequently validated by a native Brazilian in order to ensure accurate translation.

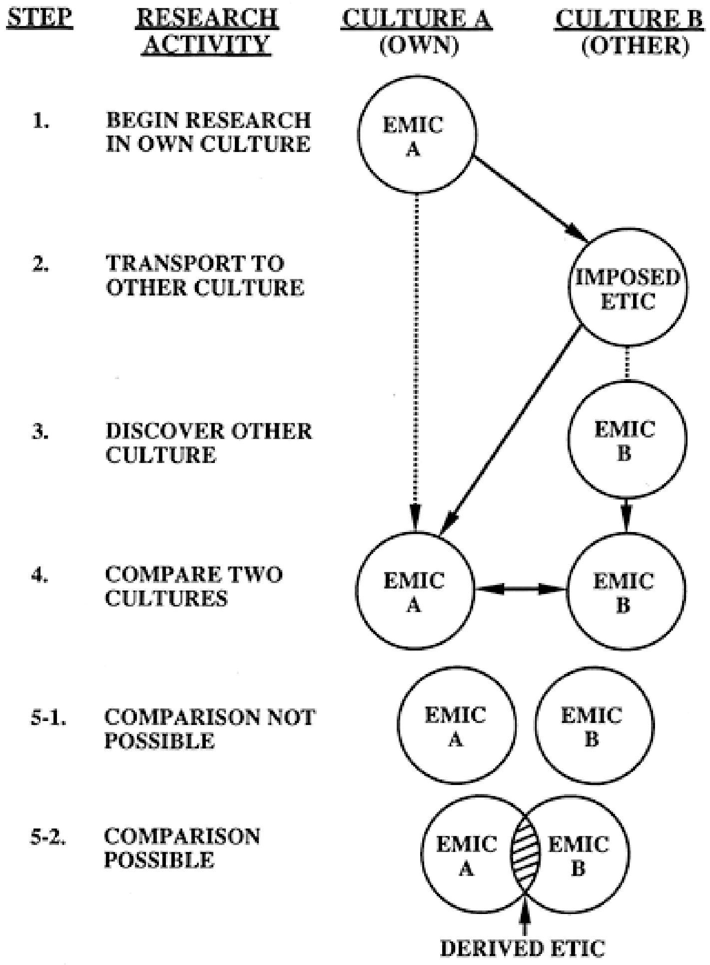
As regards data analysis, the researcher employed a derived etic approach as developed by Berry (1979) and outlined in Figure 9 (page 150). Within a derived etic approach, the researcher can analyse phenomena within certain cultures by beginning with one culture and then incorporating a second (Berry 1989). Within this study, the project began with an emic approach which was then transported to another culture.

The levels of analysis followed those outlined by Malhotra, Agarwal and Peterson (1996) which sees each research site analysed, followed by within country and across country. This research followed this process by first analysing all participants transcriptions individually from both research sites. Following this all UK data was collated and analysed. Next the

Brazilian data was collated and analysed. Finally, the data from both research sites was considered together.

Once data had been collected and sequentially analysed, as per Berry (1979), the researcher was then in a position to consider if a comparison between the two data sets was feasible.

Figure 9. Steps in operationalising emics and etics.



Source (Berry 1989)

It was determined as viable to make a comparison between the two for identification of shared features between cultures in line with Figure 9 (page 150), as created by Berry (1989).

Throughout the entire research process the researcher was acutely aware of cross-cultural considerations and planned for their potential emergence. The potential challenges and their management plans can be seen in Table 10.

Table 10. Challenges of Cross-Cultural Research

Challenge	**Management Plan**
Transferability of concepts	A derived etic approach to the research development
Construct equivalence	Consideration of constructs across the research settings used
Representative and relevant sample	Use of a purposeful selection technique
Bias	Reflexivity throughout the process
Cross cultural comparability	Contextualisation and a comparative analysis within and across research sites
Measurement equivalence	Consistency across research setting with regards to research design and data collection
Translation of measurement instrument	Consult locals who can pre-test the instrument
Translation equivalence	Back translation, trusted translator
Ensuring reliability and validity in all cultures	Triangulation of methods

Source: Kipnis (2015), Burgess and Steenkamp (2006), Yaprak (2003), Craig and Douglas (2000), Mullen (1995).

These issues were based on challenges that routinely emerge in cross-cultural research. The researcher ensured each challenge had a relevant management plan in place prior to the data collection process to avoid negative connotations during both data collection and data analysis.

4.8.2 Validity and Reliability

Qualitative studies are vital in research as they assist in providing understanding and descriptions of experiences of the chosen sample group (Bashir, Afzal and Azeem 2008). Reliability and validity are both considered appropriate concepts for attaining rigor in both qualitative and quantitative research (Bashir, Afzal and Azeem 2008; Cypress 2017). This is essential, as without rigour research loses its worth and becomes a work of fiction (Bashir, Afzal and Azeem 2008; Morse et al. 2002).

In qualitative research, validity can be described as ‘the extent to which the data is plausible, credible and trustworthy, and thus, can be defended when challenged.’ (Bashir, Afzal and Azeem 2008: 35). Validity can be classed as a means for ensuring rigour through the employment of strategies for verification (Morse et al. 2002). Although in quantitative study there are explicit definitions for validity and reliability, in qualitative research this proves more troublesome, with many researchers questioning the appropriateness of using the term ‘reliability’ (Stenbacka 2001). Therefore, in qualitative study, it is accepted that validity cannot be achieved without reliability, and thus reliability is a consequence of the identified validity (Lincoln and Guba 1985: Patton 2002). However, this is not the only technique to ensure rigour. As was the process in this study, the researcher documented the details of how the study progressed from data collection through to analysis and interpretation, as per Morgan and Drury (2003).

In order to ensure validity in this thesis, a combination of McMillan and Schumacher’s (2006) strategies to increase validity were adhered to. Details of these strategies and their application can be found in Table 11 (page 152-153).

Table 11. Strategies implemented to improve validity

Strategy	Detailed Account of Implementation
Participant language	In order to ensure participant language is the basis of this data, verbatim accounts from participants were utilised with direct quotes and statements used.
Multiple researchers	As the thesis researcher did not speak the national language of one of the research sites (Portuguese), the researcher considered that multiple researchers could potentially enhance the reliability of the data collection in the

	Brazilian context. As such, for interviews in Rio de Janeiro and Curitiba a researcher acted as the translator. Following each interview, a discussion took place between the researcher and the translator researcher to ensure consistent understanding of the interview dialogue.
Mechanically recorded data	Within this study, all data was recorded on a Sony ICD-PX370 and immediately uploaded to the researchers secure, password protected OneDrive account. The visual data was collected by the researcher on an iPhone 7 device.
Identifying negative or discrepant data	This took place during the interviews in field notes whereby the researcher notes anything of possible exception and was considered again throughout the data analysis process.

(Source: McMillan and Schumacher 2006)

Similarly, Patton (2002) posed three questions to help determine the reliability and validity of qualitative research. These questions and their respective answers specific to this study can be found in Table 12 (page 153-154). Due to the fact that the researcher is the solitary instrument and mode used for collecting the data in qualitative research (Cypress 2017; Patton 2002), it is essential to address how the researcher in their data collection and analysis process has considered reliability and validity, and ensured rigour throughout the process.

Table 12. Considerations of reliability, validity and rigour in this study

Question	Answer
What techniques and methods were used to ensure integrity, validity and accuracy of findings?	The researcher transcribed verbatim the UK interviews to immerse herself in the data. In order to immerse herself in the Brazil data transcribed by a native Portuguese speaker, the researcher read through the transcripts multiple times. On the first read of each transcript the researcher cross-checked the detail with the field notes taken at each research site.
What does the researcher bring to the study in terms of experience and qualification?	The researcher has over 10 years of experience working with PWD. Both the researcher's undergraduate (BSc) and postgraduate (MSc)

	dissertations employed qualitative research methods and included PWD.
What assumptions under grid the study?	The researcher avoided making any assumptions prior to data collection.

(Source: Patton 2002)

It would be irresponsible to assume that validity and reliability of data is a foregone conclusion of data collection. It is the researcher's responsibility to demonstrate that validity, reliability and generalisability have been applied to the research (Janesick 1994). There are varying threats faced by researchers when striving to achieve rigour in their work. Researcher bias can be classed as an example of a threat to validity, whereby, due to previously instilled biases, the researcher may be selective in the recording of information in line with their beliefs (Cypress 2017). Therefore, in order to prevent this bias, the researcher needs to be aware of any opinions they (the researcher) may have that could potentially taint their findings and conclusion (Cypress 2017). This self-awareness and self-reflection, also referred to as 'reflexivity' (Patton 2015) allows the researcher to ensure that any previous opinions did not interfere with the study process.

Finally, in order to ensure reliability and validity in this study, the researcher triangulated the data. The term triangulation 'refer(s) to the observation of the research issue from (at least) two different points' (Flick 2004: 178). In this study, the researcher collected verbal data from two separate research sites and also utilised visual data to support the data collected via interview. The inclusion of visual data is relevant, as Flick (2004) identified the emergence of new ways of considering triangulation whereby verbal data can in fact be linked to visual data. In this study, the visual data is included to visually present the experiences expressed in the verbal data.

4.8.3 Positionality

An essential consideration by the researcher in this study was how she was positioned with respect to participants, and how this could potentially affect data collection. Corbin Dwyer and Buckle (2009: 54) pose the question ‘Should qualitative researchers be members of the population they are studying or should they not?’. This question can be answered by considering positionality as discussed by Merriam et al. (2001), said to be where one is situated when compared to ‘the other’. Within this study, as a Pw/oD studying the experiences of PWD, the researcher reflected on this question and on her positionality prior to each interview, to ensure she was well placed to interact with participants and represent their lived experience without bias. The researcher took notes each day, post data collection, in order to reflect on the process and comment on any issues encountered or key findings. This reflection allowed for the researcher to interpret the participants lived experiences truthfully (Brown 2019). Management of positionality included the process of debriefing with the researcher’s supervisory team. As areas of interest emerged from participants, reflecting each day allowed for these key areas to be addressed in subsequent interviews. These reflections allowed for consideration of participants in their space, with education emerging as a key area of consideration particularly in Brazil. This identified a need to make sure to adapt questions in line with understanding of terms if they were too difficult to understand. The reflections also allowed for the data analysis process to overcome any issues by rereading these reflections prior to transcript reading and analysis process in order to prompt any necessary considerations.

When considering positionality from a cross-national perspective, the researcher is largely considered to be either outside or inside the group being studied (Moore 2012). It was once considered a matter of social epistemology in that only members of a certain group were regarded as having the capacity to conduct research into the group (Merton 1972). Even in recent years, researchers such as Craig and Douglas (2005) believe that, for an interview to be successful, it is essential for the interviewer to be of the same ethnic group or nationality as the interviewees. In the past, there was a definite distinction between ‘insider’ (members of specified groups, Merton 1972) and ‘outsider’ (non-members of specified groups, Merton 1972). Recently, this hard boundary has become less tangible and blurred due to the shifting of positions once seen as fixed (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle 2009; Merriam et al. 2001; Moore 2012; Mullings 1999); with researchers now associating with both insider and outsider positionality at different stages throughout the research process.

Previously, the insider was thought to have a monopoly on the knowledge of the researched group (Merton 1972), in this case PWD, implying that only people with an impairment would be in a position to collect reliable data pertaining to living with a disability. Meanwhile, the outsider, due to an assumed lack of socialisation with the chosen group, cannot possibly possess the skills to ensure an empathetic understanding of said group (Merton 1972), and create a representation in line with the beliefs of the population in question. However, positionality is no longer as rigid as previously considered.

Throughout the data collection process, positionality can be fluid as it is impacted by multiple facets of being including gender, sexuality, or race and ethnicity of participants. This positionality can be different within each group, or even within everyone in a group (Merriam et al. 2001). For example, when conducting research with a group of PWD, the type of impairment impacted the perceived positionality. For example, with respect to people with a visual impairment, race, class and age would not have been apparent through sound of the researcher’s voice alone. All researchers must also be aware that how they are perceived, and the extent to which they are considered to align with respect to positionality, can never truly be known (Mullings 1999). Table 13 presents a summary of literature outlining the strengths and weaknesses associated with positionality and the ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ rhetoric. These strengths and weaknesses were considered by the research prior to data collection in order to create awareness and avoid any negative connotations with respect to positionality.

Table 13. Pros and cons of ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ positionality

Pros of Insider	Cons of Insider	Pros of Outsider	Cons of Outsider
Can acquire role of objective enquirer	Can potentially exploit relationships during recruitment	No shared experience meant there was no danger of ‘competition’	Can be seen as someone sent in to try and relay information back to others
Authentic understanding of group life	Potential power imbalance	Perception as ‘neutral’ may lead to information that would not be given to an insider	Cannot portray an understanding of life of group being studied
Can gain more intimate insights due to their own knowledge	Insider from one aspect does not ensure insider in all aspects (e.g. differences in age)	Can elicit fuller more rich explanations as not seen to already ‘know’	Can only use the information given and subsequent objective perspective
Enhanced trust and openness	Can be seen as a confidante for irrelevant topics for the study	Has the potential to as ‘taboo’ questions	Harder to gain trust of participants and in turn get open responses
The ability to read nonverbal cues	May mistakenly read non-verbal cues and place too much focus on such	Can give a more objective portrayal of participants reality	An overly objective viewpoint may lead to missing important points
Project a truthful authentic understanding of culture	Personal bias in the projection	Objective projection of the understanding based on what is said by participants	Lack of true cultural understanding may lead to bias in final projection

Sources: Berger (2015); Fonow and Cook (1991); Hill Collins (1990); Merriam et al. (2001); Merton (1972); Moore (2012); Simmel (1908)

When conducting the interviews in Brazil (in Brazilian Portuguese), the researcher was highly aware of linguistic equivalence (see Table 13, page 157, and Yaprak 2003) to ensure that the questions in the interview protocol aligned for both populations. In order to ensure linguistic equivalence, the researcher had the interview protocol and all accompanying documents (informed consent form, information sheet and debriefing form) translated by a native Portuguese colleague and subsequently validated by a native Brazilian. Due to the presence of an interpreter alongside the researcher, the researcher had to safeguard against social desirability bias (by ensuring prior to commencement of the interview that participants were aware they were free to answer as they wished, be that in a positive or negative way, and that no-one would ever know about their perceptions), which is more prevalent in research in developing societies, especially in urban populations, which is the focus of this research (Yaprak 2003).

In the UK, it was still necessary to be conscious of positionality, as it is not limited to countries but transcends across other facets of being as discussed in Table 13 (page 157). This led to fluctuation in the researcher's positionality in both research sites. Awareness of this fluctuation allowed the researcher to prevent any imbalance in the interview process.

4.8.4 Ethics

Prior to commencement of the data collection, the researcher sought ethical approval for the study from the Coventry University Postgraduate Ethics Committee, with the research adhering to the Coventry University Code of Ethics (Coventry University 2020). For the full ethical application see Appendix 5. This process of gaining ethical approval took some time due to the sample including PWD. Once ethical approval was granted, the researcher was then responsible for protecting the participants who chose to participate (Orb, Eisenhauer and Wynaden 2001).

Ethical considerations should and do play a large role in the design of research (DeVaus 2014). Due to the research being conducted in multiple research sites, with new participant samples in each, the researcher needed an ethical foundation to follow that was applicable for both units of analysis. In order to ensure that participants were safeguarded against any potential harm (physical or psychological) as a result of this study, the researcher followed Orb, Eisenhower and Wynaden's (2001) three ethical principles: 1. Autonomy, ensuring human rights and informed consent is gained; 2. Beneficence, preventing harm coming to participants and try to do good for others; and 3. Justice, avoiding exploitation of participants.

One of the first ethical considerations within this study was the chosen sample. Although this study considered the experiences of PWD, it was necessary to put parameters on the sample to ensure that the ethical principles of Orb, Eisenhauer and Wynaden (2001) were followed. For example, there has been much research to date regarding the ethical implications and challenges of research including people with intellectual impairments; such as the need to develop relationships prior to data collection (Atkinson 2005; Redmond 2005), and potential communication barriers influencing informed consent (Freedman 2001). As such, the researcher concluded that the sample of PWD to be included in this study would be limited to people with physical and visual impairments only, to ensure compliance with these principles.

The ethical considerations that came into practice followed those outlined by DeVaus (2014), namely: voluntary participation, informed consent, no harm, confidentiality, and privacy. The researcher ensured that each of these considerations was appropriately addressed throughout the interview process in both research sites, with details of this now provided. Firstly, although the researcher did not ask any questions to harm or upset participants, the interviews do take up participants' time, therefore participation was voluntary. Secondly, in order to ensure participants were aware of the research aims and subject, an informed consent form was discussed, which needed to be understood and signed by all participants. Thirdly, the researcher ensured that no harm came to any of the participants by adhering to the three ethical principles mentioned above. Fourthly, the anonymity of participants was assured, as each participant was informed that names or any identifiable characteristics were not used in the write-up and transcripts were securely stored. Finally, the privacy and safety of participants and researcher were ensured through the interviews taking place, in safe, public locations. These ethical considerations were followed throughout the process from conceptualisation through to the write-up of findings.

In order to ensure the full comfort of participants at times it was necessary and requested for parents/guardians to be present for the duration of the interview. No undue influence was placed on the participant by their parent/guardian. At times, although the parent/guardian gave their opinion, the researcher was vigilant to ensure the interview returned to the participant and did not overlook their opinions. On any occasion where the parent/guardian said anything of interest, the researcher made a note of the topic in the field notes.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the development of the research design based on the appropriated philosophical stance; interpretivism. A qualitative method approach was adopted, wherein data collection tools including semi-structured interviews and researcher created images were used to examine the experiences of PWD in the two units of analysis. The data gathered was processed and analysed according to the chosen data analysis strategy (thematic analysis), and the findings will be presented in the next two chapters.

Chapter 5: Objective Space Findings

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the findings of both the UK and Brazilian studies in this research, specific to objective space, in an attempt to answer the research question posed at the beginning of this thesis (page 23).

With respect to the research question, the conceptual framework guided the collection of data grounded in ableism and socio spatial inclusion theory. Objective space was previously defined in Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework (page 96) as a tangible environment that contains measurable factors (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013). This chapter now explores how a number of interacting aspects of objective space that emerged throughout the interviews, impacted the experiences of PWD post-event. The most prevalent aspects discussed by participants will be addressed under four core headings: employment, access and accessibility, transport, and sports participation/visibility. These areas have been chosen for discussion based on themes that emerged from the analysis, as well as aligning with extant literature; as hosts of mega-events such as the Paralympic Games often make bold statements with regards to improving objective space, such as accessibility of venues and the general urban network, as well as improvements in transport networks and public spaces (McGillivray, McPherson and Misener 2017).

The expectations and experiences of multiple facets of objective space will be considered and discussed from perspectives of both UK and Brazil participants respectively. As the responses to, and experiences of objective space by participants were found to be resoundingly negative in both research sites, these will be presented first. Following this, the more positive and mixed responses and perceptions will also be addressed, where appropriate.

This chapter is organised into four main sections. Section 5.2 presents and discusses participants' experiences of employment as individuals with impairments. Section 5.3 presents and discusses the key findings associated with participants' objective space experiences with respect to access. Section 5.4 presents and discusses participants' experience of transport. Finally, Section 5.5 discusses the growth of para-sports post-event from the view of participants.

As discussed in Chapter 4: Methodology (Section 4.5) the Brazilian data was collected by conducting 26 semi-structured interviews with participants from various impairment groups (Rio de Janeiro n= 16, Curitiba n=10, see Appendix 2 for full participant demographic breakdown). All interviews were translated and transcribed verbatim by a native Portuguese speaker employed for the purpose (see Chapter 4, Section 4.6.2 for more detail on use of an objective translator and transcriber) yielding 203 pages of text.

Similarly, the UK data was collected by conducting 20 semi structured interviews with participants with various types of impairments (London n=10, Coventry and Rest of UK n=10, see Appendix 3 for full participant demographic breakdown). All interviews were transcribed verbatim, yielding 349 pages of text. The subsequent analysis of both data sets followed a derived etic approach (Berry 1979), with the interview transcripts analysed sequentially (see Chapter 4: Methodology, Section 4.7 for more detail on the analysis process). The coding procedure followed the thematic analysis process outlined by Braun, Clark and Weate (2016), due to its applicability in this study, in order to ensure a reliable coding procedure.

Although the original plan was to investigate if there was an intra-country difference (London and Coventry; and Rio de Janeiro and Curitiba) and subsequently a difference inter-country (UK v Brazil), upon initial reading of transcripts and subsequent analysis of the UK data (employing participants from London, Coventry, West Midlands and the North Leeds and

Yorkshire) and Brazil data (with participants from both Rio de Janeiro and Curitiba), little context-specific differences were identified. As a result, the decision was made to merge all data from the UK, and similarly merge all data from Brazil. Therefore, the subsequent findings in this chapter will discuss the general UK and Brazil findings, and will include quotes from both sets of interviews that will be identified appropriately throughout.

5.2 Employment

Employment is a desirable endeavour for all members of society, not only from an economic perspective, but, more importantly, from the perspective of PWD, employment can be integral in facilitating the integration of PWD into mainstream society (Schur 2002). With one of the legacy goals of the Paralympic Games being to improve social inclusion of the population, as identified previously in this chapter, employment can be regarded as a potential initiator of such inclusion for minority groups, including PWD.

5.2.1 Employment from Perspective of UK Participants

This section examined emerged findings on how participants perceive their ability to gain employment and their experiences to date, which informs their current observations. All participants who discussed employment in this study shared a common negative narrative, focused on their difficulties associated with employment due predominantly to their impairment (from their perspective). This struggle associated with employment is more relevant than ever, with the narrative on disability oscillating between benefit scrounger and superhuman (as discussed in several interviews). Due to the stereotypes associated with PWD evident in society (as discussed in section 2.6), there is a growing need and want from PWD to have the opportunity to exhibit their skills and become integrated and respected members of society; not just in a social context, but also in a professional context. As highlighted by P2L (wheelchair user) there is a lack of knowledge from employers around whether or not PWD are capable of being successful in employment:

> *'You know she's [Government worker employed to assess disability benefits] terrified and I don't think, you know a lot of people say can you get a job? Yeah, I can do a job. (P2L, wheelchair user)*
>
> *Interviewer: Yeah if someone is willing to hire you.*
>
> *You know but I've found it tough (P2L, wheelchair user)'*

Although a university educated male, as a result of his impairment, P2L identified that prejudice and lack of awareness is often experienced by PWD in the jobs market. This perception is reminiscent of Bezyak, Sabella and Gattis' (2017) idea of disadvantage, whereby there is a scale of employment for PWD based on both the severity of their impairment and, most importantly, the willingness of employers to hire them. Without knowledge and willingness to learn, employers will not develop a disposition or a desire to hire PWD.

The negative experiences of PWD in this study in securing employment, are supported by the large variance in likelihood for employment consistent within extant research, which shows that PWD are 28% less likely to have a job than Pw/oD, with similar demographics except for impairment (Berthoud 2011). This gap in employment is also considered by P10L (polio) when she expressed her belief and experience as being '*Within the world of work, disabled people are significantly underrepresented*'. However, opposing this view is a claim by the UK government that since the London 2012 Paralympic Games, there are now almost 1 million more PWD in successful employment (Field 2019). These claims are undermined by the classification of employment as being one hour of paid work over a one-week period (Office for National Statistics 2019). With the National Living Wage (NLW) for adults over 25 years as of January 2020 £8.21 per hour (GOV.UK 2019), it is incomprehensible to deduce from these figures that PWD have seen an improvement in living conditions as a result of increased 'employment'

As well as issues with initial entrance into employment, participants narratives align with the findings of Burchardt (2000), who identified that even when PWD are successful in their quest for employment, within one year, a third of those who are successful become unemployed again, compared to only one-fifth of their peers without impairments. For P6L (muscular dystrophy) this is a point relevant to his lived experience, as he noted:

> *'I studied advertising and brand communication at university. I graduated in 2012, it took me 3 years to get my first job. I got my first job, but after 8 months I was made redundant, as you do.' (P6L, muscular dystrophy)*

This quote highlights the effort that PWD often have to make in order to be successful in employment in their field. Furthermore, as evidenced by P4L (double leg amputee), it seems that PWD believe that Pw/oD gain employment over PWD due to both the convenience and lack of adaptations that may be required to accommodate an employee with an impairment:

> *'Personally, I think I'm lucky that I'm a naturally sporting person because it means there are certain doors open for me that I can push into and I can hopefully become successful at, but not everyone is sporty, and not everyone is built for it for example. And, these people are the ones who will struggle to get jobs to find a way to live you know and these are the ones that are kind of left behind a little bit and not really thought about like, when I say like when you go in for a job interview you hear and the first thing I say is, I don't know 'I played in the Paralympic Games' it's like that's such a huge, such a huge selling point. It makes people, it immediately makes people respect*

> *you but if you don't have anything like that behind you and if you, and if you have 2 people coming to a job interview with exactly the same qualifications, one with a disability one without, they're going to hire the one without, just because it's less convenient [hiring the PWD] basically- (P4L, double leg amputee)*

In line with the increased likelihood for peers without impairments to gain employment as opposed to PWD, there is reference to a sentiment that, in order to be classed as acceptable for or worthy of employment, PWD feel a certain pressure to achieve more in their private life (such as excelling in para-sport), with the thoughts that these accomplishments can impact their likelihood to gain employment. This point is discussed explicitly by P4L (double leg amputee) who, as a young male, was immensely aware of employment and questioning of his future as he noted:

> '*What do I do once I've finished my degree? If the sport doesn't kick off, because it's hard enough to get a job after just getting a degree in the first place, let alone if you have a disability. So, you kind of feel like you have to have some kind of weight behind it before it's of any use' (P4L, double leg amputee)*

These findings support the visibility of the supercrip stereotype (Silva and Howe 2012) which shows PWD achieving in spite of their impairment, and 'overcoming'; with this stereotype presenting an ideal to society and not the norm in many instances. The Paralympic Games can perpetuate this supercrip stereotype amongst the general public as well as PWD. This issue was clearly present in the interviews, with the belief that PWD succeeding in sport are considered to have a benefit when it comes to employment. However, for those who are not athletes or not interested in sport, this can be a negative association and can potentially impact how PWD are seen in interviews, as P2C (arm amputee) observed:

> *‘Like yes, it’s incredible that someone missing a leg or missing limb, or no legs can run and do all this, but if you’re in an interview with someone they’re noticing that disability and automatically employers are thinking, can they do the job because they are disabled? And that is the reality of it. I struggled to get so many jobs because of that’ (P2C, arm amputee)*

As evident from the prior sections and quotes, for the participants in this study, employment and job security is a worrisome area for PWD, especially in the case of visible impairments. Furthermore, the added pressure of competing with people who are seen as having fewer needs in the workplace, and the need to accomplish more in their day-to-day lives to be considered for a position, highlights one of the key aspects of life where PWD encounter perceived exclusion. Although IPC legacy goals do not cover employment, it is clear that in order to obtain true social inclusion as per the legacy goals, employment is a key area that may facilitate this.

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5.2.2 Employment from Perspective of Brazil Participants

From the perspective of Brazilian participants, employment is an area of much contention for the population with disabilities. For minority groups such as PWD, due to prejudicial behaviours (conscious or subconscious) by employers, leading to low employment rates, PWD often experience higher rates of poverty (Palmer 2011) and lower household incomes (Kruse 1998). Although PWD securing employment can help to reduce income gaps, as well as social and psychological gaps that materialise between PWD and Pw/oD (Schur 2002) there is still insufficient consequence and importance placed by the Paralympic Games and host country governments upon improving this area. For example, P14R (cerebral palsy) expresses his lived experience when undertaking work searches, whereby he laments that:

> *'The amount of accessibility isn't enough to welcome this population. Companies are also struggling to welcome these people. Today unfortunately companies hire people with disabilities, but they don't adapt in order to welcome them. So, what do they do? They hire people with disabilities, they sign their work card and they stay home so that they don't have to be included in the society, so they don't have to adapt. This is the reality. They hire people with disabilities, they give them the work card for them to sign, pay them the minimum salary. They hire them for general services to meet their quota, but they don't actually include them. They don't welcome them in the company, they make them stay home. One other thing, how can I say this, in my case in order to be part of a company, the company doesn't need to worry about accessibility because I can walk up and down the stairs. I can move around without any trouble and for the company to hire a wheelchair user, the company will need to adapt for him. So, they prefer not to hire that person, and hires someone like me' (P14R, cerebral palsy)*

This experience emphasises the lack of willingness of many employers in Brazil when it comes to hiring staff with disabilities. The lack of understanding exemplified by employers with respect to the needs of staff with disabilities, and the outright aversion to make adaptations to facilitate staff with impairments can actually exacerbate social exclusion, as experienced by PWD. If employers were willing to make certain accommodations for PWD to ensure employment, this could help to alleviate this social exclusion (Schur 2002). While the official percentages (per IPC 2019) may reflect that there has been an increase in employment rate of PWD since hosting of the Paralympic Games in Rio de Janeiro in 2016, when the voices of

PWD are incorporated, and experiences recognised, it is evident that PWD believe their places in the workplace, if included at all, are merely to contribute to a government quota as opposed to being valued for their skills and abilities to contribute to the workplace. In the same quote above, P14R identified the hierarchy of impairment evident in the workplace, with impairments requiring physical alterations to the fabric of the company/building being less likely to be considered for employment.

Some participants discussed how companies, in order to meet legally enforced quotas, either employ PWD for menial general services that can be undertaken from a distance, or employ as an ‘athlete’, but not someone who competes at an elite level. For those employed as an athlete, the company pays a small wage and instead of working for the company, they attend sports facilities to train, with no interaction with the company they are technically an employee of. As such, although technically employed, PWD are missing a central component of employment; namely social interaction and inclusion.

The quotes presented in Table 14 (page 170) showcase the lack of advancement for PWD in the area of employment post-event. If the event achieves the legacy goals set out prior to commencement, there is good scope for greater inclusion in society in areas such as employment. Employment is central to the social inclusion of PWD as outlined in the IPC’s legacy goals, as the prevention of PWD accessing employment results in social exclusion (Litman 2003). This inherently negative narrative indicates the need for further consideration and development of this area when future organising committees are planning for legacy of their event.

Table 14. Negative Experiences of Employment

Quote	Participant No.	Impairment Type
"Colleagues were quite competitive sometimes and I took quite a few job interviews and it was kind of a grey area like for most part of my bachelor's degree since my disease is degenerative, it's always getting worse, it isn't clear the moment that I'm actually impaired and when I am not. Most of the times I didn't even identify myself as a person with a disability. Even though I had lots of difficulties dealing with it. For example, I was in a job interview once and they gave us a sheet of paper so we could read a case problem that we were supposed to solve but they gave one sheet for two or three people and I couldn't read so I was like 'can we have one more sheet?' and they gave me a weird look like why would I need another sheet of paper and they would see this probably as a weakness like 'why are you asking for something you already have' so it made me look weak or something"	P7R	Visual Impairment
"The job market is a very complicated part"	P8R	Visual Impairment
"In the job market the law tells you that there should be people with disabilities working. But today we don't."	P10R	Cerebral Palsy
"Employment. Today is very hard for a person with disabilities to find a job. If the Paralympics from Rio I think they could have given more chances for people with disabilities to have a better job. Promote to after the games… I speak for myself, I don't have a university degree, today is better, but the majority of the people with disabilities don't have one, they don't have the conditions to take one. Today tis is changing a bit. Today you have people that get a disability due to an accident, gunshot…, the accident is because of a car, although anyone can have a car these days, I think it's easier to own a car, whereas education, people aren't that qualified. That's why it's a bit complicated to find a good job opportunity, to have a better compensation."	P6CA	Wheelchair User
"I works in sports, but I am registered for a company that sponsored me and thought it was better to register me. Because today the company is going into crisis, I have one foot out the door."	P8CA	Wheelchair User

As a result of Brazil hosting the Paralympic Games, the IPC (2019) has publicly praised the employment situation in the country whereby they are quoted as saying:

> '*In Brazil, the number of persons with disabilities now in employment is 49 per cent higher than it was in 2009 when Rio won the right to stage the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games*'

Although this claim would align neatly with the legacy goals of the Paralympic Games, and is a seemingly positive outcome of the event, this statement misaligns with the predominantly negative findings and experiences uncovered in this study. No positive experiences with respect to employment were identified or discussed during these interviews.

5.3 Access and Accessibility

Physical access and improved accessibility as a result of hosting a Paralympic Games, is one of the legacy goals identified and widely broadcast by both the IPC (2011) and the Organising Committees of the respective games. Accessibility can be both a facilitator of inclusion and a legacy due to events such as Rio 2016 (Darcy 2017).

5.3.1 UK Negative Experiences of Access

Physical access within public spaces for PWD is an area that was overwhelmingly negative from the perspective of UK participants in this study. A common narrative shared among participants, is that access within objective space in the UK is currently substandard when compared to expectation, which may have been influenced by the IPC legacy goals developed prior to the event. This view is retained despite certain developments that have been made (e.g. new ramps, tactile flooring) in an attempt to develop UK society and improve access opportunities for PWD. These negative discourses reflect the exclusionary effects of how participants interact with both society and their objective space. This was exemplified by participant P3L (wheelchair user), who expressed her anxiety and reluctance to participate independently in society due to fear of the unknown:

> *'And what is said is that the buildings are too old to make them accessible. And that's something that they cannot change. So generally, I avoid going out in the city, just cos I don't know what I'm going to be faced with.'* (P3L, wheelchair user),

This anxiety, which can manifest through fear of potential negative experiences in objective space can prevent interaction between PWD and society as well as inhibit contact between different groups. Participants commonly expressed that carrying out an everyday task such as shopping can cause frustration, embarrassment and dependence on others to successfully carry out the activity. Negative experiences can impact self-esteem, in some instances causing a loss in independence by PWD (Christiaens 2018). This independence is not merely being able to leave the house and complete the task in question, but is about how a person's thought process is formed (Barnes 1991), and can impact future experiences. Fear of the unknown can make mundane and easily achieved everyday tasks by many, to become sources of anxiety for others. While for some participants these negative occurrences prevent excursions and contact, for others who continue to participate in society despite access issues, the negative experiences are focal points of everyday experiences in their objective spaces. Examples of such negative experiences can be seen in Table 15 (page 172-173), with each quote linked to the participant's individual impairment group.

As illustrated in the varying impairment types outlined in Table 15 (page 172-173), in these interviews, the majority of negative experiences with respect to access are associated with wheelchair users. The necessity to plan ahead of time, the fear of the unknown, and the humiliating and often distressing experience of being brought into environments through back entrances and goods lifts, as though being hidden, were all identified by interview participants as areas of particular issue. These experiences can all contribute to decreased self-esteem, self-efficacy and increased anxiety.

Table 15. UK Negative Experiences of Access

Quote	Participant	Impairment Type
"You still find access is still an issue"	P9C	Wheelchair User (MS)
"Getting to some places can be a pain, you have to really plan your route before you go"	P1L	Wheelchair User (Spina Bifida)
"Extremely, extremely challenging. And that would be the most accurate word I can think of […] even if I wander around London, often I have to walk in the road, in the bus lane, in the bike lane just because there's no drop kerbs or there's a telephone post or a light post right in the middle of the pavement"	P6L	Wheelchair User (Progressive muscular atrophy)

“Can be a bit of a struggle sometimes, trying to like sometimes I get a bit anxious like if say I want to just do a shopping trip like I have to think can I carry all of the things I wanna get, can I do that? And sometimes I just won’t do it because of that”	P2C	Arm Amputee
“I have to enter through the goods lift or through the backdoor”	P6L	Wheelchair User (Progressive muscular atrophy)
“The city itself (London) isn’t as accessible in the day to day as you would like”	P10L	Polio (Crutch User)

This assessment by participants of access as negative and the physical environment as inaccessible, aligns with the social model of disability in which disability is produced as a result of socially produced barriers (Hughes and Paterson 2006) and is supported by participants quotes. Table 15 provides an insight into the numerous access factors that PWD face daily. These factors can all alter how PWD perceive their objective space and their place within it, resulting in situational vulnerability, exclusion and a lack of power due to impairment, consistent with the literature on access for PWD (Rogers and Lange 2013).

While many participants were aware of attempts by those in the planning and development of objective spaces to provide for PWD, they emphasised ableist conceptions of accessibility, which can make the experience of access a negative one, as observed by P3L (wheelchair user):

‘*You know having a ramp doesn’t necessarily mean its accessible if it’s this steep [shows a steep ramp with her arm] and you have to have assistance to get up it every single time you want to leave the building. (P3L, wheelchair user)*

In other words, if the people creating these changes do not experience disability themselves, they are often not best placed to ensure correct alterations. More importantly, this negative association with access is at odds with the legacy goals of the Paralympic Games in one aspect of tangible legacy as identified by many researchers (e.g. Cashman 2006; Gratton and Preuss 2008; Holt and Ruta 2015): being the infrastructure that remains post-event. However, for the most part, researchers such as Cashman (2006) and Preuss (2007) discuss legacy and infrastructure with respect to Olympic Games and not Paralympic Games, showing that accessible infrastructure, and achieving access for all, is not a central aspect for both games, merely the development of infrastructure to be regarded as improved. Furthermore, the IPC (2007) identify accessible infrastructure, and as a result full integration into society as central to the lived experiences of PWD, and as such key legacy goals of the event. Yet, this study's findings do not support the positive achievement of such legacies when the experiences of those who should have experienced it the most, were considered. For example, Photograph 1. shows an example of access to a well-known clothes brand in central London with a large step at the entrance preventing access for some impairment groups.


Photograph 1. Store on London Carnaby Street

5.3.2 UK Mixed/Positive Experiences of Access

From this perspective, it is now possible for the focus to turn to more mixed and positive experiences of access, as discussed by participants in the UK. While the majority of participants have expressed inherently negative experiences post-London 2012 Paralympic Games, there is a certain level of acceptance and hope visible in the interviews regarding how certain areas have improved for some respondents; as noted by P10C (wheelchair user), who described his access as:

> *'I'm in my wheelchair and a lot of access to the buildings and the transport is far better now than it ever has been, but there's still are obviously issues that arise day to day as well' (P10C, wheelchair user)*

While there are positive sentiments from a small number of participants regarding perceived improvements made, these are for the most part accompanied by negative references as opposed to allowing for a wholly positive one. Although these perceptions may actually be positive it is essential to consider that the reasoning of addressing both positives and negatives may be potentially influenced to a certain extent by social desirability bias; i.e. 'the pervasive tendency of individuals to present themselves in the most favourable manner relative to prevailing social norms' (King and Bruner 2000: 80). Although changes are being addressed and implemented, and to a certain extent there has been improvement, complete barrier free access is still a state not achieved for PWD, as evidenced in these findings.

In turn, where positive observable improvements of accessibility were discussed, in some circumstances linked to these improvements, participants expressed the belief that certain impairment groups were more accepted, and thus experienced superior and more apparent accessibility features as reinforced by P2C (arm amputee) who observed:

> *'I'd say it is generally quite good. I think like, hmmm I guess like everything's based around people who are maybe deaf and in wheelchairs. I would say, I can't really see anything for blind people' (P2C, arm amputee)*

This awareness of what is available for other impairment groups as opposed to the participant's own needs, shows the development of a certain level of empathy between impairment groups. While it is positive that the participant views access as quite good generally, and does not identify many issues faced due to her impairment in her lived experience, there is a point made about who society provides for, and in this case, it is not her impairment group (i.e. arm amputees). By identifying groups most catered for, such as wheelchair users, this allows for greater consideration of the underrepresented in the future. Although not always necessarily pleased at other groups obtaining greater consideration, at times during the interviews the distinction made by participants between impairment types and accessibility was met with a certain level of hostility due to the greater omission of certain impairments, as evident in a quote by P2C (arm amputee) who identified that:

> *'arm amputees aren't something people ever really consider, so there's nothing there like can we help you or anything you know?' (P2C)*.

This quote was followed up by identification by the participant of ways in which society could help improve her access (such as asking her if she needs help or if there is anything that could be done to make her job easier for example). This manifestation of more access opportunities for certain impairment groups over others, whereby those who are excluded feel like an afterthought, aligns with the work of Tringo (1970), and more recently Thomas (2000), who identify a hierarchy of impairments based upon their perceived social acceptability. Still evident today, this hierarchy can potentially be embodied and employed by ableist individuals involved with the planning and implementation of access features of new buildings, street and urban regeneration, and companies who undertake such projects.

Conversely, those who are not wheelchair users, due to contact and friendships with people in other impairment groups, can be aware to a greater degree of the struggles faced by impairment groups other than their own, such as wheelchair users. This was illustrated by

P10L (polio) who when asked about her experiences, described the experience of one of her friends in London whom she felt had a more negative experience:

> *'A good friend of mine who is a wheelchair user, sometimes, I mean obviously she has to go through the checks to make sure somewhere is accessible like, okay I'm in a wheelchair is it accessible and they'll confirm to her yes, absolutely fine, she'll get there and there's a step there. And then she's like no but I asked about it 'oh but its only one step and what people don't realise is that one step is one step too many. I literally cannot do this (P10L, polio)*
>
> *Interviewer: yeah*
>
> *So, it seems like it's a waste of time and people aren't really aware, because it doesn't affect them in their day to day personally, they, they don't get it' (P10L, polio)*

This experience highlights the frequent omission of PWD in the development of accessible objective spaces and ableist behaviours and processes, which often do not align with the needs of PWD for independent accessibility. There remains an evident lack of understanding surrounding access for PWD from Pw/oD, although some wheelchair users can navigate 'one step' thanks to years of practice. For example, P3L (wheelchair user), who highlighted her skills when she noted:

> '*but I'm quite good in my wheelchair, my skills are quite high level, so I can get up and down steps. If necessary, I can go up and down a flight of stairs as well*.' (P3L, wheelchair user)

However, for those who are new to using a wheelchair, this is a highly dangerous endeavour, which can lead to injury and/or a knock to confidence. For example, in a US study, it was shown that in 2003, there were over 100,000 wheelchair-related injuries which required medical treatment, with the majority of accidents classed as tips and falls, related to steps, ramps and kerbs outside the home (Xiang, Chany and Smith 2006). While it may be possible for some manual wheelchair users to be lifted up the step, in order to access transport (albeit at a cost to their independence and dignity), this option is not as straight forward for an electric wheelchair user, as the electric wheelchair can weigh ten times that of a manual wheelchair.

From a number of interviews, the difficulties faced by wheelchair users (illustrated in Table 15, page 172-173), do not align with the beliefs of those participants who identify with other impairment groups (such as P2C, arm amputee), who consider wheelchair users to be amongst the most accepted, and as a result, the most catered for impairment group in society. That is, while non-wheelchair users may regard wheelchair users as the impairment group most catered for in society, in general, wheelchair users themselves believe that, in fact, they face the most physical issues when it comes to access. The factors surrounding this will develop further in the upcoming discussion chapter (see Chapter 7: Discussion) with respect to extant literature.

The findings in this section provide support for the need for greater development of accessibility for PWD and contests claims made by the HM Government and Mayor of London (2014), that accessibility has improved for PWD as a result of the London 2012 Paralympic Games. Although an important issue, access is but one segment of objective space that intersects to impact lived experiences. Transport and employment are also essential elements of objective space that affect PWD on a day-to-day basis. These will be discussed from study participants' perspectives in the upcoming sections.

5.3.3 Brazilian Negative Experiences of Access

Within Rio de Janeiro, a common narrative from participants was that accessibility in general for PWD is considered substandard, even within differing areas/zones of the city. For example, P3R (visual impairment) is quoted as saying:

> *'It lacks accessibility. The streets are uneven, the sidewalks don't really have a pattern and it doesn't have signage, tactile floor that guides you through a higher or lower part or wider or narrower. There is no pattern in our streets*. (P3R, visual impairment)'

As a person with a visual impairment, a lack of tactile flooring and even flooring, identify the difficulties present that can restrict independent mobility for many. However, from the data, it is evident that streets are the central barrier to access faced by participants within Brazil, with the words 'sidewalk(s)' and 'streets' prominent throughout almost all of the interview transcripts. Further negative sentiments supporting this issue include:

> *'It's still a bit complicated. Some things like walk in the streets or take a transport. There are certain places I cannot go because there are a lot of obstacles.' (P5R, visual impairment)*
>
> And *'I live in a city […] that is not adapted when it comes to accessibility, sidewalk etc.' (P1CA, mobility issues)*

From the responses provided by participants, unlike in the UK data, there was minimal identifiable difference within and between impairment types, with both sensory and physical impairment groups identifying issues faced in respect to accessibility. For some participants there is the understanding that at times accessibility is more difficult for wheelchair users as identified by P5CA (cerebral palsy) who voiced her empathy:

> *‘To me it doesn’t mean very much but for wheelchair users or for people that have greater difficulties to move, we face things like, the lift is broken, so we can’t use it, the sidewalks are terrible, we see posts at sidewalks where you can’t fit a wheelchair or a person that can’t see can’t walk through because there isn’t the…what’s it called. I forgot the name. That speak to the blind [audible crossing cues]. There are the places that really need it.’* (P5CA, cerebral palsy)

This quote demonstrates an awareness of others with disabilities. However, unlike in line with the hierarchy of disability, which at times can be somewhat hostile towards other groups, this consciousness surrounding issues faced by other impairment groups was expressed in a way that showed no unfriendliness towards those groups.

Table 16. Brazil Negative Experiences of Access

Quote	Participant No.	Impairment Type
“It’s very hard. The tactile floor, the audio alarm […] very bad. We don’t have any conditions.”	P2R	Visual Impairment
“The accessibility is important, and it could improve a lot […] they could improve accessibility to places.”	P8R	Visual Impairment
“To improve…one thing I can say is the floor. It’s full of holes, where I live there’s hardly any tactile floor.”	P9R	Visual Impairment
“I don’t think so [that there has been an improvement] because the sidewalks are terrible, and the streets are filled with holes.”	P12R	Wheelchair User
“Accessibility has been changing a lot but there are still some things missing so we are going to the streets and including ourselves in the society and that has changed the way our governors look at the accessibility. This is also happening within companies.”	P14R	Cerebral Palsy
“Because the sidewalks do not have the structure, the buses aren’t properly adapted.”	P14R	Cerebral Palsy
“There are places which I can easily access, others, not really.”	P1CA	Mobility Issues
“Accessibility isn’t too bad but it’s far from being ideal. It’s not great, we know it’s not great.”	P2CA	Wheelchair User
“I think that the accessibility would have to be easier. It was very hard to get there [to the disability centre]. For example, Silvia the physiotherapist	P4CA	Multiple Sclerosis

called me to meet me at the theatre, but it was very far away that's why I didn't go. I think it should be closer. There should be more accessibility."		
"Places that have a priority queue…people ask me to leave the priority queue because my disability isn't visible for other people."	P5CA	Cerebral Palsy
"I live in a district that the sidewalk is very bad. You can see it in the city centre [too]."	P8CA	Wheelchair User
"There are places that don't have accessibility for wheelchair users. If you go to a store someone needs to lift the chair which is quite heavy, it's embarrassing, you know? And some other places you need to go, you find stairs."	P9CA	Wheelchair User
"The sidewalks are good in prime districts, by Boqueirão is a bad district. I go around every district, like Bigorrilho, Portão, they makes us suffer, and there are posts in the streets, in the sidewalks that make it very difficult for wheelchair users to go around. There are holes, you either go in the streets or you struggle with this in order to move around."	P8CA	Wheelchair User

From the negative responses provided and evident in Table 16 above, there is a clear narrative from participants that there are gaping areas of improvement needed in accessibility, predominantly with respect to physical aspects of sidewalks as a result of poor urban planning and development alongside the event. By PWD identifying key issues that arise in their lived experience, it is clear that the voices and expertise of PWD were not given due consideration when the planning process took place; with a clear focus on delivery of the event as opposed to long-term legacy and improved living conditions, similar to previous events (McGillivray, McPherson and Misener 2017). With the voices of PWD absent during planning and preparation, any changes made during the event are not necessarily in the best interest of all groups who may potentially be affected. As a more affluent city, it appears that Curitiba has greater financial possibilities when it comes to meeting the needs of PWD in order to be integrated in society.

Within the responses in the Table 16 (page 180-181), there was a clear distinction between city centre development and development in the more rural zones of both Rio de Janeiro and

Curitiba, due to the wide spread of the city, with many participants detailing their need to travel between areas of the cities and observance of such differences. Participants expressing the disparity between city centre and suburb accessibility is an issue more prevalent in Brazil than other countries, due to the widely discussed socio-economic gap, present between the rich and the poor in different areas of the city (Darcy 2017).

Although a lot was promised by the Rio2016 Organising committee (as already discussed), since the event, in line with the negative perspectives of participants in this study, Rio 2016 has been on the receiving end of much criticism due to its perceived failure to improve areas of life, including accessibility (McGillivray, McPherson and Misener 2017). This perceived failure aligns with the experiences of PWD within Brazil recorded in this study, whereby there is a great deal of disappointment in the development of accessibility in public areas post event as highlighted by the quotes in Table 16 (page 180-181). Similar to Rio de Janeiro, in the lived experiences of participants from Curitiba there are many issues in accessibility in the urban environment, which vary by district; with one example evident from P8CA (wheelchair user) who said:

'The sidewalks are good in prime districts, but Boqueirão is a bad district. I go around every district, like Bigorrilho, Portão, they make us suffer, and there are posts in the streets, in the sidewalks that makes it very difficult for wheelchair users to go around. There are holes, you either go in the streets or you struggle with this in order to move around.' (P8CA, wheelchair user)

Photograph 2. Obstacles faced on sidewalk in Curitiba

A real-life visual example of this inaccessibility and lack of consideration in planning can be seen in Photograph 2 which clearly showcases obstacles faced (i.e. two trees, a pole and broken/uneven pavement slabs) by participants in Curitiba in an area close to a rehabilitation centre for PWD. This photograph was taken by the researcher in October 2017, more than one-year post-Rio 2016 Paralympic Games. From the perspective of participants in this study, specifically with regards to Rio de Janeiro, where the Games were hosted, there is much negative association with the physical environment. These findings are consistent with Müller's (2015) 'event fix' discussed previously with P11R (cerebral palsy) lamenting how:

> *'Accessibility in the streets, more accessible sidewalks [are needed]. In the area that they were looking for [for the Rio2016 Paralympic Games] there has been some changes, but not in general. In some places for example where we live, nothing happened. Even if I make phone calls, nothing happens.' (P11R. cerebral palsy)*

Photograph 3. Uneven, dangerous sidewalk in Rio De Janeiro

From an accessibility perspective it appears that participants have, to a certain extent accepted that the only changes were in areas of significance for the event to occur, as opposed to the entirety of the host city/country. Visual examples of inaccessible sidewalks in the host city can be seen in Photograph 3 in which an unkept footpath in Central City Rio de Janeiro is clearly seen, and this remains a prominent feature throughout the city, especially in less centralised areas. The previous quote above by P11R (cerebral palsy) highlights the disparities evident in the planning of mega-events with respect to the spread of improvements, and the often-centralised improvements, with more rural areas of host cities failing to benefit from proposed developments and investment. With centralisation of improvements in accessibility, and in some cases specific to venues, this translates as the lived experiences of PWD outside of the event itself and the event venues being largely unimproved post event (McGillivray, McPherson and Misener 2017; Müller 2015).

As well as accessibility and access of the urban environment, participants have also identified issues regarding accessibility of venues utilised for the Games remaining post event and the awareness showcased by those outside of the host city as well as residents of Rio de Janeiro itself. This view of venue upkeep not remaining improved post event is supported by quotes such as:

> '*No the Olympic village (swimming pool) was destroyed. They destroyed the place, but the pool was donated.*' (P3CA, cerebral palsy); and
>
> '*I went for an event outside the centre, but I happened to pass by, and it was a bit degraded.*' (P1CA, mobility issues)

Prior to the event there had been much publicisation of how the event venues would benefit the population, especially those who lived in Rio de Janeiro. Once again, participants were disheartened by the results. While for non-athletes this disappointment was in seeing the degrading of expensive venues in their home city, for athletes there was the disappointment of inaccessible venues, which they had hoped to utilise to improve as teams post event. For example, one wheelchair rugby player expressed how his team attempted to utilise the venues to develop the sport in the city to no avail:

> *'The only rugby team in Rio. We tried to get help, or to be allowed to play in the arena, what happened the games for rugby, but they want money, they want to rent it they don't us just to use it. We heard that the lights to be turned on it's very expensive, so you need to at least pay that. I know it's not for free, but it's a public place.' (P15R, wheelchair user)*

These negative findings with respect to access of venues developed for the event is at odds with the legacy goals of the Paralympic Games, with one aspect of tangible legacy as identified by many researchers (e.g. Cashman 2006; Gratton and Preuss 2008; Holt and Ruta 2015) being the infrastructure that remains post-event.

5.3.4 Brazilian Mixed/Positive Experiences of Access

From the host city perspective, where one would expect the most change, there were minimal positive responses by participants. The level of enthusiasm regarding improvements was very low especially in Rio de Janeiro. At times, participants expressed their slight awareness of some improvements, but it was not overwhelmingly positive when compared to the responses to accessibility discussed by participants from Curitiba. The positive responses from Curitiba were overwhelmingly positive from the perspective of certain participants (but not all), with the city being described:

> '*In regards to accessibility, I think Curitiba is one of the best cities in Brazil.' (P6CA, wheelchair user);* and
>
> '*From the cities in Brazil I know I think Curitiba is one of the best' (P3CA, cerebral palsy)*

For many participants from Curitiba there was a clear pride in their city when discussing their experiences, which was not apparent from participants in Rio de Janeiro. However, this evaluation of Curitiba as positive may not necessarily be as a direct result of the event. Further positive responses are provided in Table 17 (page 186), with only four slightly positive responses identified in the host city. While it is encouraging that some participants are aware of improvements and are to a certain extent content with developments, there were, as expected, more negative than positive connotations in Brazil overall with respect to accessibility.

At odds with the negative findings expressed previously by participants, recent research by Kirakosyan and Seabra (2018) claims that three selected Brazilian periodicals (The Guardian, Estadão, and O Globo) interpret one aspect of social legacy from Rio 2016 as being improved accessibility.

Table 17. Mixed/Positive Experiences of Access

Quote	Participant No.	Impairment Type
"There's a lot missing still. But things are indeed happening."	P1R	Visual Impairment
"People's perceptions are changing, and some places have been improved in terms of accessibility."	P1R	Visual Impairment
"I guess it's also improving we have the, for the blind people we have the tactile floor in many places of the city. Also, in, for example, cinemas, theatres, we are getting audio visual descriptions more often and yeah since our city is developing, concerns that weren't taken as a priority before, they are being taken now. So, I have the general idea that accessibility is improving, mainly for people in wheelchairs. We see a lot of ramps now that weren't that didn't used to be before."	P7R	Visual Impairment
"More ramps on the street […] it's improve, it's positive."	P10R	Cerebral Palsy
"From the cities in Brazil I know I think Curitiba is one of the best. Almost every sidewalk has ramps for wheelchair users, the majority of buses have lifts. I don't face many difficulties but for example there are some irregularities in the sidewalks so there's a trip hazard."	P3CA	Cerebral Palsy
"Here in Curitiba is quite easy but I watch the news and I think in other places PWD suffer a lot […] here in the city has always been very accessible."	P4CA	Multiple Sclerosis
"If I go to the centre, that's fine. Every shopping centre I go, there's one thing that worries me a lot, which is the adapted toilet. All of them have an adapted toilet, the theatre has an adapted toilet, there's an elevator, there are kerb cuts; Guaíra, Positivo, Ópera de Arame (Wire Opera House), so to me everything is quite easy."	P6CA	Wheelchair User

However, in their findings, which compared positive and negative legacies reported in the periodicals, when accessibility was mentioned it was classed as both positive and negative (Kirakosyan and Seabra 2018). the main findings in this study from the lived experience of participants involved and extant research, criticises Rio 2016 for its failure to achieve its predetermined standards and transformations. When considering these claims, it is imperative to note that there are often discrepancies between what is reported in the media and the real lived experiences of the population in question (e.g. PWD do not always align themselves with the picture presented by the media such as the 'Superhuman' narrative (Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019)). This is supported by growing questionability of trust in mainstream media (Harrison 2017); with a growing distrust of what is reported, and disagreement in facts put forward such as the claims above in Brazil. That is, while participants in this study have identified issues of exclusion and a legacy that has not transpired, the media has reported otherwise without inclusion of experiences of those within that space. Therefore, media can and should only be regarded as one side of the story and not the entirety without being questioned.

The findings in this section support the necessity for future hosts of para-sport events to place greater emphasis on the accessibility of all members of society prior to the event, and utilising the voices of minority groups most affected by the event who often endure substandard impacts of events in the long-term. Although an important issue, access is but one component of objective space that impacts people's experiences. Transport, sport participation and employment, are also essential factors that impact on a day-to-day basis in an individual's lived experience. These will be discussed from participants' perspectives in the following sections.

5.4 Transport

This section details the opinions and experiences of PWD with respect to multiple forms of transport in the UK and Brazil (both public and private). Transport is vital for the independence and mobility of all members of society, but can be especially influential for PWD. Transport, or lack thereof, often marginalises the needs of minority groups such as PWD

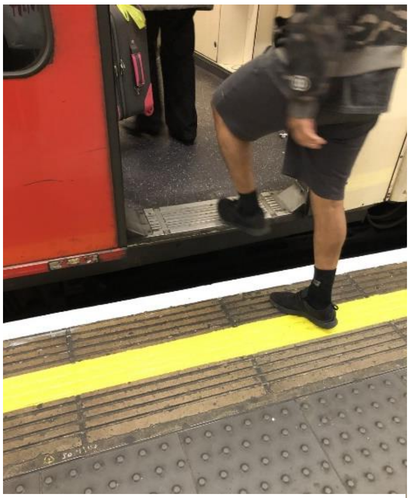
(Aldred and Woodcock 2008). Improving access to public transport for PWD is an essential tool for alleviating poverty for those most at risk, especially within the developing world (Venter et al. 2002). Transport is seen as an alleviator of poverty due to increased opportunity for access to employment and education. Transport, therefore, becomes more than merely getting from A to B; it becomes a tool to improve multiple areas of life. If PWD have access to public transport, there can be greater access to employment opportunities, which otherwise may not be accessible for those without access to private transport. The need for accessible public transport is heightened by the consideration of car-dominated transport systems as 'disabling' for populations and creating increased barriers to accessibility and social participation (Aldred and Woodcock 2008).

The dimension of transport becomes apparent when considering the Paralympic Games due to its discussion by Organising Committees and Games' governing bodies, as well as its visibility in the media and the reports published post event.

5.4.1 UK Negative Experiences of Transport

As evident from Table 18 (page 189-190), UK participant's narratives with respect to transport legacy are not reminiscent of the promises of the Greater London Authority (GLA) in line with the legacy goals of the London 2012 Paralympic Games. The GLA vowed to produce an accessible transport network during the event, that would remain post games (Mayor of London 2012).

There are many different issues acknowledged in the interviews associated with transport including fear of not being able to embark or disembark in time or at the right stop; the unreliability of public transport; the importance of private/personal transport; the focus on more physical disabilities; and the power struggle between PWD and parents with pushchairs. The majority of these issues were discussed and emphasised by London participants, as opposed to participants from outside the host city. As can be seen in photograph 4, there remains a large gap and a step on the majority of underground trains, specific to PWD in London, rendering the transport as inaccessible for many.


Photograph 4. Gap and step to enter the underground in London

Similar to issues within physical access discussed previously, some participants believe that the hierarchy of disabilities (Tringo 1970) is once again manifested in transport accessibility, with more visible, physical disabilities, such as wheelchair users, perceived as being catered for to a greater degree. These beliefs can be linked to internalised ableism (Campbell 2009) on the part of participants and in turn an internalised hierarchy of disability.

Table 18. Negative Experiences of Transport

Quote	Participant	Impairment Type
"You'd worry about is it going to stop at the right stop and someone going to help you off"	P5C	Wheelchair User (Meningitis)
"If I didn't have my adapted car it would be very difficult. I wouldn't necessarily have my independence"	P7C	Dwarfism
"I avoid public transport"	P3L	Wheelchair User (Cerebral Palsy)
"Public transport, I thought everything would be accessible [post London 2012 Paralympic Games]"	P3L	Wheelchair User (Cerebral Palsy)
"The accessibility I'm not sure will remain and I think there is a lot more of a focus on the disabilities that you can kind of see, you know, the physical disabilities"	P9L	Visual Impairment

"In tube station especially because stairs are very difficult for me and there are just a ridiculous amount [of stairs]"	P4L	Chromosome abnormality (Double leg amputee – both hands anomaly)
"You have the issue of people with pushchairs who park in the disabled bays and I'm sure you're aware that a case went to court about that and thank goodness it did, cos they just try not to look at you"	P9C	Wheelchair User (MS)
"Soul destroying. Like, just insane, every morning like the gamble of whether or not the ramp works. If there's a space. I mean on more than 1 occasion the ramp broke and there was 1 particular occasion where it was like Monday morning 8am the whole bus has to disembark because the ramp breaks and they just you know everyone's just giving you the eyeball cos it's your fault. Like what? Like [voiced as another person] 'oh I'm going to be late for work some disabled guy's broken the bus'"	P8L	Wheelchair User (SCI)

However, these beliefs often do not correspond with the experiences and perceptions illustrated in Table 18 (page 189-190) whereby the majority of negative responses were in fact highlighted by wheelchair users such as, P6L (wheelchair user) who noted:

> *"Many places that I need to get to, particularly in and around central London, they don't have wheelchair access […] I can't often take the train anywhere, because the train station are not accessible, or they don't have lifts or things like that"* (P6L, wheelchair user)

Photograph 5. Snapshot of stations on London's Central Line for Underground Transport showing accessibility

This quote illustrates that even those who are presumed to have a more visible, and thus a disability perceived as more acceptable, they continue to face issues in the area of transport, and require changes to be made in this space for ease of use and reduced anxiety. As evident from Photograph 5, showcasing a number of underground stations on the Central line in London, of the fourteen stations visible in this photograph, only two stations have access for PWD. Within the area of transport, disability access is regarded as one area clumped together and for the most part through discussion and discourses examined in interviews, it does not appear that each impairment group gets separate consideration specific to their needs. Thus, what is lacking in this space, is the understanding and knowledge of the complexity and diversity of lived experiences of disability (Shakespeare 2006). This complexity is evident in the definition of disability, which is referred to by Brittain and Beacom (2016) as a 'complex phenomenon' and a reflection of interactions and, as such, is individualistic. However, as is evident from the data in this study, disability is not always considered individualistic, and this is where discrepancies occur.

Although ableist behaviour can be a major factor, as is evident in the findings, the lack of knowledge and empathy from Pw/oD has a notable influence on how PWD believe they are accommodated by others. As illustrated in the previous quote by P1L (Table 15, page 172-173), for many PWD to be independent, there is the need to plan their activity and transport route ahead of time. This is especially applicable in a group setting (McClain, et al. 1998), preventing any flexibility for PWD, which is not always convenient or desired. For PWD, if planning with Pw/oD, having to change at the last minute due to unforeseen issues can cause undue stress and embarrassment to PWD.

As evident from these UK interviews, the perceptions of different individuals and impairment groups varies based upon personal experience. For the most part, in this study's data, where possible and within an individual's financial means, private transport (adapted cars, taxis or family members with adapted vehicles) is highlighted as the preferred mode of transport for providing independence for PWD, due to ease of use. Although private transport is the preferred means, within the UK, 60% of PWD do not currently have access to a car within their households (DPTAC 2002; Ryan 2016), compared to 27% of households without PWD. This lack of access to private transport can increase the incidence of PWD as marginal car users utilising friends, family, and paid taxis (Aldred and Woodcock 2008), and becoming dependent on others to get from A to B. Meanwhile, from a public transport context, there is a predominantly negative impression based on past and present experiences of participants in this study. As the most prominent sentiment, the negative outlook will be discussed in detail first, before moving onto the discussion of the very few positive experiences.

More importantly, as a minority group (and often regarded as a vulnerable group), in order to achieve full participation in society, accessible transport is a central component that can be utilised in order to achieve full participation (Jansuwan, Christensen and Chen 2013). Yet, tellingly, PWD have been shown to utilise public transport less frequently than counterparts without impairment (Penfold et al. 2008). This gap between the demographics of people who utilise public transport, is consistent with the negative experiences by PWD in these interviews who use, or have previously used, public transport. For the majority of respondents in these interviews, the current transport situation is habitually negative and is regarded as a barrier to societal participation. Moreover, this barrier can cause PWD to refrain from leaving their home unless they have alternative options (family/friends, taxis, etc.) and as a result, thwarts their independence.

As well as accessible transport being a tool to improve the independence and access of PWD in society, following a mega-event such as the Paralympic Games, the governing body (i.e., the IPC) promised to deliver a legacy goal that would improve accessible infrastructure and urban development (IPC 2007); which includes the area of transport. While the majority of respondents were of the belief that transport is still an issue and requires further adaptation and improvement, some UK-based PWD post London 2012, believed there was a measure of improvement in their personal experiences, with some aspects of transport becoming more accessible as a result of the event. For example, P5L (joint hypermobility syndrome), emphasised a new initiative for people with invisible impairments, which was launched by Transport for London and is now utilised by more than 26,000 transport users (BBC 2017):

> *'In London they've got badges that say 'please offer me a seat' […] for people with invisible disabilities'. (P5L,* joint hypermobility syndrome*)*

This consideration of invisible impairments shows a development in the consideration and understanding of difficulties faced within public transport, and a positive initiative to improve the objective space of people with invisible or less visible impairments, without having to ask people to be considerate and discuss their impairment. However, she also expresses how people do not always acknowledge or respect these badges, or even know about the incentive.

5.4.2 Brazilian Negative/Mixed Experiences of Transport

There were many negative factors regarding transport discussed by participants in Brazil, based upon their lived experiences. These negatives emerged in many different areas, namely: lack of upkeep of accessible features; lack of knowledge and education with regard to operation of accessible features; lack of on-site assistance and ignorance of Pw/oD with regards to the needs of PWD (e.g., giving up a seat). All of these issues are visible within quotes from participants showcased in Table 19 (page 194). Negative perceptions of transport were evident across multiple impairment groups, and were not restricted to groups regarded as lower down the hierarchy of disability.

Participants in this study repeatedly expressed the need for improvements in the realm of public transport. While adaptations were made in preparation for, and during the Rio 2016 Paralympic Games, what remains problematic is the often-expensive upkeep of such modifications, which can be even more of an issue in a country that has faced significant economic upheaval since the culmination of the event.

Table 19. Brazilian Negative and Mixed Experiences of Transport

Quote	**Participant No.**	**Impairment Type**
“The buses are difficult I can’t see and sometimes there isn’t anyone at the station to help me.”	P5R	Visual Impairment
“I can see that in the buses its really rare to someone in a wheelchair for example to use the bus for a transportation, but it’s something that you see more often, and bus drivers aren’t really prepared to deal with this, but it feels like they’re a little bit more prepared now.”	P7R	Visual Impairment
“I use public transports most of the time and they’re not very good.”	P13R	Wheelchair User
“On the bus for example, people don’t get up and give away their seat.”	P3CA	Cerebral Palsy
“Public transport is very difficult, mainly here in Curitiba, they don’t respect it. I once fell on the bus because people don’t respect the priority seat. I also was stuck once, I was hanging, and my hand got stuck so I had to get off at the next stop. So, this is something that’s very difficult.”	P5CA	Cerebral Palsy
“I catch 3 buses, ramps, elevators, some days the elevator is broken, others you need to wait for a really long time.”	P9CA	Wheelchair User
“The equipment at the station up North where he gets off, not the elevators but the lift on the stairs has been broken for six months”	P11R	Cerebral Palsy

Participants have expressed their experiences in quotes such as those below:

'Oh, it wasn't very good because we still need a lot of improvements, especially in public transportation […] The bus drivers they don't know how to handle the lift to put us in […] so public transportation is very hard even now and before the Paralympic Games they were worse.' (P16R, wheelchair user)

Photograph 6. Bus lift in Rio de Janeiro

"Sometimes I'm afraid. I had a femur fracture for two years because once the collector instead of descending the ramp, she lifted it because she was distracted. These people learn from us. For two years I had the fracture, I had a really hard time." (P9CA, wheelchair user)

Photograph 7. Bus lift in Curitiba

There is a recurring theme in this study in which participants discuss the lack of understanding expressed and training received by employees of public transport facilities which can instil fear and safety concerns in participants. An example of the bus lift system utilised in Brazil and introduced recently on all buses can be seen in Photographs 6 and 7. However, as expressed in the interviews, there are still issues with training to ensure competent operation of the machinery. If there are concerns ahead of engaging with and utilising public transport, this can and often does lead to PWD refraining from utilising public transport services, or having anxiety prior to engaging with transport to get from A to B.

5.4.3 Brazilian Positive Experiences of Transport

Transport was identified by a number of participants as an expected legacy as a result of Rio de Janeiro hosting the Paralympic Games. This expectation materialised to a certain extent with many participants expressing their pleasure at VLT (veículo leve sobre trilhos – (translating as light vehicle on rails) expansion as a result of the games, into more areas of the city improving connection between many areas of the city:

> *"We used VLT together with the metro and we realised that it improved for us and for people without disabilities." (P11R, Cerebral Palsy)*

In turn this expansion increased the accessibility and interaction between certain areas of the city for many members of society who may have previously struggled with access. Further positive responses to access can be seen in Table 20 below.

Table 20. Brazilian Positive Experiences of Transport

Quote	**Participant No.**	**Impairment Type**
"I liked the VLT though."	P2R	Visual Impairment
"What I think got better was the transportation. It has improved, VLT that came up."	P4R	Visual Impairment
"The legacy I can think of in my case with regards to mobility was good because the construction of the VLT was speeded up and we are enjoying it."	P1R	Visual Impairment
"I think public transports is something that is good here in Curitiba. The accessibility is a reference for other cities."	P3CA	Cerebral Palsy
"Take the underground, which makes it all very easy because the agents there always help you and there is a tactile floor so you can be very independent. This is a very good thing."	P1R	Visual Impairment
""It improved a little bit […] Since 2009 the buses and the situation has improved significantly. We are daily users, so we speak from experience"	P11R	Cerebral Palsy

As a city that occupies over 1,000 square kilometres, the vastness of Rio de Janeiro, and the often-large distances between key areas (e.g. main stadium in Maracanã to: a) Copacabana, a tourist hotspot 7.7 miles, b) Barra da Tijuca, where the athletes' village was located, 14 miles) means that the city itself can be a stressful place to navigate. For those without access to private transport, or the potential to be a marginal car user due to financial or social limitations (Aldred and Woodcock 2008), public transport is a critical connecting link to society for many PWD. While there was some improvement surrounding the event, as with the previously discussed access, there is much still to be done to ensure more efficient and accessible transport for all post-event.

Overall, transport in Brazil post-event varied between cities, with Rio de Janeiro the host city, failing to meet the needs and expectations of participants for the most part. Reasoning for this will be discussed in detail in the upcoming discussion chapter (Chapter 7: Discussion). The next section will consider the growth of access to and interest in para-sport following the hosting of the Paralympic Games.

5.5 Growth of Para-sports

The Paralympic Games, first and foremost, is an international sporting event. From a sporting perspective, one of the legacy goals of the IPC (2007) is the development of sports structures and organisations to provide an increased opportunity for PWD to become involved in para-sports. Although sport for PWD originated in a need for rehabilitation for people with impairments (Pensgaard and Sorensen 2002), it has in recent years developed into an arena featuring elite athletes, highlighted by the continuous growth in the scope and size of the Paralympic Games (Hambrick et al. 2015). As such, it is crucial to consider how para-sport as a whole has been impacted by the occurrence of a Paralympic Games.

5.5.1 UK Para-Sport Growth

Although sport can be regarded as a tool for change in many areas of life, such as mental and physical wellbeing, and increased independence and social interaction (Smith and Sparkes

2019); for those uninterested in sport, there is a certain level of scorn regarding the level that para-sport is considered to affect the role of PWD in society. This was highlighted by P6L (wheelchair user) who in contrast to the IPC, is not involved in sport and strongly believes that *'Sport is not going to fix prejudice or attitudes or ableism or anything like that'*. It would appear that PWD sense that too much onus is placed on the idea of sport for change.

Although not all PWD believe in the power of sport, there is a continuously rising international interest in para-sport. This rise is evident in the increasing number of athletes competing at each Games, with both the last Winter and Summer Paralympic Games (PyeongChang 2018 and Rio 2016, respectively) facilitating the highest number of competing athletes to date in the history of the Games (IPC 2018, 2016). The findings of this study show a slight improvement in participation levels in wheelchair rugby post-London 2012, specific to the clubs' participants were members of. Although this sport was perceived to develop with minor improvement, this is not generally the case with sport participation legacy, which is considered unsuccessful post-London 2012 (Brown 2019). In fact, The Telegraph reported a 10% drop in PWD' participation in sport and physical activity since the event (Coles 2018). The comments of the two participants quoted in the following section are specific to their sport of wheelchair rugby (as a result of this being the dominant sport discussed or played by participants interviewed). Both participants were passionate about the sport and it clearly plays an integral role in their lived experience.

> *'I don't remember a massive influx of people, but it's never really like [that in] the wheelchair rugby because, certain type of people want to play it, you have to have a certain type of disability so it's a quite small pool of people (P5C, wheelchair user)*
>
> *Interviewer: Yeah*

> *But there are definitely more teams that were created, I think before 2012 there was maybe top of my head like 8 teams? Now we have 3 leagues of varying abilities, so maybe we've got twice that many teams' (P5C, wheelchair user)*

Although an increase in participation may not have been noticeably visible in the participant's personal team, the awareness of development of more teams highlights the need to facilitate an increasing number of players, and thus showcase an increase in participation of wheelchair rugby in the UK. However, the classification of players in wheelchair rugby (not wheelchair rugby league) is limited to quadriplegics only, therefore this would anticipate smaller numbers.

While others such as P2L (wheelchair user) offered a more sceptical viewpoint, in which he noted:

> *'It's that we might have got one person over a period of 3 months, but we might have gotten that person anyway.' (P2L. wheelchair user)*

With high interest and association with his wheelchair rugby team, P2L discusses his uncertainty regarding whether or not PWD were getting more involved in sport due to the Games or purely from their own interest and previous sporting background, and if said person may be in rehabilitation from an accident and not as a legacy of the event itself; whereas, participants who did not portray an interest in sport were largely unaware of any changes or developments in sporting opportunities post games when asked.

Nevertheless, those who are uninterested in sports expressed a view that disability sport now has greater acceptance post event. However, this acceptance is largely accompanied by the presumption by the general public that as a person with an impairment, they either are or should be involved in sports as that is the portrayal, that they have been exposed to in the run up to, and during, the games. This sentiment was expressed by participants such as P6L and P3L who recounted:

> *'Acceptance of disability sport is greater post 2012 […] you ended up with the whole inspiration porn […] expected every disabled person to like sport, every disabled person to be a Paralympian' (P6L, muscular dystrophy)*

> *'I had taken up tennis about 2 years ago, and the assumption is that I will be playing at the Paralympic Games!' (P3L, wheelchair user)*

While an increase in acceptance of disability sport post-games can be seen as a positive finding, importantly, there was also a negative element, with 'inspiration porn' (Young 2012) becoming increasingly prevalent due to the images associated with the event. Overall, from the perspective of participants in this study, there has been a slight increase in sport participation post-event; however, this is coupled with a somewhat dubious link to Paralympic Games, and as such, it should be questioned whether this can be regarded as a legacy.

5.5.2 Brazil Para-Sport Growth

From the perspectives of participants within Brazil, there were mixed responses under this theme. Some participants believe that hosting the Paralympic Games influenced PWD to a small extent due to the increased visibility of sports (either in the media or through attendance) and a greater belief that there are opportunities for PWD in Brazil:

> *'[When asked if sporting opportunities have improved for PWD] Yes of course, because when you have a disability you think that you can't do anything, and the Paralympics showed that that's not true. As a person with a disability if you stay home and do nothing and have no motivation, that's not living!' (P13R, wheelchair user)*

However, others were of the belief that the greater visibility of sport was before the games and has not affected how or if PWD take part in physical activity or sport as a result of the event:

> *'[When asked if sporting opportunities have improved for PWD] No! Because the visibility was pre-games. There was that moment of integration of people with disabilities that now has forgotten.'* (P14R, cerebral palsy)

Participants did however identify an awareness of how becoming involved in sporting opportunities can allow for greater social interaction:

> *"Sport is very good because you get in contact with them [PWD]"* (P16R, wheelchair user)
>
> And: *"Sport has opened up a lot of opportunities and I met a lot of people" (P13R, wheelchair user).*

Others believe that the games did not lead to an improvement in opportunities for involvement in physical activity or improved access to opportunities for all, but there is a greater demand from PWD to become involved in sports as a result of visibility of the games:

> "*I think there is greater visibility because of the Games, the sports were there, they already existed; people just became more aware." (P1CA, visual impairment)*

Table 21 (page 201-202) presents an overview of the responses given by participants in Brazil when questioned about sports participation post event.

Table 21. Responses to Sport Participation/Opportunities

Quotes	**Participant No.**	**Impairment**
"It helped the PWD because now they also want to take part"	P6R	Visual Impairment

"Track and field, before they had opportunities but now, they have more opportunities."	P5R	Visual Impairment
"[When asked if sporting opportunities have improved for PWD] Brazil does not open many doors for people with or without disabilities."	P12R	Wheelchair User
"I think for sure. I think disabled people that were not training or not doing any exercise, part of that decide to do something just for rehabilitation or just for high level sport and I think for sure it changed. They started to play with us they didn't start right after the games but 1 year after they keep trying to find where they can fit in the sport, so I think in this case it helped a lot for sure. "	P15R	Wheelchair User
"The thing hasn't changed at all. We still have a lot of difficulties to find a court train. It's a very old court and we need the permit to … even the arenas that they... the locals … the main message that they were saying all the time and that is still written in the arenas is that the legacy would be the most important thing to be left. We tried to train there is no opening, no opportunity to get there, my team was there just for… one time months ago after, 1 year after the Paralympic games as an event to celebrate 1 year after the Paralympic games but there's a lot of bureaucracy fill forms permission, it's so hard to access those places that we prefer to do... we have other places to train, it's too hard."	P16R	Wheelchair User
"Here? No! In Rio? My opinion remains the same."	P9R	Visual Impairment
"The number of people looking to practise sports increased a bit […] We had already some people looking [at the centre] 10 to 15 people, not more than this, a very small margin, but it has increase a little."	P1CA	Mobility Issues
"Today, para-sports are much more valued than before the Games."	P2CA	Wheelchair User
"Not so much as it could because sports is a fundamental tool for the person with disability in the physical, psychological rehabilitation but I believe there's a bigger interest, especially young people look for institutions and clubs that offer Paralympic sports modalities in order to participate, to get to know. It has indeed increased, not much, but it has increased a little bit."	P2CA	Wheelchair User
"The opportunities are the same actually. But there was greater demand."	P3CA	Cerebral Palsy
"It was cool, and I think people showed interest in doing sports. A lot of people called to know more. A lot of people came here to find out if they could be a good fit for any sports. But now things calmed down a bit."	P9CA	Wheelchair User
"A lot of them. More than a lot. I would say more than 100 people. They were all very excited and curious. After we did the presentations at schools, a lot more calls came in and they wanted to come here [to the sports centre] and take photos. They were very excited. It was a lot of work."	P9CA	Wheelchair User

With some participants expressing their interest in sport during the interview, there is a clear difference between the responses from those with an interest in sport and physical activity in comparison with those who do not have an interest and who are less aware of changes in this area post-event. Participants such as P3CA and P9CA, identify how the sport opportunities have not changed since the event, but instead it is the demand and interest of PWD that is regarded as improved. However, for those who are aware of sporting opportunities, there appears to be a minimal improvement in this area, which is surprising when it is considered a legacy goal of the event itself.

While growth in PWD taking part in sport post event has been discussed, the visibility of para-sport also emerged from the data analysis as an area of interest. This will be discussed in both a UK and Brazilian context.

5.5.3 Visibility of Para-Sports in UK

As well as participation levels of PWD in sport and physical activity post-event, it is also beneficial to consider how PWD view para-sport as a whole, post-event. For a number of participants from the UK there was evident discomfort in the interviews when asked about sporting events, due to a lack of interest in sport and a predisposition to presumptions about their interests and there was a belief that they were not in a position to talk about their lived experience as a result. For example, the response from the P3C (wheelchair user) when asked about the event and his opinion on it:

> *'I didn't attend London, I didn't go to any events, I didn't even see any of it on TV (P3C, wheelchair user)*
>
> *Interviewer: oh, wow okay.*
>
> *So, I'm probably not the best person for you to interview about the Games! (P3C, wheelchair user)*

> *Interviewer: No, not at all. But that's interesting because you, you know you take part in sport and you enjoy you know you're saying table tennis and petanque and bowls'*

This response, from a participant with a vast interest and experience in a number of sports, to an extent illustrates how the Paralympic Games are not automatically fully accessible to or enjoyed by all PWD. Thus, there are many PWD who will not be aware of the legacy goals or care about the aims of the games as their disinterest in the games means that they see them as insignificant and largely inconsequential to their lives.

From the interviews in this study, it seems that the majority of PWD (especially those with an interest in sport) are currently unhappy with the visibility of disability sports. While aware of the work being done by one broadcaster in particular, Channel 4, it seems that the segregation of disability sport from the broadcaster best known for its vast sports coverage (the BBC) can, and often does lead to feelings of exclusion by those with impairments. Increased visibility, and visibility which extends between broadcasters into the mainstream can provide an opportunity for greater perceived inclusion in this space. The negative association of multiple broadcasters for differing abilities was voiced by one participant from London who lamented:

> *'I'm a bit disappointed of the fact that it's still done by a different provider, so BBC tends to cover the main Olympics and Commonwealth Games and all that type of stuff but when it comes to disability sport it's all on Channel 4' (P5L, joint hypermobility syndrome)*

This visibility of para-sport and the associations that participants have taken from this can be linked to the media and representation of para-sports. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6: Subjective Space Findings, with participants perspectives of media and representation around and after the event being explored.

5.5.4 Visibility of Para-Sports for Brazil Participants

From the Brazilian data, it was evident that visibility of para-sport was not an area of importance for the majority of the participants. While some participants were active before the Games, they were not concerned about greater visibility of their respective sports, but focused on their involvement only. However, there were some participants as seen in Table 22 (page 205), who identified an increase in the visibility of para-sport in the country following the Rio 2016 Paralympic Games.

Table 22. Visibility of para-sport in Brazil post-event

Quote	Participant No.	Impairment Type
"I think there is greater visibility because of the Games, the sports were there, they already existed; people just became more aware."	P1CA	Mobility Issues
"Yeah I think so. The number of people practising it is bigger. We have several competitions, regional completions and the best people in each region join for the regional events. Since our Paralympic community has a partnership with the government, they are able to sponsor people coming for these events. So, I think it's important. For example, Daniel Dias, who is our most famous Paralympic athlete he has a lot of visibility."	P7R	Visual Impairment
"The Games brought more visibility for sports for the person with disability and the legacy was that at least it brought one more person."	P5CA	Cerebral Palsy

These participants believe that the event had a positive influence on the awareness of PWD towards para-sport in Brazil and in their locality. There was a reference to the role Paralympians play as central to visibility as referenced by P7R. As evident, there was also an absence of visibility of para-sport in the media post-event.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has delved into a number of the key facets of UK and Brazilian participants individuals' experience in the objective space; namely, employment, access, transport and sport participation. The findings from this chapter identify a disparity between the legacy goals of the IPC and the lived experience of PWD from both research sites within their objective space. The findings highlight the need for greater consideration of objective space in the planning of events, and, importantly the upkeep of, or continued improvement efforts in objective space post-event. In line with this, the findings identify the issues faced by PWD, and the possible alleviation of such struggles through the future incorporation of the voice of PWD throughout the process. In order to expand on these findings, a greater focus on the main issues will be examined further in the discussion chapter with comparison between the UK and Brazil findings in line with extant literature.

With objective space being only one aspect of a person's lived space, the next chapter will examine the findings surrounding the subjective space of PWD post-event, to allow for greater discussion of a person's lived space and lived experience.

Chapter 6: Subjective Space Findings

The aim of this chapter is to present and discuss the findings of the UK and Brazilian studies with respect to participants' experiences and perceptions of subjective space. The analysis of both research sites followed the same process as per the objective space findings. To recap, as previously discussed in Chapter 2: Theoretical Background, subjective space is defined as capturing 'idealist-subjectivist approaches to social space as the pure product of agency and human imagination.' (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013: 33). Specifically, subjective space can be regarded as any space that individuals interact with outside of their physical space (e.g. media, book, art objects, etc.). In line with this definition of subjective space, and subsequent to the thematic analysis of the data, the subjective space will be discussed under two main themes that ultimately emerged as a result of the analysis namely; attitudes, and media representation. First, Section 6.1 presents and discusses the multiple attitudes experienced and developed by PWD post-Paralympic Games. Second, Section 6.2 presents and discusses the perceptions and experiences of media representation of disability. Finally, Section 6.3 summarises the findings of this chapter and addresses the focus of upcoming chapters.

6.1 Attitudes towards PWD

An attitude is defined by Eagly and Chaiken (1993: 1) as 'a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour'. The attitudes of society towards PWD have attracted a plethora of research, with the area continuing to garner interest from researchers in varying academic disciplines (e.g. Antonak and Livneh 2000; Krahé and Altwasser 2006; Westbrook, Legge and Pennay 1993). The importance of considering attitudes from the perspectives of PWD, is accentuated by the identification by researchers such as Chubon (1982) of negative attitudes as 'invisible barriers' faced by PWD, that can prevent or thwart social inclusion and involvement. Therefore, these upcoming sections explore how participants experience attitudes towards disability in their everyday lives, which inform their understanding of how people in the community perceive PWD. Attitudes in the context of this study, with a focus on the minority group of PWD, are considered to be in line with the definition by Allport (1954) as ‘a learned predisposition to think, feel and behave toward a person (or object) in a particular way’. The IPC regard the Paralympic Games as ‘*the world’s number one sporting event for transforming society’s attitudes towards impairment*.’ (IPC Strategic Plan 2015-2018: 14). Due to the many varying and often polarising experiences of attitudes that surround disability, this theme is presented under three distinct sub-themes that emerged from participant discourses: 1. Attitudes of Pw/oD towards PWD (from the viewpoint of PWD); 2. Attitudes of PWD towards other PWD (including hierarchy of disability); and 3. Attitudes of PWD towards self. These discourses of PWD experiencing attitudes can be shaped by the opportunity for intergroup contact (Allport 1954), that is created by the Paralympic Games, in line with its aspiration of being a vehicle for attitude change (IPC 2011).

Unlike the UK findings, the Brazilian interviews did not elicit consideration of attitudes towards other impairment groups and self. The absence of these views is interesting in itself and a reflection on the model of disability underpinning the country. This will be discussed further in Chapter 8: Discussion.

6.1.1 Experiences of Negative Attitudes of UK Pw/oD towards PWD

For the most part in this study, participants described how, following the London 2012 Paralympic Games, there was a certain level of expectation created surrounding the event that attitudes towards disability would improve as a result. The development of these expectations can be attributed to the legacy goals of the IPC, which developed alongside the Games themselves (IPC 2012). If these expectations came to fruition post-event, the success could have aligned with the increased intergroup contact (Allport 1954) expected by participants to transpire as a result of the event. However, opposing expectations, this study suggests there was, for the most part, unchanging or even increasingly negative attitudes identified post event. These negative experiences are reflective of how Pw/oD in general can have a low expectation of the abilities of PWD as affirmed in the following quote:

> *'What I find in particular in the UK, the perceptions and the attitudes of [sic] disabled people and what they're capable of are so low that people don't expect anything at all' (P6L, muscular dystrophy)*

That is, when PWD are seen to achieve, it is seen as out of the ordinary and unexpected, which can possibly be attributed to a lack of contact with PWD in everyday life. This is particularly true with regards to employment, whereby PWD face low expectations regarding their professional abilities as a result of far reaching stereotyping (Schur, Kruse and Blanck 2005). This lack of knowledge and education regarding the abilities of PWD is representative of the negative attitudes often experienced by PWD as a result:

> *'Awareness has definitely increased but I don't think it's, I don't think people really understand what to do so they, they'll see somebody and there's still this we don't know how to treat them because they're different […] I don't think that's improved'* (P5L, joint hypermobility)

Although it could be argued that an increased awareness of disability in general by Pw/oD, is an improvement, since awareness is essential to achieve attitude change (Hutton and Baumeister 1992), this awareness is compromised by a lack of education and knowledge that remains. In turn, this absence of understanding can prevent attitude change from occurring as a result of physical or imagined interactions remaining post-event.

As illustrated in Table 23 (page 210), over half the participants from the UK had negative considerations about how they have perceived attitudes since the event, and how Pw/oD react to PWD. Key sentiments expressed by participants included lack of inclusivity, lack of understanding outside certain impairment groups, uninformed assumptions, and patronising reactions towards PWD.

Table 23. Negative Perceptions of Pw/oD attitudes towards PWD

Quotes	Participant	Impairment
"a real lack of understanding about you know PWD are either in wheelchairs or it doesn't exist type of thing."	P5L	Joint Hypermobility Syndrome
"The world still has to get by, you still have to deal with society's ableism. You know? […] you know this negative attitude is not going to, you're still going to be in the situation, it's not going to change"	P6L	Wheelchair User (muscular atrophy)
"Some people still have a problem if you look different, sound different or you can't walk."	P9C	Wheelchair User (MS)
"I don't see as much like I don't know – inclusivity."	P6C	Double Leg Amputee
"A lot of people don't want anything to do with us."	P9C	Wheelchair User (MS)
"People will automatically assume what you can and can't do."	P2C	Single Arm Amputee
"It's not going to change overnight, it's going to take a couple of generations."	P4C	Wheelchair User (motor neuron)
"Even though I noticed that people are more willing to talk to me, people are more scared definitely to say the wrong thing […] political correctness."	P3L	Wheelchair User (CP)
"I think people were in denial that we existed pretty much […] poor guy he's probably like 1 in a million or something."	P4L	Double Leg Amputee
"complete patronisation […] come up to me tap me on the head and say you're so brave!"	P6L	Wheelchair User (muscular atrophy)
"accused me of attention seeking."	P8L	Wheelchair User (SCI)
"I love London but in terms of people I still find it an incredibly aggressive and non-social place to live."	P9L	Visual Impairment (VI)
"Older people definitely have more negative opinions."	P2L	Wheelchair User (SCI)
"The lack of really support and acceptance I guess really you know? And it's not even I would say right in your face sometimes it's more subtle and insidious you don't even realise".	P7C	Dwarfism

The quotes in the table above identify the difficulties associated with interactions between PWD and Pw/oD in a social setting, which manifest as negative attitudes. Consistent with these findings, when society is led to perceive Paralympians as the ‘norm’ and the standard that all other PWD should or can meet, the majority of PWD can feel isolated and as a result this ‘reinforces ableist perspectives of their capabilities’ (Brittain and Beacom 2016: 506) and attitudes towards self. That is, the intergroup contact (Allport 1954) created by the event, for many PWD, instead of improving general social contact and feelings of inclusion in society (Amado et al. 2013), is regarded as unrealistic and limited to the event resulting in feelings of exclusion.

6.1.1.1 Factors affecting negative attitudes towards PWD

Impairment type and Stereotypes

There is an identifiable alignment in the findings between attitudes experienced and the impairment type of the individual, as society’s understanding of impairment types has an effect upon their attitude development, and subsequent behaviours (Ajzen and Fishbein 1975). For example, consider the narrative of P5L (joint hypermobility syndrome) who highlights:

> *‘a real lack of understanding about you know PWD are either in wheelchairs or it doesn’t exist type of thing’. (P5L,* joint hypermobility syndrome*)*

This assumption, that attitudes are more positive for some impairment groups over others, warrants further discussion into why PWD have this perception. This perceived prevalence of wheelchair users being regarded in a more positive light, and receiving more understanding, would align with the hierarchy of disability (Thomas 2000; Tringo 1970), in which wheelchair users are deemed one of the most accepted impairment groups by the general population.

However, with established negative attitudes evident from the perspective of participants with disabilities, both groups (PWD and Pw/oD) will interact with reservations and preconceived ideas of what is expected from them, thus increasing anxiety. For example, people without impairments may expect all PWD to be high-achieving athletes (in line with the superhuman stereotype), or people who can independently and easily adapt to any aspect of life with no modifications required (in line with the supercrip stereotype). Meanwhile, PWD may feel that they have to justify their disability, and it becomes their responsibility to dispel the notion of all PWD being 'superhumans' and defend their impairment as highlighted by P7C (dwarfism):

> *'Disabilities could be more socially accepted. Because there was a real positive impact in image towards disabled people, like oh yeah you can achieve stuff, but that was all undone with the scrounger rhetoric and what have ya, all the benefit changes that came in after that. I just think it's more of society attitude I think, like if that had continued on then I think we wouldn't have had to, cos really because of everything that's happened since then, I just feel like we've gone back as a society really in that terms you know?' (P7C, dwarfism)*

Similarly, as a result of vague or rather misfocused imagined intergroup contact (Crisp and Turner 2009) through media representation, which accentuates the 'superhuman' or 'supercrip' narratives (discussed in Chapter 2: Theoretical Background), this can impact the ultimate physical intergroup contact which then occurs during the event. This contact has the potential to decrease the anxiety of both groups (PWD and Pw/oD) and improve attitudes towards PWD (Allport 1954). As well as conflicting attitudes and understanding of disability expressed ('Superhuman' vs 'scrounger') it appears from the findings that attitudes regressed post-Games and failed to utilise the potential for long-term positive change.

Exposure to Disability

From the experiences reported by participants, it appears that the growing acceptance of disability by society, as well as being linked to events such as the Paralympic Games, can also be connected to the increase of war time causalities and the rising number of service men and women in previous years who returned from warzones. This increased exposure to the realities of war and events such as the Invictus Games and the Warrior Games (both developed as a rehabilitation and empowerment tool for injured servicemen and women through sport), have offered insight into the realities and prevalence of acquired disabilities like never before. This aligns with the observation of P2C (female, single arm amputee) who expressed how:

> *‘nowadays I think because there’s been a lot of people in the army and stuff who have lost their limbs, a lot of people they are now more considerate, you know they, they don’t know your story I mean you could have fought in the war. I mean a lot of Americans do think that I've been in the war, I haven’t. But yeah, I think people are a lot more accepting of it now and that makes me a little more confident.’ (P2C, arm amputee)*

Although not directly connected to the Paralympic Games, and more so from a personal perspective of the participant, this shift in consideration and as a result, self-confidence, is a positive development that can also emerge from other para-sport events. Post-London 2012, one participant highlighted the shift in attitudes that became evident in her opinion as a result of the event:

> *‘I have noticed the shift in peoples’ attitude [since London 2012] of 'oh you’re so inspiring to be out in the pub!' Having a drink with your friend, or you must play sport*

> *because I’ve seen you know, everyone on the TV playing wheelchair basketball or whatever.’ (P3L, wheelchair user)*

This shift in attitudes connects to the ‘inspiration porn’ narrative, a term developed by Stella Young (2012) whereby PWD ‘overcoming’ the low societal expectation of their abilities leads to PWD being referred to as ‘brave’ and an ‘inspiration’. This inspiration porn narrative can potentially shame PWD for requiring assistance while undertaking everyday tasks, with the expectation from Pw/oD that PWD’s attitudes not being positive enough is the root cause of exclusion in society, and an improved attitude would allow barriers faced to be overcome (Young 2012). In line with the inspiration porn narrative, specific to Paralympic Games, was the emergence of the ‘superhuman’ narrative, developed as a marketing tool for London 2012 Paralympic Games by Channel 4.

Age Related Attitudes

As emphasised by participants in a number of the interviews, the type of attitudes encountered from the general public as well as being influenced by impairment type, can often be age dependent, with the older population identified as having less understanding of disability, as well as less willingness to learn and change. For example, as highlighted by one London participant:

> *‘Older people definitely have more negative opinions’* (P2L, wheelchair user)

Similarly, P1C (cerebral palsy) has identified the need for a change in attitudes of older adults in order to reduce prejudice, whereby she believes:

> *‘something to help with that era (the elderly) would probably help getting discriminated against as well.’* (P1C, cerebral palsy)

Participants distinguishing the difference between the attitudes of certain age groups is an issue previously raised by Goreczny et al. (2011), who observed that older adults, as opposed to younger adults exhibit more negative attitudes towards PWD.

With negative interactions and attitudes being experienced by some participants on a daily basis, and almost perceived as extraordinary, if positive, it can become an issue of potential detrimental impact on the mental health and self-esteem of PWD (Magsamen-Conrad et al. 2016). In addition to being palpable, visibly adverse manifestations of attitudes that affect the population with disabilities, participants also expressed a fear of what is not being said, but instead thought or said in an underhanded way; a point revealed by P7C (dwarfism) who believed:

> *‘The lack of really support and acceptance I guess really you know? And it’s not even I would say right in your face sometimes it’s more subtle and insidious you don't even realise’ (P7C, dwarfism)*

The perception that Pw/oD foster internal negative attitudes that can, at times come into play in one’s lived experience, can increase the level of anxiety experienced by PWD when it comes to interacting in society. This awareness of aversive ableism, whereby Pw/oD harbour negative attitudes towards PWD has increased in recent years (Friedman 2018, 2016). However, with internal attitudes being difficult to address and prove, there is, to a certain extent, an assumption by PWD that this ‘insidious’ lack of support and aversive ableism is evident in Pw/oD, which may not always be the case or if it is, may not be deliberate (Deal 2007).

6.1.2 Positive Attitudes of UK Pw/oD towards PWD

While the responses to PWD by the population without impairment have, in most instances in these interviews been perceived as negative, there was also reference to positive perceptions as illustrated by the quotes below, in Table 24. These positive perceptions and experiences express views of a society that is considered to be continuously developing in their levels of inclusion, but requires greater knowledge and interaction in future to continue to enhance attitude change.

Table 24. Positive Perceptions of Attitudes

Quotes	Participant	Impairment
"easier in that everyone has seen PWD achieve something that they probably never thought that even they could do now and I think everyone as a whole are becoming more accepting of disabilities and just getting to know people more with disabilities and not you know being too shy to ask but harder like I say yeah definitely, with trying to prove that you're actually disabled to the government and people that come round to see how disabled you are, yeah definitely difficult cos you're a superhuman now you know [sarcasm] So yeah it does not help"	P2C	Arm Amputee
"Disabilities could have been more socially, disabilities could be more socially accepted. Because there was a real positive impact in image towards disabled people, like oh yeah you can achieve stuff, but that was all undone with the scrounger rhetoric and what have ya, all the benefit changes that came in after that. I just think it's more of society attitude I think, like if that had continued on then I think we wouldn't have had to, cos really because of everything that's happened since then, I just feel like we've gone back as a society really in that terms you know?"	P7C	Dwarfism
"Society as a whole are definitely more understanding, more inquisitive"	P1L	Wheelchair User (Spina Bifida)
"I think people are a lot more comfortable to interact with PWD"	P3L	Wheelchair User (CP)
"It's improved over the years the attitudes, like before I remember people thinking you know oh pity poor guy walking around with, a lot of it now is oh wow look at him that's so cool look at his legs"	P4L	Double leg amputee

Participants who have had positive experiences and are now aware of more positive attitudes towards PWD in society, believe that society has become more understanding over time since the London 2012 Paralympic Games, and more comfortable with disability. Although this can, to a certain degree, be considered an improvement, these experiences are not unreservedly positive, as it must also be considered that greater perceived understanding and increased comfort interacting with PWD, does not automatically equate to attitude change. With the Paralympic Games acting as a catalyst, it appears from these findings, that the awareness that developed around the event, has plateaued and requires greater motivation for future improvement.

The findings presented in this section provide empirical support for a need for greater development and consideration of attitude change towards PWD in society as a result of inherently negative perceptions to date. However, these negative attitudes are accompanied at times by emerging positive attitude changes that have been experienced by some participants. Furthermore, this supports a step in the right direction towards the development of the vision of the IPC (2012), to achieve improved attitudes and equality in society as a result of hosting a Paralympic Games. However, there is a need to consider how the event can be greater utilised to ensure continued changes in attitudes post-event. Currently, while during the event attitudes may improve towards some, predominantly athletes, this is not automatically extended to all PWD. Therefore, it is necessary to consider how the event as a whole can encompass long-term attitude change for all PWD.

In section 6.1.5, discussion of attitudes will be expanded to consider the attitudes that PWD develop towards other PWD and various impairment groups.

6.1.3 Experiences of Negative Attitudes of Pw/oD towards PWD in Brazil

Predominantly in the data, participants reflected on negative experiences of attitudes they have received when encountering Pw/oD. These negative attitudes correlate with various areas, as seen in Table 25.

Table 25. Negative Changes in Attitudes

Quotes	Participant No.	Impairment
"Not in a direct way, maybe in making people more aware […] not necessarily in the sense of wanting to help"	P3R	Visual Impairment
"people don't see us like they should. They protect us too much"	P10R	Cerebral Palsy
"I think people's vision needs to change. When they see a wheelchair user, someone using a crutch, they talk about the overcoming, but you can't talk about that. That's not something you overcome […] This vision needs to change. The idea that just because he is in a wheelchair, he can't leave home and cannot be included in the society – this needs to change."	P14R	Cerebral Palsy
"People I bump into the streets come to me to talk about their disability, they ask "did you compete in the games?" There's always this question."	P1CA	Mobility issues
", it's very complicated. There are many people that support me. But like I said… there was problems in the streets, in the market, at the bank but people ask me what I am doing so I fight because this is a right of mine. So, I face them, and I fight. The reception of people here in Curitiba can be very complicated"	P5CA	Cerebral Palsy
"On the bus for example, people don't get up and give away their seat."	P3CA	Cerebral Palsy
"there is a lot of things that people need to understand. There's a lack of respect, education, a lot of people treat differently just because we're on a wheelchair. They talk to you in a different way. People don't see that you lead a normal life, your mobility is just reduced"	P9CA	Wheelchair User
"sometimes I'm waiting for the bus after practice and people throw at me 10 cents. I could write a book with all the stuff that's happened to me."	P8CA	Wheelchair User (Polio)

Firstly, one of the most frustrating factors for many PWD is that there is the assumption from Pw/oD towards PWD that everyone with a disability is interested in sport and will have competed at the event or aspire to be an athlete:

> *'They ask you 'did you compete in the Games?' There's always this question' (P1CA, mobility issues)*

While the IPC (2019) believe that:

> *'The Paralympic Games embody the challenges – and the possibilities – that keep humanity moving forward. They show to the world that differences are a strength and that our focus should be on the abilities of people, not their perceived disabilities.'*

The focus and abilities showcased by athletes through the Games do not always embody the challenges facing all PWD and often exacerbates extant stereotypes associated with para-athletes such as the ‘supercrip’ (Silva and Howe 2012). In line with this finding, Braye Dixon and Gibbons (2015) also critique the impacts of the sporting event as greater for athletes with disabilities and not necessarily transferrable to the general non-sporting population with disabilities. From the information disseminated, and contact experienced (imagined or non-imagined) during an event such as the Paralympic Games, the attitudes experienced by athletes with disabilities and the general population with disabilities can at times be divergent. This discrepancy is acknowledged by participants such as P2R (visual impairment) who differentiates the experiences by saying:

> *‘I don’t know how it turned out for the athletes, but for us its all the same […] we didn’t have any help from the outside’ (P2R, visual impairment)*

As well as the discomfort associated with presumptions regarding interests, PWD frequently recount experiences of negative attitudes in society, whereby they are forced to fight for services and accessible features due to Pw/oD showcasing prejudicial attitudes. For example, P5CA (cerebral palsy) recounts experiences in accessing services where Pw/oD express contempt at PWD utilising accessible features if their impairment type does not align with their (Pw/oD) predisposed idea of what disability is:

> *‘In the market, at the bank, places that have a priority queue… people ask me to leave the priority queue because my disability isn’t visible for other people. I was carrying the shopping cart and stand on the priority queue and people asked me to leave because there was nothing wrong with me.’ (P5CA, cerebral palsy)*

These presumptuous attitudes regarding disability can often translate to negative actions by Pw/oD, such as demeaning PWD by assuming that anyone who is a wheelchair user is in need or a beggar, as showcased by P8CA (wheelchair user) who recalled:

> *'when we are passing by we look nice we smell good and people throw money on our lap when we are waiting for the traffic light to turn green. That makes me sad' (P8CA, wheelchair user)*

This experience is one unfortunately regarded as commonplace amongst wheelchair users in Brazil, with the same participant explaining that, following discussions, this experience was comparable with peers despite gender and race. This same participant was unsure if the negative attitude towards her was due to her impairment, her race (black) or being female. This finding aligns with the idea of double jeopardy whereby multiple memberships have led to an increase in negative attitudes (Shaw, Chan and McMahon 2012).

Family Attitudes

As well as attitudes from the general public specific to the Brazilian context, emergent from the interview data was the prominent role and internalisation of attitudes with respect to the participants' family lives. Multiple participants identified how the attitudes they negatively experience can often originate within their own families, as seen in Table 26 (page 221). With families often regarded as a social support for PWD (Grossman and Magaña 2016), this finding highlights societal pressures within Brazil, which can lead to shame and hiding of family members with disabilities. Such actions can negatively impact the confidence of PWD, and the ability to improve inclusion in society due to a lack of support and sometimes discouragement to be present in society.

Table 26. Family attitudes towards PWD in Brazil

Quotes	**Participant No.**	**Impairment**
"My sister calls me crippled but I don't hold it against her. She's got her own problems."	P11CA	Mobility Issues
"It is difficult. Even in my family and friends. I feel excluded, they excluded me […] My friends are all PWD"	P2R	Visual Impairment
"also, there's lack of knowledge among their families in the society, there's the fear to put your family member and expose them."	P14R	Cerebral Palsy
"when you get a spinal cord injury the first thing they believe is that you become a child again, so they treat you as a 10 years old boy. They don't want us to leave home, they want to do everything, even push the wheelchair so they believe that we become very fragile and it's not good to push the wheelchair by yourself, to do things with a kind of independence so I think we still suffer from a culture, a very strong culture that protects us too much"	P16R	Wheelchair User

As evident from these quotes in Table 26 for some participants, the barriers to inclusion begin in the home, as a result of lack of understanding from their families with respect to their abilities and desires for inclusion. The feelings of embarrassment, guilt or shame felt towards PWD is evident in the quote by P14R whereby family members fear exposing PWD in the community. This reaction can often occur with parents or family members who consider PWD discriminated against in society (Green 2003). However, although some participants identified issues within their family units, for the most part participants felt included and happy in their family units.

6.1.4 Positive Attitude of Brazil Pw/oD towards PWD

Conversely, many participants identified a positive development in attitudes whereby PWD have developed from a group used to being ignored or experiencing negative attitudes to a more positive viewpoint such as:

> *'the people in the streets, I think people are looking at people with disabilities in a different way.' (P1R, visual impairment)*

> And: *'It has certainly made society in general look at people with disabilities differently.' (P2CA, wheelchair user)*

Table 27 (page 222), presents a number of positive experiences of participants from both Rio de Janeiro and Curitiba. These positive reflections on attitude change dynamics are in line with theorisations of the positive impact of intergroup contact (Allport 1954).

Table 27. Positive Changes in Attitudes

Quotes	Participant No.	Impairment
"Because of all the attention that the athletes have brought to people and the people in the streets I think people are looking at PWD in a different way"	P1R	Visual Impairment
"I think it extends to people that aren't athletes because when you realise that one person can do something, so can other people"	P3R	Visual Impairment
"The attitudes of people is normal. I didn't think that because of the Games something changed. There is more acknowledgment people got to know [PWD]"	P4R	Visual Impairment
"I think it's getting better. People are you know being more receptive"	P7R	Visual Impairment
"I think that the Olympic and Paralympic games, I think that it has open up a range for understanding of what disability is, what are the limits that can be imposed on people within a sports context, of dedication to the modality, of personal effort in order to achieve the objectives. It has certainly made society in general look at people with disabilities differently: people with capabilities, people committed to their objectives, eager to live, to participate and build the awareness of citizenship."	P2CA	Wheelchair User
"Today, I feel things are different. I don't know if because people with disabilities go out more, or if because there's greater visibility. To me, I am alone in the streets, people are willing to help, they are very supportive, young people, the elderly, they go like 'let me push you', you know? So, I think people are super supportive, not for pity, I think it's due to their education, on the bus also, they are always trying to help, you know, so I think it's very easy."	P6CA	Wheelchair User
"today the look of people changed a lot. Before they would look with pity, I would see form their look. Once I took my brothers to the hospital (I don't have parents), I got to the medical post and one person asked me 'what happened to you'? 'Poor thing, poor thing'. I told her 'I work, I can see, so it's time you change the way you look at people in a wheelchair because I am just like you, the only difference is that I'm sitting and you're standing'. The people in Curitiba changed a lot. There's still a lot that needs to be changed"	P8CA	Wheelchair User

That is, interactions with PWD by Pw/oD demonstrated realistically PWD realities and abilities, making way for PWD to be treated with respect as opposed to those who require pity, as previously prominent (Shakespeare 1994) in the lived experiences of PWD:

> *'Before they would look with pity, I would see from their look*.' (P8CA, wheelchair user)

An important aspect to consider here, is that while some participants feel there is an improvement in attitudes, it is often accompanied by negative or degrading words such as having to 'deal with', and relief that people are not being outwardly negative, as highlighted by P4R (visual impairment) who said:

> *'Yes, they deal with us very well […] Thank God people are very nice to us today' (P4R, visual impairment)*

This quote expresses thanks that Pw/oD 'deal with' PWD, as opposed to not outwardly showing prejudice. While in participants' views this is a positive development, from the researcher's perspective, this emphasises the gratitude displayed by PWD and internalised ableism (Campbell 2009); from the participant seeing themselves as almost a burden as opposed to a valued member of society. Therefore, the positive perceptions cannot be regarded as entirely positive, but rather an attempt to find a positive in situations in order to live a confident and pragmatic life.

The majority of Brazilian participants considered attitudes they experience from Pw/oD more than other groups, such as their peers. This is an important theme, as it pinpoints that attitudes of Pw/oD towards disability is often the most important from the perspective of PWD. Participants in Brazil expressed mixed opinions concerning attitude change towards PWD as a result of the Rio 2016 Paralympic Games. While the majority of responses oppose the IPC's claim of the games as acting as a transformer of attitudes towards disability as participants were unaware of any positive improvements occurring in their personal experiences.; some found slight improvement in attitudes towards PWD post-event.

> *'There is more acknowledgment people got to know (PWD)' (P4R, visual impairment)*

However, this does not necessarily automatically equate to changes in attitude or behaviours, as evident in quotes from participants such as P3R (visual impairment) whose belief surrounding attitude change since the event is that there has not been a change:

> *'Not in a direct way, maybe in making people more aware […] not necessarily in the sense of wanting to help' (P3R, visual impairment)*

From the quotes presented and discussed above, it is evident that there has been a noticeable improvement in some areas with respect to attitudes towards PWD in Brazil, with a number of participants expressing their perceptions of inclusion post event. However, these improvements were apparent for only two main impairment groups; visual impairment, and wheelchair users. This finding highlights the role of the hierarchy of disability (Thomas 2000; Tringo 1970), and the role that visibility and acceptance of impairment type plays in attitude development, with more visible and easily identifiable impairment types noticing improvement to a greater extent. This is even more apparent when considered with respect to those with what are considered more invisible impairment such as P5CA who recalled how; '*people ask me to leave the priority queue because my disability isn't visible for other people'.* Therefore, these positive changes are not applicable to all PWD. In the findings there was a greater mix of impairment groups who experienced negativities in their lived experiences, particularly when their impairment is less obvious or does not require visible accessible equipment.

6.1.5 PWD towards PWD in the UK

While some PWD are happy to be associated with, and identify as part of a group with impairments, other PWD who perhaps see themselves as more ‘able’ and less visibly impaired, express their desire to distance themselves from other PWD so as not to be typecast by the population in general in line with the hierarchy of impairment (Deal 2003). These feelings were exhibited by some participants including P1C (cerebral palsy) who stated simply:

> *‘I get on better with Pw/oD than PWD’ (P1C, cerebral palsy)*

This embarrassment of being seen with other PWD aligns with internalised ableism (Campbell 2009) in that some impairment groups see themselves as aligning more with societal norms and being seen in a group of PWD might reinforce the fact that PWD can only be or should only be friends with other PWD rather than Pw/oD.

Contrary to sentiments expressed by those participants who do not wish to integrate, others who would like to integrate and communicate more with PWD are apprehensive about the reaction they may receive from others if they attempt to talk to somebody with a similar impairment as observed by P2C (arm amputee):

> *‘even myself with an amputation I’m scared to go and say ‘oh look yeah me too’ you know because I don’t want to offend them’ (P2C, arm amputee)*

While this can potentially be attributed to infamous English politeness, more pressingly it can be attributed to low levels of self-esteem and self-confidence faced by PWD in social situations, and a lack of previous intergroup contact. This lack of confidence in interacting with others who experience similar attitudes and prejudices can cause further detachment from the group, and increased isolation.

However, although fear of being regarded in the same way as other impairment groups can prevent interaction by PWD, in some cases, post-event, there has been a positive development in how PWD interact with one another, as indicated by P3L (wheelchair user) and P1C (cerebral palsy) who noted respectively:

> *'before [London 2012 Paralympic Games] I would have been very conscious of being in a group of disabled people' (P3L, wheelchair user)*
>
> *'I think we respect each other more, we, it's like hard to make sense, but I think we reckon we understand everyone we're all in the same boat but its cos we are obviously all quite different, so it's a bit hard to like distinguish each other but I reckon we sort of respect each other more in that way.' (P1C, cerebral palsy)*

This new role, in which PWD have increased respect and interaction from peers with disability can have many implications; such as, improved visibility of PWD in society, greater support of peers with impairments, and reduced internalised and aversive ableism due to increased understanding of, and empathy towards, other impairment groups that was previously absent. The identification of PWD being *'all quite different' (P1C. cerebral palsy)* emphasises the complexity and diversity of disability, but similarly, showcases an improvement in understanding and empathy between impairment groups post-event. P1C has shown development from prior to the Games to post-event as on page 225, she expressed her social aversion towards PWD in favour of Pw/oD. However, she identified that the event acted as a tool to improve respect and attitudes.

Another integral factor evident from the findings in this study is that intergroup attitudes within the population who experience impairment, can vary as a result of how disability is portrayed in outlets such as the media. In turn, a certain level of jealousy can develop towards impairments perceived to be more conventional and tolerable, such as wheelchair users. For the most part, in line with the hierarchy of disability (Tringo 1970) participants perceive wheelchair users as the most socially accepted impairment group, as repeatedly expressed by non-wheelchair user participants in this study who observed:

> *'I don't have the understanding that somebody in a wheelchair gets' (P7C, dwarfism)*
>
> *'a real lack of understanding about you know PWD are either in wheelchairs or it doesn't exist type of thing' (P5L, joint hypermobility syndrome)*

From the perspective of participants in this study, wheelchair users are considered by society to represent 'disability', and as such, this leads to other impairment types becoming ignored and less tolerated due to not meeting the preconceived criterion of disability due to the lack of wheelchair use. This perception of participants stresses the current lack of understanding by people in society regarding the diversity and complexity of impairment and disability, which influences attitudes and behaviour towards all PWD. This perception can also cause changes towards how PWD develop attitudes towards other PWD.

Yet, as is evident from the data above, it is not solely non-wheelchair users who are wary of the supposed increased tolerance and understanding associated with wheelchair users. For example, one wheelchair user, who described her experience as:

> *'if not using a wheelchair, people are less tolerant of that' (P3L, wheelchair user)*

This quote highlights the development of understanding that is required into the diversity of impairments, to reduce friction between impairment groups. Increased understanding and tolerance from Pw/oD surrounding disability has the potential to improve attitudes between impairment groups. From the information sourced from these interviews, there appears to be several factors inhibiting more acceptable and positive attitudes towards the population with disabilities, from the perspective of PWD. These factors could potentially be alleviated through transformations in the subjective space of PWD and as a result, inclusion within lived experience.

Although attitudes within the population of PWD towards PWD have been discussed in a general context, there is a need for the discussion to encompass the event central to this study, the Paralympic Games. With respect to the Paralympic Games, and the hierarchy of disability, this time, as opposed to a hierarchy within impairment groups, there is a hierarchy and attitude differences evident between athlete PWD and PWD with less athletic ability or interest. Participants were of the belief that*:*

> *'There's still this you're either elite athlete or you're weak and pathetic' (P5L, joint hypermobility syndrome)*

This quote emphasises the pressures faced by PWD and the influence of the Paralympic Games upon how PWD are seen, and how PWD see others with impairments and themselves. The growing narrative, in which PWD are discussed in a sporting context as 'supercrips' or 'superhumans' (see: Bush et al. 2013; Hodges, Scullion and Jackson 2015; Shakespeare 2016), has led to many PWD developing negative attitudes towards PWD who present an ideal to the public, which does not align with the abilities and lived experiences of the majority of PWD. Such narratives can present an unrealistic picture to the public in which social reforms for PWD are deemed unnecessary as a result. Meanwhile, it is deemed the responsibility of PWD to have more willpower and a better attitude to overcome any societal barriers encountered (Bartsch et al. 2018) as opposed to society making changes. The impact that the media and language used within the media has on PWD' subjective space will be discussed in detail in Section 6.2.

The findings discussed in this section stress the struggle faced by PWD with respect to attitudes and how personal attitudes towards varying impairment groups are developed and subsequently influenced. Although PWD face attitudes from many sources as discussed, there is another aspect, of attitude towards self which must be discussed in order to determine how PWD create their lived experience within a subjective space.

6.1.6 PWD towards Self UK

Based upon the perceptions of attitudes discussed in the previous sections experienced from and towards other PWD, there is a cultivation in individual attitudes towards self and the identity of PWD. There is considerable ambiguity as to how PWD perceive themselves, as this can alter at different times and stages of life. Within impairment groups, at various life stages, PWD may exhibit internalised ableism, whereby they internalise the norms expected by society at the loss of their identity as part of the population with disability (Campbell 2009). How PWD perceive impairment in line with self is integral for the development of one's lived experience as a PWD. As highlighted by P1C, the youngest participant in this study (18 years old), underlying internalised ableism was notably present early in the interview, with the participant expressing her embarrassment of her impairment and the view of Pw/oD as 'normal' and, presumably PWD as abnormal:

> *'I'd rather if I'm honest hide my disability or hide anything and just be a normal person.' (P1C, cerebral palsy)*

This discussion of Pw/oD as the norm aligns with the idea of normalcy as discussed in Chapter 2: Theoretical Background. However, as the interview progressed, and discussion turned to the London 2012 Paralympic Games, it was clear to see that, as a result of the event, acceptance and growth had occurred. This journey towards acceptance of one's impairment and growth of self can be a long road, and, at times, an event (in this case London 2012

Paralympic Games) can act as a catalyst to cause people to reflect on their identity and attitude towards self as she noted:

> *'Now [post London 2012] I feel that I'm proud to have a disability and I'm like I'm proud to be different which is quite, you know, nice' (P1C, cerebral palsy)*

This newfound pride in identity as a PWD, shows the strength and influence that can be garnered from seeing people with similar impairments succeeding, and perceiving them to be accepted and respected by society as a result of taking part in sport.

As referenced at certain points in the chapter thus far, media representation can, and often does, play an integral role in attitude development both of PWD and of Pw/oD towards PWD. Thus, the next section will delve into how PWD perceive the representation of PWD in the media in the UK (another facet of subjective space), and its intended and unintended impact on the lived experiences of PWD post London 2012 Paralympic Games.

6.2 Media Representation

Media representation of PWD can cause concerns due to the portrayal of disability and the impairment groups often emphasised. Based on participants responses, representation of PWD in the media can sometimes be regarded as representation for representation's sake in order to alleviate underrepresentation; as opposed to true inclusion in the media. For example, one participant who works in the advertising industry, attempted to play devil's advocate with consideration of the whole area of advertising and marketing being a sensational one, whereby:

> *'I mean of course with the advertising industry, is sensational to the non-disabled markets. So, we could argue that there is an equality in having sensational,*

> *sensationalism with disability except that it might be doing more harm, like we mentioned with the political sides' (P10C, wheelchair user)*

While mixed responses to representation were evident from participants in both research site, the majority of participants expressed negative sentiments regarding media representation of PWD. These key findings are discussed in the following sections supported by relevant quotes highlighting experiences of the narrative of PWD in the media pre-, during and post Paralympic Games.

6.2.1 Negative Narrative of PWD in UK Media

Within the quotes presented in Table 28 (page 232) it is evident that the narrative surrounding impairment and disability in the media is perceived as predominantly negative due to PWD being portrayed in a tokenistic or sensational way (or not portrayed at all). Many participants described how the media, in its sensationalism, has tarnished the identity of PWD through representation of PWD as either 'superhuman' and 'supercrip', or conflictingly, as benefit scroungers who are lying about their impairment in order to attain benefits. This issue is illustrated by P6L (muscular dystrophy), who discerns that as a result of media representation, PWD are currently:

> *'stuck between being a benefit scrounger and a Paralympian' (P6L,* muscular dystrophy*)*

Due to this misrepresentation in the media, the lived experiences of PWD can be impacted, dependent on how Pw/oD and PWD respond to such portrayals. This misrepresentation and resultant negative lived experiences can be linked to the types of polarising imagined intergroup contact (Crisp and Turner 2009) created surrounding the event and extending into wider society post event.

Table 28. Negative Views of PWD in UK Media

Quote	Participant	Impairment
"seems to be more TV programmes I think about PWD, not always particularly positive"	P5L	Joint Hypermobility Syndrome
"of course, not Shauna! Come on now […] it is just absolutely appalling"	P10L	Polio
"There isn't as much advertising that includes PWD generally"	P5L	Joint Hypermobility syndrome
"nothing springs to mind at all if it isn't relating to sport"	P3L	Cerebral Palsy (wheelchair User)
"I definitely don't like the attitudes, the inspiration porn stuff, I definitely don't like that […] you lose some credit for it	P3L	Cerebral Palsy (Wheelchair User)
"I've never seen any disability advertising or anything around the city in Cov […] the City of Culture posters that are on the billboards and stuff that was just normal people running"	P1C	Cerebral Palsy
"They never consider disability […] disability is never ever mentioned, so we are part of a minority as well, but we're the invisible minority"	P10L	Polio
"it was basically wheelchairs or amputees being advertised [during London 2012] […] [but now post London 2012] You're not seeing anyone represented"	P1C	Cerebral Palsy
"it's still abnormalized" … Its never like ordinary representation"	P7C	Dwarfism

As a result of extant misrepresentation in the media, most representation featuring PWD is now felt by many PWD to be tokenistic and an attempt by companies and organisations to become more politically correct, through increasing diversity to be seen in a better light. This is as opposed to having a genuine desire to represent an 'invisible minority' (P10L, polio), as evidenced by the participants below:

> *'I kind of get the feeling that there was just a bit of trepidation around disability in the mainstream. And I get the feeling now it's kind of swung a little bit the other way*

> *where, they're trying to almost get brownie points for portraying it' (P8L, wheelchair user)*
>
> *'People try to play the diversity card' (P10L, polio)*

On the rare occasions when PWD are present and accounted for in line with representative ideals in the media, often there is either an inspiration or witticism angle at the expense of PWD' dignity, as highlighted by the following quotes:

> *'Rarely, and what they do is like quite inspiration type things' (P6L, muscular dystrophy)*
>
> *'It's tokenism you know at best […] PWD aren't even considered worthy tokens we're just like punchlines' (P10L, polio)*

This experience by PWD develops scepticism with respect to how (and why) future media incorporates PWD. Notably, previous incidences by participants whereby PWD are considered the punchline have developed a negative connotation with seeing PWD in the media.

6.2.2 Positive Narrative of PWD in the Media

Although the views above are overwhelmingly negative, some participants tried to find positive aspects of representation of PWD in the media. As apparent in Table 29 (page 234), there were very few positive sentiments when the representation of PWD in the media was discussed. Yet, some participants believe that there is currently greater representation of more visible impairments in the media, as well as minor improvements and changes, seen by some as a step in the right direction.

Table 29. Positive Views of PWD in UK Media

Quote	Participant	Impairment
"You see a lot more people in wheelchairs, I think the more visible disabilities are getting better represented"	P9L	Visual Impairment
"It's changed, but not a lot"	P7L	Wheelchair User (Paraplegic)
"I don't think it's a well-represented group, but I think it is improving"	P3L	Wheelchair User (CP)
I think there's more disability on TV now with I think certainly the mandate in you know the main broadcasters has been to increase diversity among their presenters"	P8L	Wheelchair User (SCI)

These positive sentiments were, in some cases, accompanied by a negative aspect; whereby, although a positive change was identified or noted, this was followed up with a 'but', which then led into shortcomings being identified. The majority of these changes were either said by, or referred to by wheelchair users, linking back to Tringo's (1970) hierarchy of disability. Overall, the participants in this study, when asked to consider the representation of PWD in the media were overwhelmingly sceptical about current practices and the unambiguous tokenism and sensationalism associated with the group. This misaligned portrayal of PWD can in part, potentially be associated with the Paralympic Games' representation of athletes with disabilities as 'superhumans' by official broadcasting partners of the Games. This portrayal may unwittingly open the door to representation that follows the inspiration narrative, which is seen as successful in previous campaigns (e.g., 'We're the Superhumans', Toyota adverts featuring Paralympians, etc.). However, identification of such issues allows for further discussion of the area and consideration of how the media may improve in the future, potentially utilising the Paralympic Games as a catalyst for positive change, to a greater extent. With greater attention paid to imagined contact (Crisp and Turner 2012, 2009) in the run up to and post event, in line with true representation of PWD, the Paralympic Games' representation can link to the everyday lives of PWD, as opposed to the current focus on elite athletes as representative of all PWD.

In Section 6.1, attitudes were shown to vary with respect to PWD, dependent upon the source, as well as being an integral experience in an individual's subjective space. The next section explores how PWD perceive and consume media representation, and the presentation of PWD in the media is also integral to an individual's subjective space. The past decade has seen a substantial increase in the consumption of media, with continuous growth and prominence of social media, and the power of internet tools such as YouTube, Twitter etc. altering how media is produced and consumed by society (Newman 2009). Such growth in media thus also alters how marketing is approached and developed within an ever-changing society. This growth of media and online tools has offered a unique opportunity for PWD to finally be presented in a way that is truly reflective of their lived experience, through utilisation of media as a vehicle for change and understanding (Dahl 1993). However, to date, in many instances, this opportunity has been misused. Reflections of participants in this study will be discussed in the following sections related to their impressions of current media, expectations of media following London 2012 and the hierarchy of inclusion evident within today's media.

6.2.3 Experiences of disability media representation in the UK

The impressions that PWD develop of media representation featuring disability is predominantly based upon their experience of interacting with and consumption of such media in its many different forms (e.g. TV, radio, print, electronic). While the media has the potential to act as a space in which knowledge and awareness around the experience of impairment can be discussed and disseminated (Dahl 1993), many PWD have found the media, at times to be their nemesis in the quest for informed awareness and true representation; for example, brands, organisations and events portraying PWD in a sensational or tokenistic way which in no way reflects the everyday lived experience of PWD (e.g., the 'superhuman' narrative as examined by Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019) and can be a source of frustration, as discussed by P10L (polio), who notes:

> *'I think to the event and the power, the sheer power of social media, that voices have been ignored, purposely or you know accidentally, but usually purposely let's be honest. For too long. They were actually getting to say actually, this is not on, we're not going to put up with this we deserve better, we are part of the community, we if you do not treat us with a modicum of respect, you know and act like, you know we are part of society, which we are, like 20%, that's not nothing, like we're the largest minority in the entire world' (P10L, polio)*

With one in five people worldwide experiencing impairment (WHO 2011), as highlighted in the quote above, there is clear absence of demonstrative representation of such a large minority group. In the above quote, P10L (polio) emphasises the power attributed to the media and the possibilities that could be offered to PWD if utilised better, and the voices of those included were not silenced. This issue arises again in the interview with P4C (wheelchair user), who questioned the current gap present in the media between PWD and Pw/oD, in which he asks:

> *'is it sort of representative? 10%?"* and in the next breath answers "*Probably not." (P4C, wheelchair user)*

Therefore, it appears that PWD are aware of the lack of representation currently faced in the media, as well as the power of the media in the battle for equality.

However, although PWD currently perceive an underrepresentation in the realm of media, PWD are not entirely absent from this representational domain. Most notably, participants expressed awareness of increased representation in the mainstream media in the run up to, and during events such as the Paralympic Games. During these events the representation of certain impairment groups and athletes with disabilities increases. Para-events can also increase the opportunity for discussion of wider issues associated with disability. This increase in representation around events aligns with the findings of Dahl (1993), in which the media are known to promote selected images alongside events, often perpetuating stereotypes through resulting portrayals. Moreover, the resulting representation, often in line with the 'superhuman' narrative, is not always considered to be a positive development and as illustrated by a number of participants is a source of irritation for PWD due to inherent misrepresentation. This 'superhuman' narrative while conceived with hopes of positive development of PWD in the media, in fact, either 'generated or reinforced norms of rejected exclusion and selective inclusion of PWD in the marketplace' (Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019: 15).

This misrepresentation is considered by P4C (wheelchair user) who, when discussing the 'superhuman' narrative, developed in the media around the Paralympic Games in London 2012 (and continued for all summer and winter Paralympic Games since), believed that this development and widespread dissemination of adverts focusing on PWD as 'superhumans' has in fact had negative connotations for the general population of PWD. He noted:

> *'my perspective would be that Superhumans was probably, it may well have been detrimental in the way that they actually portrayed everything! But all, I think that anyone's looking for is a level playing field' (P4C, wheelchair user)*

These findings are in line with current research, such as that McGillivray et al. (2019) who highlight the ableist ideals of disability portrayed in the marketplace associated with the Paralympic Games, and the contrast of this portrayal with the everyday lived experiences of PWD outside of sport.

6.2.4 Experiences of disability media representation in Brazil

Brazilian participants reported opposing views regarding media representations of PWD in general linked to the Paralympic Games. Due to the prominence of negative views, firstly, this section explores these responses with respect to media representation of PWD in Brazil. From the perspective of participants in this study, there are many differing areas whereby improvements can be made, following the country hosting the Paralympic Games. Specifically, participants highlighted that there appears to be a strong focus on representation of athletes with disabilities as opposed to representing the variety of lived experiences of PWD, as highlighted by P7R (visual impairment), and P14R (cerebral palsy) respectively:

> *'In the general media, I'm not quite sure. I think it's more related to sports […] a lot of attention from the media but in the context of sports, not in general' (P7R, visual impairment)*
>
> *'They only wanted to show the athletes' performance and not the reality of how they lived within the city' (14R, visual impairment)*

Consistent with prior research, these findings underscore that the selective focus on athletes in media representation linked to para-sport event coverage, is exacerbating the gap between athletes and non-athletes with disabilities as opposed to helping advance inclusion for all PWD in the host locations (Braye, Dixon and Gibbons 2014).

Table 30 (page 239-240), presents a summary of all negative sentiments expressed by participants when asked about their perceptions of media representation post-Rio 2016

Paralympic Games. Interestingly, participants from both Rio de Janeiro and Curitiba expressed their disappointment in the outcome of the event on their everyday lived experience. Although this anti-climax was not wholly unexpected, minimal change has been observed in representation in Brazilian media since the event. It is apparent from Table 30 that PWD consider media representation to have been restricted merely to the event, and thus, has not translated to everyday life and integrating PWD into mainstream media.

Table 30. Negative Responses to Media Representation

Quotes	Participant No.	Impairment
"No, they [PWD] are not well represented. There's a lot of things missing."	P1R	Visual Impairment
"We [PWD] are not well represented."	P3R	Visual Impairment
"They [the media] hide a lot. They don't show it as they should. Unfortunately, they don't value the people [with disabilities]"	P10R	Cerebral Palsy
"I think that there needs to be more people with disabilities on the TV, because in the normal Paralympics [Olympics] you see a lot of people on TV, whereas the Paralympics you don't see that much"	P12R	Wheelchair User
"Unfortunately, no. Only during the games there was a little improvement in the visibility, but it was only then. Today our difficulty in getting sponsors has to do with that lack of visibility and I don't even blame companies because how are the companies going to invest in an athlete of a certain modality that has no visibility? Today the athletes try to work on their own marketing, multimedia, visual marketing, each one tries to work on their own because media doesn't help us achieve that."	P14R	Cerebral Palsy
"I don't think so. You don't see a lot of people with disabilities in the media. When there were the games, you could see something from the people from PUC when they were hired, something like 'oh resilience'. I think it's still very biased."	P3CA	Cerebral Palsy
"I think that only the main athletes […] There were a few articles about some athletes but there was no continuity."	P3CA	Cerebral Palsy
"They treated them well [athletes with disabilities] but it wasn't that much advertised like after the games. That's the difference."	P4CA	Multiple Sclerosis
"No!!! There isn't any [PWD]! {…} …. Because I'm aware and what I see is very little."	P5CA	Cerebral Palsy
"I think people should appear more. You only see, like on the television, I don't see that many people with disabilities on propaganda. Not only in Curitiba, I think. I think there should be more of them [PWD], or I don't know if it's us that are to blame, maybe we don't look at how we can do it. I think we should appear more, give more emphasis to this question."	P6CA	Wheelchair User

"I think so. There should be more media, show that using a cane or a crutch doesn't makes us any different or incapable. They think we are ill and that we are worthless."	P9CA	Wheelchair User
"They should show people with disabilities more so that others could understand and feel how difficult it is."	P9CA	Wheelchair User

Furthermore, it is evident that many participants believe that the current media misrepresents the lived experience of PWD, and are omitting the often unknown potential and 'abilities' of PWD by focusing on a prevailing narrative of pity or to serve a certain purpose for financial/social gain by the companies/organisations who are utilising images of PWD in or around a high profile event such as the Paralympic Games. These issues were highlighted by two of the participants who expressed:

> *'I think it's awful. Because when they say something it's not that real. People usually pity PWD and think that they aren't able to do most things. And the media doesn't show that we actually can do things' (P9R, visual impairment)*
>
> *'No, you would see very little of them. You would see but only to serve a particular interest of a certain company not to disclose the subject to the general public.' (P13R, wheelchair user).*

Therefore, participants perceived that when non-athlete PWD are visible in the media, which is minimal, the representation is not true to life or informative for the general population. P9C (wheelchair user) discussed how they watched the Paralympic Games:

> *'only on cable TV […] they (Brazilian TV) don't attach too much importance to it.' (P9CA, wheelchair user)*

With SporTV the main broadcasters of the event in the host country (IPC 2015), this non-Freeview cable TV station therefore excludes many members of society who may not be in a position to access paid TV channels. While the Rio 2016 Paralympic Games were hailed by the IPC (2017) as smashing all international TV viewing records, there was not an easily accessible media reach to the Paralympic Games in the host country itself. Media representation of para-sports, and thus PWD generally undergoes a significant increase for the duration of the event, with over 4.1 billion people worldwide viewing the Rio 2016 Paralympic Games (IPC 2017). How certain groups are represented in the media can impact how the general population regards and interacts with these particular groups, as media representation influences society's beliefs and assumptions, as well as experiences (Kulaszewicz 2015).

Although athletes are often present in the media in the run up to, and the aftermath of events; for many PWD it is considered 'not that real', and to an extent damaging to self-esteem and self-confidence. This is identified in the words of P6C who when asked about media representation of PWD believes that perhaps everyday non-athlete PWD are not included because they do not provide examples of how to represent PWD or push enough to be involved:

> *'I don't know if it's us that are to blame, maybe we don't look at how we can do it'*
> (P6CA, wheelchair user)

While misrepresentation of minority groups such as PWD in the media is a growing topic of research (e.g. Clark 2014; Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019), within the media, there is often an element of the representation being informed by ableist employees with misinformed decisions frequently the result. In this data, there was also prominent awareness of the power of the media. Participants expressed frustration with the lack of media representation of 'ordinary PWD', which exacerbates social prejudice due to non-representation. Importantly, participants highlighted the media as one of the most powerful marketplace actors impacting and shaping the image and perceptions of PWD, indicating that the potential power of the media must be addressed and harnessed to a greater extent, with events such as the Paralympic Games acting as a catalyst, as highlighted by two of the participants:

> *'The first thing that would have to change is the media! Through media we would start to … I think media has a huge impact in people's minds and in the way people think and see things. Not having people with disabilities in the media gives room for people to have prejudice in relation to certain deficiencies.' (P5CA, cerebral palsy)*
>
> And*: 'In the media in general you can see in the background of the images someone on a wheelchair, there's always someone with a disability. Usually the advertising pattern show pretty and thin women, men with perfect bodies but today we can see that the person with disability is included within society. We have managed to gain space within society and people can see us. We are having visibility."'(P2CA, wheelchair user)*

These quotes above, show the perceived power of the media in increasing the visibility of disability, and how important it is deemed by PWD to have representation in this space.

The point made by P2CA (wheelchair user) was supported by P16R (wheelchair user), who also discussed the power of PWD being visible in the general media, and how PWD presence in soap operas on mainstream TV allows for greater visibility and can influence prejudice:

> *'there was a soap opera on TV that showed a girl who suffered an accident and she had a tetraplegia, that soap opera has a very, how can I say, a lot of people watched this and it influenced a lot.' (P16R, wheelchair user)*

As the findings demonstrate, participants are aware of how increased visibility in the media can potentially improve attitudes and understanding amongst Pw/oD towards PWD. By educating the public through a more varied and accurate representation of PWD in the media, P9CA (wheelchair user) believes there is more to be gained in PWD' perceptions by Pw/oD and as a result, increased inclusion:

> *'I think so. There should be more media, show that using a cane or a crutch doesn't makes us any different or incapable. They think we are ill and that we are worthless' (P9CA, wheelchair user)*

As a form of contact between PWD and Pw/oD, imagined contact via media outlets has a role to play in reducing prejudice and stereotyping of PWD (Crisp and Turner 2009). As a form of the subjective space of PWD (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013) media representation of PWD as representative of actual lived experience has the potential to reduce misconceptions and transform current stereotypes around disability. Therefore, with such influence of media, there is the need for greater accountability by those in control when developing content that features PWD both in a sporting and non-sporting context. As increased imagined contact via the media surrounding the event featuring Paralympians, creates potential for greater inclusion of PWD, or conversely, exclusion as a result of misrepresentation of the complexity of PWD (Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019).

While negative responses with respect to the media were overwhelming in the interviews, with many expressing frustration at the lack of true media representation of lived experience of disability, there were also some positives to be taken from the data, and these will now be discussed. Some participants identified their awareness of improved visibility of PWD in television since the cessation of the games, but again, this was limited and not consistent across all forms of media. For the most part, PWD are considered more visible in TV shows than in other forms of media:

> *'Today you see more PWD on TV'* (P11R, cerebral palsy)

> *‘I am watching a soap opera that has a person in a wheelchair you know?’* (P11CA, mobility issues)

Furthermore, the few responses identifying positive improvements in the media nevertheless highlight the lack of emphasis placed on integration and inclusion of PWD in the media. Table 31 (page 244), presents a summary of positive sentiments concerned with media representation expressed by participants.

Table 31. Positive Responses to Media Representation

Quotes	**Participant No.**	**Impairment**
“There was more people after the Games. Yes, there are more people on advertising.”	P4R	Visual Impairment
“There’s more visibility so people can see the differences and have more respect”	P11R	Cerebral Palsy
“Today you see more people with disabilities on TV”	P12R	Wheelchair User
“So people realised (because the games were on TV) that people with disabilities have the ability to compete, to perform tasks and also how to deal with them.”	P3R	Visual Impairment
“Not only in Curitiba, but in Brazil. Today we can see that the political propaganda, apart from the subtitles, which are required by law, they put a little box at the corner with the interpreter of the Brazilian sign language even though it is not required. Politicians are also implementing the interpreter of the Brazilian sign language box. What is mandatory is the caption, not this. For example, for the national democracy day propaganda we can see a little boy with the Down Syndrome, a little girl on a wheelchair. In the media in general you can see in the background of the images someone on a wheelchair, there’s always someone with a disability. Usually the advertising pattern show pretty and thin women, men with perfect bodies but today we can see that the person with disability is included within society. We have managed to gain space within society and people can see us. We are having visibility.”	P2CA	Wheelchair User
“I am watching a soap opera that has a person in a wheelchair, you know? I think they show it on a positive way.”	P11CA	Mobility Issues

From the responses in Table 31, although positive from participants’ viewpoints, from the researcher's perspective, there seems to be an agenda for where disability is visible in order to achieve development in areas such as political gain and propaganda purposes. This viewpoint is supported by previous negative expressions by participants such as:

> ‘*No, you would see very little of them [PWD]. You would see but only to serve a particular interest of a certain company not to disclose the subject to the general public.’ (P13R, wheelchair user)*
>
> And: *‘Only when the games started the campaigns began, Banks and telecommunication companies started doing campaigns to meet personal objectives and not to elevate the person with disabilities as an athlete, as a citizen.’ (P14R, cerebral palsy)*

However, there are some notable positives beginning to emerge with greater visibility in the media and inclusion in mainstream television (such as soap operas) and thus an improved understanding of disability and impairment through greater imagined contact.

Overall, the overwhelming perception of media representation is considered unchanged or linked to athletes within the event, with minimal improvement evident from participants with respect to everyday representation. These identified improvements need to be built upon with input from the population with lived experience of disability, in order to improve representation and the contact experience for all.

6.3 Conclusion

To summarise; the subjective space findings from the UK and Brazilian studies discussed in this chapter have acknowledged and explored two of the major themes of participants’ subjective space; namely, attitudes, and media representation. Some of the key findings include; negative attitudes remaining post-event, increased adherence to the hierarchy of disability, and lack of true representation of disability in the media. The current findings evidenced a gap between legacy goals and the claimed achievements of the Paralympic Games and the lived experience of PWD within their subjective space. In the following chapters, both the objective and subjective space findings of the UK and Brazil data, will be presented and discussed with respect to extant literature and a focus on implications of these findings.

Chapter 7: Discussion Chapter[5]

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to synthesise and discuss the key findings that emerged from both research sites, relating them to the previously developed conceptual framework (Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework, page 96) and extant literature, in order to best inform future recommendations for improving the lived experiences of PWD via para-sport events. The findings uncovered many cross-national similarities with respect to participants' lived experiences, during and post-event in both the UK and Brazil. However, as will be discussed in the forthcoming sections, some cultural differences presented themselves during the analysis. Therefore, in order to best structure this chapter, to begin, the universal findings, that were cross-culturally equivalent with respect to both research sites, will be discussed. Discussion of findings specific to each location will then follow, in order to facilitate comparison of differences between research sites.

7.2 Research Question and Objectives

As outlined in Chapter 1: Introduction (page 23) the research question posed by this study is:

"How do PWD in the host country evaluate experiences in their lived realities linked to legacies of a Paralympic Games?"

In order to address this research question effectively, the following research objectives were established:

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[5] The researcher is aware that there is some colourful language from interviews presented in the quotes. Following consideration of the best course of action with regard to including this language, it was concluded that it was best left in the text. This decision was made, as it was seen it as a positive, as it shows that the participants were comfortable and open, and being honest and passionate about their experiences. To censor language used would be disrespectful to the participants whose voices this research promised to incorporate.

1. To develop, through a multidisciplinary review of the literature, in-depth insight into how para-sport events impact upon the lived experiences of inclusion/exclusion of PWD in the event space and wider society.
2. To theorise the role of ableism in the marketplace inclusion/exclusion experiences of PWD across both objective and subjective dimensions of event space.
3. To explore the experiences of legacy post-event, from the perspectives of PWD in host countries by means of qualitative empirical studies.
4. To develop a conceptual model that allows future event organisers to consider, anticipate and prevent the reoccurrence of inclusion/exclusion considerations when planning and implementing legacy-creation activities.

The review of extant literature surrounding mega-events such as the Olympic and Paralympic Games, identified that the legacy of mega-events is an area of continued growth and perceived importance for host country governments, Organising Committees and academics alike. This is emphasised by the continued publication in recent years of research articles addressing legacy and mega-events. These studies examine legacy framework developments in mega-events (Kassens-Noor et al. 2015; Preuss 2015); planning for mega-events (Müller 2015; Stewart and Rayner 2016); and types of legacy and issues faced (Brittain 2017). In order to build upon the extant research, the conceptual framework in this study was developed to integrate the objective and subjective spaces of the marketplace linked to legacy and lived experience.

This chapter is organised in three main sections. Firstly, the empirical evidence linked to objective space with similar findings from both research sites is discussed, followed by country-specific findings addressed with cross cultural considerations. Next, as per the first section, the empirical evidence with respect to subjective space will be considered in the same manner. Finally, the discussion of findings will inform refinement of the initial conceptual framework developed for this study (Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework, page 96) to produce a PWD inclusion-centred model that can inform legacy planning and future studies, prioritising a positive lived experience of PWD as a legacy goal.

7.3 PWD Mixed Experiences of Inclusion/Exclusion in Objective Space

Taken together, the findings of this study have revealed how there are mixed experiences of inclusion/exclusion by PWD across a multitude of objective space dimensions in both the UK and Brazilian marketplaces, namely: employment, access/accessibility, transport and sport participation.. That is, while the event was successful in improving certain limited aspects of inclusion in the objective space, it appears the overall collective experiences of objective space were predominantly construed as negative from the perspectives of PWD. By contrasting the lived experience of PWD with the aforementioned IPC legacy goals, these findings indicate that the legacy goals set out by the Organising Committees prior to the event continue to fall short for the most part for many PWD in host countries.

For example, the promises included in the Rio2016 pre-Games integrated report, published mere months prior to hosting the Games, the organising committee promoted their use of nomadic architecture for the first time in Olympic History as a legacy by disassembling and reforming some of the venues in the shapes of 4 schools (Organising Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games in Rio in 2016 2016). However, while seen as a key physical legacy and sustainability goal, the dismantling of event venues to create public schooling has so far failed to materialise (Kaiser 2017). Similarly, in 2007, the London 2012 Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games presented their progress report specifically for the Paralympic Games. This report emphasised the social, economic and physical legacies foreseen for communities around London and the wider UK from the Games and how they anticipated the event to set new benchmarks in the objective space, particularly with respect to ‘accessibility to sporting facilities, homes, workplaces, schools and the local environment’ (LOCOG 2007). As is evident from the report, the legacies were planned to apply countrywide and not be limited to London as the host city.

As such, the empirical findings of this study support the conceptually postulated ongoing impacts of infrastructural ableism (in access, transport, sports participation and employment), and internalised interpersonal ableism (manifested through indications to the hierarchy of disability) on numerous intended and attributed improvements linked to the Paralympic Games upon the lived experience of PWD. The data analysis (see Chapters 5) revealed that ableist conceptions of disability remain present and prominent in the development of objective space, preventing full societal inclusion. These social conceptions are now discussed with reference to the findings, supported by extant literature. In both the UK and Brazil, the economic situation and political environment post-event has been negatively influential across many dimensions of space.

7.3.1 Mixed Experiences of Inclusion/Exclusion Regarding Access

The findings across both research sites reveal that when attempting to be independent and engage with society, PWD continue to experience multiple issues presented through accessibility; such as lack of accessibility, and dangerous conditions of accessible infrastructure not in line with regulations (e.g., steep incline of ramps, and unmaintained state of infrastructure developed specifically to improve accessibility). The unknown of what may be faced in society when venturing into new areas where access conditions are new or have changed, can negatively influence PWD interacting with wider society. Negative issues faced with respect to access for PWD, can influence the level and quality of social interaction between PWD and Pw/oD, due to heightened anxiety on the part of PWD, and priority of

Pw/oD, which can lead to marketplace exclusion (Kenyon, Lyons and Rafferty 2002; Sherman and Sherman 2013) and prevent future exploration and attempts to engage with certain areas of social life.

Changing accessibility in the physical environment is a large undertaking for any location, especially within the time limitations generated by a successful bid to host the Games (for Rio 2016, there was 7 years between successful bid and hosting of the event). When undertaking physical changes within a developing nation with respect to accessibility, it is easy for organisers to take shortcuts and undertake what Müller (2015) terms an ‘event fix’. This term describes how planners decide that, instead of event finances being utilised for substantial long-term improvements, investment is used for vanity projects and short-term fixes to avoid negative views by those who travel for the event itself. Following cessation of the event, these short-term fixes then often lead to regression, which can cause negative connotations and memories of the event with no long-term tangible changes made to the objective space for groups such as PWD.

With consideration of both inadequate access features and/or dangerous conditions, it is clear from the findings of this study that the unknown can culminate in either actual negative experiences or create a perception of possible negative experiences. These negative experiences initiated or exacerbated by infrastructural barriers can potentially impact the self-esteem of PWD and further restrict future interactions that require consideration of access (Shakespeare 2013). Such experiences can aggravate PWD’ feelings of vulnerability due to perceptions of prejudice (Rogers and Lange 2013; Satz 2008) in the planning of infrastructural changes surrounding Paralympic events, which are central to this study. Vulnerability in areas of accessing particular servicescapes of the marketplace has been shown previously to increase frustrations experienced by PWD in their lived experience (Baker and Kaufman-Scarborough 2001; Kaufman-Scarborough 2001). In extant literature vulnerability within the marketplace is often related to lack of control by the person in question (Baker, Gentry and Rittenburg 2005; Belk 1988; Csikszentmihalyi 1978; Miller 1987). This was a prevalent response by participants in this study; whereby the absence of voices of PWD in the planning and implementation stages of the event have led to a lack of control being experienced by participants. This absence of control in development of access and in turn the action of accessing particular spaces in their environment post-event, has led to experiences of exclusion for participants. This vulnerability with respect to access can be influenced by factors such as the conceptual model of disability prevalent in the research site, which is considered and discussed next.

Models of Disability and Access

The specific accessibility difficulties encountered by this study's participants predominantly align with the social dimension of the BPS model (see section 2.2.3). As previously outlined, this model encompasses a view that the barriers faced by PWD are in fact produced by society, and those who make decisions in society's physical development, as opposed to being caused directly by an individual's impairment. While extant literature suggests a variance in models of disability prevalent in each of the research sites, this study's findings suggest that the social model of disability takes precedence across both sites. For example, previous literature suggested that, in the UK, the social model of disability is the dominant model that informs understanding and views of disability by the public, and also by PWD themselves (Shakespeare 2013); whereas in Brazil, the medical model of disability, considered outdated and oppressive in many countries including the UK (Beaudry 2016) is currently the dominant model. In this study, the findings from the UK sustain the utilisation and application of the social model of disability within the marketplace as relevant for the population with disabilities. Similarly, the Brazilian findings indicate a movement away from the long serving medical model towards the social model of disability, and renewed understanding and way of thinking about the population with disabilities in Brazil. This can be attributed to participants' realisation that society creates the barriers preventing their access and not placing the blame on their impairment. This consideration of the event space will now be considered specific to the link between access and the Paralympic Games.

The Paralympic Games and Access

The findings with respect to access presented in Section 5.3, in which access was predominantly reported as negative in both research sites, are particularly noteworthy when considering that one of the legacy goals of both the London 2012 and Rio 2016 Paralympic Games that was claimed to have come to fruition, was improved infrastructure encompassing access for all. These legacy goals developed pre-games, create expectations for the local population in the run up to, during, and post-event. The experiences reported by the majority of participants in this study are at odds with the positive legacy claims that the IPC (for both London 2012 and Rio 2016) as well as the UK Government disseminated post-event (HM Government and Mayor of London 2014; IPC 2017; IPC 2016). Although some general positive legacies were reported (addressed throughout the chapter) there was an overall greater prominence of negatives reported by participants.

In fact, Sir Philip Craven, President of the IPC, had already identified the difficulties that Rio de Janeiro specifically would face in changing access, when he said prior to the event:

> *'Due to the very nature of the city's geography, Rio can be a difficult place to get around and realistically it will take more than a generation to transform it into one that is accessible for all. However, thanks to the Paralympic Games heading to the city*

> *in 2016, improving accessibility for all is now a hot topic. When a city wins the right to stage the Paralympic Games, you cannot expect it to become fully accessible overnight or in the seven years leading up to the Opening Ceremony. The key is for the Games to act as a catalyst for further improvements to take place after the Paralympics. Therefore, I hope these improvements are just the start of greater things to come.' Philip Craven (IPC 2015)*

In this quote above, Craven (IPC 2015) emphasised the event as a catalyst for change, as opposed to completely altering the physical environment of the event location in time for the event to take place. However, this study's findings show that the event has, for the majority of participants, not acted as a catalyst for sustained change. Instead, the findings of this study show that the event provided temporary changes and 'event fixes' (Müller 2015) to allow the event to occur. Countries continue to host mega-events while allowing such short-term changes to take place, as they are seen as a cheap way to improve a nations image and credibility internationally (Grix and Lee 2013). As such, the 'greater things' the IPC hoped Brazil would aspire to post-event have not materialised, according to participants in this study. Crucial to discussion of these findings in the Brazilian context is the consideration that "the Brazilian crisis today [i.e. 2017] is one of the most serious of the last century because it has not only reached the economic, but also the social and political spheres' (Nassif 2017: 95). Indeed, as Brazil's economy was booming when it won the right to host the event (Brittain and Mataruna 2018), Craven could not have predicted the economic-political crisis that would come to surround the event, including Brazil entering into its worst recession in recent decades (Farand 2017). Yet, the legacy promise for the Rio Games to act as a catalyst for a long-term change set expectations that were not considered and addressed. The event failing to create long-term legacy aligns with the hit and run model of research (Warren and Vincent

2001). In this case a Paralympic Games was held in Brazil, but the governing body of the games, the IPC, failed to ensure long-term changes for the population. Once the event ended, the IPC was no longer responsible for any city or countrywide changes. Therefore, without leadership, the legacy was not delivered, due to cost effectiveness and the long-term experience of the native population being unheeded.

Furthermore, as a result of lack of empirical evidence incorporating the voices and views of PWD in extant studies, the conflicting mixed experiences of accessibility of PWD are not prominent in research or in the mainstream media. As such, claims made regarding improvements caused by Paralympic Games to date have not been overly contested in the mainstream media, with the exception of disability charity Scope in the UK, who have published multiple blog posts contesting the legacy claims of London 2012 (Scope 2013) based on first-hand experiences of PWD. Consequently, the findings of this study provide valuable insights into accessibility legacy from the viewpoint of PWD; the target population for whom the legacy goals are developed in order to improve lived experiences post-event. Moreover, these findings challenge the wider public's perceptions of inclusion in the marketplace generated by legacy claims.

Findings of this study corroborate the extant literature on marketplace inclusion/exclusion related to PWD experiences of (non)accommodation in objective spaces (e.g. Annette-Hitchcock and Xu 2015; Baker 2006; Baker, Holland, and Kaufman-Scarborough 2007; Childers and Kaufman-Scarborough 2009; Dennis et al. 2016; Falchetti, Ponchio, and Botelho 2016; Kaufman-Scarborough 2015), while placing focus on the mega-event as an instance (or space) in the marketplace. Hence, the evident lack of long-lasting accessible features resulting from the event (identified by participants) as opposed to the improvement of access vowed by the legacy goals has manifested itself in a form of marketplace exclusion experienced by PWD post-event.

Access claims in the Media

In Brazil, claims concerned with access published in two periodicals in Brazil (Estadão and O Globo respectively) post-event talked of improved accessibility for PWD. These articles were compiled by Kirakosyan and Seabra (2018) to inform their discussion of the social legacies, and disability rights surrounding the London 2012 and Rio 2016 Paralympic Games. The findings of their study actually demonstrate that difficulties with access post event appear to have, in fact, exacerbated exclusion for PWD in Brazil. This has occurred through experiencing issues with access in public spaces, such as uneven or non-existent sidewalks and roads, and the apparent centralisation of accessibility improvements in the games event space that has not translated to the city as a whole, let alone to other parts of the country. These contradicting and complex perspectives suggest that the lived experiences of PWD in Brazil's marketplace are at odds with what is reported, highlighting a distinct absence of the voices of PWD in legacy considerations and planning and most importantly, a lack of reflection on how PWD experienced the event and potential legacy.

Ahead of the Rio 2016 Paralympic Games, the IPC released a guide for the host country (from a thorough search of the public domain, this was the only document of its kind found by the researcher), to ensure accessibility for visitors and local PWD in Brazil entitled 'IPC Accessibility Guide: An Inclusive Approach to the Olympic and Paralympic Games' (IPC 2015). This accessibility guide was released a year and one week prior to commencement of the event in Brazil, and thus, may not have provided enough time to ensure accessibility was achieved. While an older accessibility guide may have been shared with the Organising

Committee, a thorough online search by the researcher was unable to locate it in the public domain. The guide was intended to be utilised and followed to achieve its goal, in which:

> *'The principles, solutions and practices used to make the Host City and all Games-related infrastructure and services accessible and inclusive will create a culture of inclusion, which will then influence and change in the long-term the way public facilities and services are designed, operated and delivered.' (IPC 2015: 7).*

However, if this guide, and the changes discussed only relate to Games facilities, potentially meaning facilities and services away from the event are not accessible, PWD may not even be in a position to attend the Games and this, in turn, can prevent contact, and an experience of the event as it occurs. The Brazilian findings demonstrate that these supposed long-term services and accessible infrastructure were not evident when participants from Brazil shared their lived experiences of access during the event itself, and in the year following the event. The analysis thus found that, overall, access for PWD in Brazil post-Paralympic Games has fallen short of expectations and instead of improving lived experiences has in fact, exacerbated exclusion due to limited or non-existent accessibility for PWD in and around the city and country.

Access and the Hierarchy of Disability

The UK findings suggest that in general, access has undergone some improvement for PWD since the London 2012 Games. However, this improvement is consistently linked and limited to certain impairment groups, as opposed to increased accessibility for PWD as a whole, as participant reflections revealed. Presence of these linkages uncovered by this study is consistent with the phenomenon of the hierarchy of disability (Thomas 2000; Tringo 1970), in which certain groups of PWD are considered more accepted in society, suggesting a lack of consideration of, and accommodation for, the complexity of disability in legacy planning and delivery. That is, these distinctions can be used to explain how internalised and aversive ableism present in participants, exacerbated due to perceived unfairness between impairment groups, can and does result in marketplace exclusion of certain impairment groups. Specifically, considerations by the UK participants, which indicated the hierarchy of disability at play include: 1. a focus on what features exist for other impairment groups as opposed to participants' own accessibility; 2. awareness of shortcomings discussed by referencing what is available for others; and 3. some impairment groups looking to distance themselves from being regarded in the same way as other groups.

The consolidation of these findings under the term 'hierarchy of disability' corroborates the work of Deal (2003), in which he calls for an expansion on the knowledge surrounding attitudes between groups that can be influenced by multiple aspects of lived experience, such as experiences of objective space. The impact of the hierarchy of disability in extant research has been considered with respect to Pw/oD towards PWD, as well as between impairment groups (Deal 2003; Tringo 1970). However, in these findings, the hierarchy was evident between impairment groups and emphasises the need for further consideration of the role of intergroup attitudes (Allport 1954), as well as internalised ableism (Campbell 2009) on lived experiences of PWD. This hierarchy was predominantly evident from non-wheelchair users towards wheelchair users. By showing that wheelchair users are deemed by other impairment groups as the most provided for in society the findings of this study also expand on Deal's (2003) work in which wheelchair users were among the most accepted in society. However, the sentiments of the participants who were wheelchair users did not align with their peers, identifying a disconnect in the hierarchy when considered by PWD between impairment groups.

This study's findings provide empirical insights on the hierarchy at play in the marketplace and offer insight into the reasoning behind differing attitudes between groups. To date, since the work of Deal (2003), with the exception of Brittain (2002, 2004) pre-London 2012, the researcher was unable to identify any other studies which have been conducted since London 2012 in which the existence of a hierarchy of disability between impairment groups was considered or demonstrated. This study expands on the work of Brittain (2002, 2004), whose work centred around Paralympians, by drawing on the experiences of non-Paralympian PWD (who did not compete in either London 2012 or Rio 2016 Paralympic Games) offering a cross-sectional insight into the lived experience of both non-elite athletes and non-athlete PWD. Demonstrating the hierarchy at work is noteworthy, as it emphasises the importance of legacy planning and delivery, to ensure that those at the top of the hierarchy are not the only ones to benefit from positive legacies. Similarly, by understanding the experiences of PWD from the perspective of the hierarchy, this allows for further understanding of marketplace inclusion and exclusion, specific to certain impairment groups.

In sum; access in both Brazil and the UK has resulted in mixed experiences based upon the interviews conducted, but overall, the resounding lived experience of access for PWD post-events was negative. The data indicated the central role of access in the lives of participants and how currently, post-events, the exclusion resulting in a legacy that did not transpire influences multiple areas of lived experience. As previously mentioned in the findings section, there are multiple facets of objective space that interact to determine lived experience. These facets will now be discussed with the experience of transport for PWD addressed in the following section.

7.3.2 Experiences of Inclusion and Exclusion in Transport for PWD

Building from the persistence of access issues experienced by PWD, access to transport and accessibility of transport emerged as areas of concern requiring concerted discussion. Regarding accessible transport, one of the key legacy goals of the Paralympic Games for London 2012 (Olympic Delivery Authority 2011: 16) was to 'provide frequent, reliable, friendly, inclusive, accessible, environmentally-friendly and simple transport for spectators and visitors from all around the UK and overseas'. Specific to Rio 2016 (IPC 2016), the accessible developments put in place for the event were intended to remain post-event to improve the daily transport experiences of local PWD. The IPC regard accessible transport as "the single most important aspect for creating an inclusive urban environment." (IPC 2015). IPC President Philip Craven, expressed how "The Paralympic Games can deliver benefits that no other mega-event can deliver. We act as a catalyst to making a city more accessible" (IPC 2016). However, the findings showcase that in both research sites, there were significant shortcomings with respect to transport following the events. The findings of this study highlighted the significance of positive experiences of public transport from the perspectives of PWD, with respect to independence, reduction of marginalisation, and increased social interaction, as corroborated by Aldred and Woodcock (2008). Conversely, negative experiences of public transport can act as a barrier to social interaction as well as exacerbating poverty in marginalised groups such as PWD (Venter et al. 2002). This exacerbated poverty can be due to a lack of opportunities to access other areas of life via transport, such as education, employment, and contact with society.

Safety Concerns in Public Transport

As well as findings highlighting a lack of training and knowledge amongst those in control of certain modes of transport, leading to safety concerns amongst PWD (for example, the experience of P9CA (wheelchair user) who suffered a fractured femur as a result of the bus driver incorrectly operating the newly installed bus lifts (page 195) the findings provide further empirical support for studies, asserting a growing need for public transport operators to be required to complete disability awareness training to ensure the safety of PWD (see Ipingbemi 2015). Furthermore, the findings of this study underscore the urgency of this need, since they highlight the continuance of dependence-based transport in both research sites for PWD (i.e., transport in which accessible features cater for some, but not all impairment groups causing others to seek out extra help or temporary accessible features that can only be established with the aid of Pw/oD) as opposed to independently accessible transport options, meaning that PWD have greater occurrences of contact with drivers and conductors.

Private transport in the UK

From a UK perspective, participants revealed an increased reliance on private transport in comparison with Brazil. Similar to the experiences of other dimensions of space, this can potentially be explained by the stark economic differences between research sites, allowing for greater opportunities for private transport in the UK. For example, the UK Average Disposable Income per capita in 2017 for Pw/oD, was 19,515GBP. Scope (2019) expressed the extra cost of living with a disability as being 583GBP per month; therefore, the extra cost per year for PWD is 6,996GBP. This extra cost, deducted from the annual income (pre-supposing PWD can get paid the same), leaves a UK Average Annual Disposable Income for PWD of 12,518 GBP. In Brazil, the average monthly income per capita for the general population (not PWD specifically) is 1,059.3 BRL (Neri et al. 2018). Therefore, the annual average income per capita would be 12,711.6 BRL. This figure from Brazil, converted into GBP as of 1st November 2019 equates to an annual disposable income for the population in Brazil, of 2,460 GBP. This figure omits any extra costs experienced by PWD in Brazil, as following a thorough search by the researcher, the ‘extra costs’ figure was not found to be reported in the public domain. Overall, these figures identify a significantly greater disposable income for PWD in the UK versus Brazil.

The evident aversion by UK participants, particularly London participants to public transport showcases the perceived inaccessibility and dislike of free or subsidised means of transport; a planned post-event improvement pledged by the Mayor of London (2012) in the months before the event took place. This aversion is most surprising, since PWD in the UK receive travel concessions (e.g. free bus travel and one third off rail tickets (AgeUK 2019)), but continue to choose to add extra cost to daily living in order to have private transport options (e.g. adapted car or taxi). As the cost of living per month is, on average, 583 GBP more for PWD than Pw/oD (Scope 2019), it would be logical to expect PWD to increasingly utilise options of free or discounted transport; particularly considering the current benefit cuts affecting PWD (Disability Rights UK 2018). However, the ongoing preference of PWD for private transport in the UK, uncovered in this study, underscores the importance of the notion of independence for PWD (Aldred and Woodcock 2008), seemingly overriding financial considerations. Furthermore, these findings provide contextualised insights, unravelling how negative past experiences impact PWD’ decision-making, whereby PWD are unlikely to engage in a situation previously perceived as negative or disastrous for them personally (Skinner 1953). For example, as addressed by participants in this study, missing their stop, or being unable to find a seat for the duration of their journey,

Furthermore, findings specific to the UK revealed that the hierarchy of disability (Thomas 2000; Tringo 1970) also manifests itself in the perceptions of PWD when discussing access to transport. That is, the majority of participants who are not wheelchair users believed that more visible physical disabilities are catered for to a greater degree with respect to accessible features based on their experiences to date. These uncovered perceived imbalances between accessible transport for varying impairment groups identifies the exacerbated social exclusion faced by many impairment groups who feel society provides for them to a lesser degree than others in the realm of public transport. Within a UK setting, this imbalance contests the idea of 'transport related social inclusion' (Ricci, Parkhurst and Jain 2016). However, it must be noted as per Lucas (2012) transport social exclusion is not uniform, and thus its experience varies by group based on social and geographical contexts.

The findings also point to greater complexity in PWD' experiences of transport access in Brazil. In general, Brazilian participants expressed a higher usage and dependence on public transport than in the UK, with many participants in Brazil detailing their experience of regular public transport use, as opposed to more sporadic use of public transport in the UK. Brazilian public transport in the form of the VLT, which is a light rail system inaugurated for the Rio 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games (de Oliveira Dias 2018), was hailed a success by a number of participants in the Rio de Janeiro participant's interviews. The development of this form of transport was influential in providing opportunity for PWD to access society to a greater degree than previously possible due to its connection of certain areas of this vast city. This transport improvement can be regarded as a positive legacy of the Rio 2016 Games, and links the many widespread areas of the city and creates a basis for increased independence for PWD in their everyday lived experiences. However, the system did not expand to the entire area it had been planned to improve (28km of lines), and remains unfinished (Robertson 2017).

Overall, with the exception of the VLT in Rio de Janeiro as the host city in Brazil, transport failed to meet the improvements expected by participants from both research sites in this study. The continued difficulty with transport was considered to have an influence on, and prevent, social inclusion overall. Therefore, the evident lack of input and consideration of long-term impact from the perspective of PWD, requires future event organisers to place more emphasis on this area as a factor that will link with other areas of legacy (e.g., accessing sport participation opportunities). From this data, it appears that greater inclusion of PWD in the planning process of legacy surrounding the development of accessible transport, can help prevent social exclusion post-event.

7.3.3 The Experiences of Sports Participation Post Event

In research to date, there is considerable evidence supporting the benefits of sports participation not just for the general population but specific to PWD (e.g., Rimmer and Braddock 2002; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2000). Despite the plethora of evidence that exists supporting the positives associated with engaging in physical activity, adults with disabilities are twice as likely to be physically inactive (41%) than their peers without a disability (Sport England 2020). PWD who are inactive are 50% more likely to experience a chronic disease such as heart disease, cancer, or diabetes, than their active counterpart with a comparable disability as a result (CDC 2014). With respect to sports participation, the legacy goals of the Rio 2016 Organising Committee were as per previous games to facilitate and improve sporting opportunities for PWD in the host city and country (Rio 2016). This potential increase in sports participation is an imperative goal for the event, as sports participation can act as a tool to alleviate social exclusion of some minority groups, as well as helping improve physical and mental health.

However, alongside the benefit mentally and physically, of being physically active for the population, governments are increasingly promoting an increase in physical activity in order to alleviate some of the stress on the national health services by attempting to stem the development of preventable diseases (Allen 2015). Worryingly, with respect to PWD in the

UK, being seen as physically active has resulted in PWD' benefits being cut (Activity Alliance 2018).

A growth in the popularity of para-sports and increase in PWD becoming actively involved in para-sports, is consistently one of the major legacy goals of the Paralympic Games and the IPC (IPC 2019, 2010). This legacy goal is linked to another of the IPC legacy goals, that of improving social inclusion; as involvement in sport provides an opportunity for PWD to socialise with other PWD and Pw/oD. Prior to the London 2012 Games, Sport England was said to be conducting a consultation with disabled people and the people who support them on how an investment of £8m of lottery funding could best be targeted to help increase participation. (Government Olympic Executive 2011). However, in the UK, contrary to these goals, Coles (2018) identified a 10% drop in PWD taking part in physical activity and sport since the end of London 2012. The findings of this study corroborate this viewpoint, as they demonstrate that PWD have not become more inspired to get involved in sports as a result of the event, nor have they overtly noticed (those previously involved in para-sport) an increase in the popularity of para-sports caused by the games. As 'interest in sport' was not a selection criterion for this study, many participants expressed their disinterest in sport, and were unaware of facts around para-sport development as it did not pertain to their lived experiences. Thus, for PWD, Paralympic Games fail to place sufficient emphasis on the importance of being physically active (e.g., reducing the risk of chronic disease and preservation of health and function (Blair and Morris 2009)). In addition to the physiological benefits, participation in sport and physical activity allows for increased self-esteem and self-efficacy (Martin 2013) which can influence independence, and increase social interaction and participation in the lived experiences of PWD, thus increasing the potential for social inclusion.

Inability of sport events to facilitate change

Furthermore, findings of this study also identify the perceptions of some participants with regards to the lack of ability of such an event to make any changes in the everyday lives of PWD and how they can in fact create internalised ableism. When the IPC develops their legacy goals, there is an evident lack of consideration of the presence of ableism in society and how the event has the potential to create a greater divide between athlete PWD (those at the heart of the Paralympic Games) and non-athlete PWD (McGillivray, McPherson and Misener 2017). This divide is continuing to increase as the IPC moves towards an elite sporting model (Brittain and Beacom 2018). This factor was a notable finding in the interviews, as participants in both sites expressed the belief that athletes with disabilities are viewed in a more positive light, and experience greater opportunities due to their athleticism in comparison with non-athlete PWD. Linked to the legacy goal of sport participation, the findings illustrate the negative developments in society that are working to counteract this goal.

In both UK and Brazilian societies, from the perspective of the participants, there appears to be an imbalance in what is expected from PWD; whether they take part in physical activity or not, with the goal of all PWD assumed to be wanting to reach elite athlete status. This unnecessary pressure, based on society's expectations was highlighted by a number of participants including P1CA (Chapter 6, page 217). In the context of these findings it is imperative to consider the wider impact of para-sports mega-events. Although the IPC claims to improve the lives of all PWD through para-sports (as already highlighted), their continued development towards the Olympic model is increasingly polarising PWD who take part in the Paralympic Games and PWD who do not. Contrary to the legacy goals outlined by the IPC prior to a Paralympic Games, evidence to support this aspiration of increased sport participation is not observable in the findings of this study. This wider impact must be considered by those who develop future events and legacy goals as ‘Sports mega-events do not take place in a vacuum.’ (Brittain and Beacom 2016: 29).

Sport participation and austerity

Specific to the UK, significant economic and austerity measures came into play after London 2012, especially benefit cuts which pointedly affected PWD and were discussed in a negative manner by many participants. These austerity measures have particularly impacted sports participation due to the so-called ‘Activity Trap’ (Activity Alliance 2018). Activity Trap is a term coined by the UK’s Activity Alliance (2018) that refers to the fear among PWD of being perceived as being too active, and the potential negative impact upon their benefit payments. This fear is also illuminated in this study’s findings and corroborates a study by Dwarf Sports UK (Activity Alliance 2018), which shows that almost half of PWD fear that, by being active, or admission of same, they may lose their disability benefits. Such anxiety and fear resulting from austerity measures that stimulate aversion to physical activity, is a violation of the fundamental right of PWD to be active, which can influence lived experience (Lord and Patterson 2008). Moreover, there is a disconnect between the sporting event’ core legacy goal of increasing sports participation, and the actions of local government. Although the event is supported by government for the duration, if this legacy goal is successful, PWD taking part in physical activity and sport for recreational and health purposes puts them at risk of losing their benefits. This was detailed by P8L who expressed his frustration when he said that he is:

> *“So wary of the fact that these people try catch you out wherever the fuck they can” (P8L, wheelchair user)*

The lack of governmental support is a factor in the development and continuation of legacy. Without government support, it is difficult for changes to remain. For example, at the time of the Games and in the ensuing years, Brazil experienced its worst recession in decades (Farand 2017). This recession led to cuts in many areas of life for all citizens of Brazil and was especially detrimental to the upkeep and promised outcomes of event spaces.

Legacy for Paralympians

Meanwhile, it is important to consider what legacy transpires for Paralympians within the events. The majority of Paralympians have not spoken out publicly about any drawbacks associated with the event itself, or of its impact on the general population with disabilities; with a small number of exceptions over the years such as Paralympian Anne Wafula Strike who spoke out in the media after being forced to wet herself on a train without an accessible toilet (Taylor 2017). This exposure through mainstream media brought the issue of inaccessible transport to the masses and showcases how, if high profile Paralympians speak out about issues faced in lived experience it may continue to force the public to take notice. More recently, Moore (2019) draws upon a recent interview with Paralympian Hannah Cockroft who expressed her frustrations when she said:

> *'I've met so many disabled people since London 2012 who have said, 'I want to get involved with sport, but when I'm pushing down the street, everyone asks, why are you not on the track against Dave Weir or Jonnie Peacock or whoever?' Suddenly we got labelled the 'super humans', during London – but it wasn't just the Paralympians who got labelled, it was disabled people in general.' (Cockroft 2019)*

This quote aligns with the findings of this study, as participants expressed their frustrations at assumptions by Pw/oD that they are automatically interested in sport and all aspire to be elite athletes despite their impairment, in line with the supercrip stereotype (Silva and Howe 2012), which is not the case for all PWD. However, Cockcroft's sentiments also express that the frustrations associated with 'superhuman' and 'supercrip' narratives can also apply to elite athletes who continue to struggle and face barriers in other areas of life[6]. As the supercrip narrative encompasses empowerment in everyday life, not just sport (Silva and Howe 2012) it impacts all aspects of life for an entire population. In this interview, there was an accompanying video in which Cockroft expressed her ongoing experience of barriers to access in her objective space, showing that although portrayed as 'superhuman', Paralympians like her, often face many of the same barriers and issues in their lived experience (as a non-athlete PWD), away from sport. Therefore, with a continuing drop in the number of PWD taking part in sport, and participants expressing a lack of motivation due to economic and political issues, as well as social expectations there is a lot needed to improve this legacy goal.

Alongside social, economic and political issues in host countries that emerged from the data was access to employment for PWD in host countries and cities. Employment as a form of social inclusion was an area of discussion with many participants, as presented in the next section.

7.3.4 Mixed Perceptions and Experience of Employment for PWD

The emergence of employment as an integral area of lived experience for PWD unravelled the multiple complex factors that interact to create this experience. Although not initially an area identified by the researcher, due to omission of explicit reference to the term 'employment' in the legacy goals of the Paralympic Games, it can be argued that employment as a legacy

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[6] Cockroft was cast in the Channel 4 adverts for both London 2012 'Meet the Superhumans' and Rio 2016 'We're the Superhumans'.

goal is encompassed in increased social inclusion as a result of the event. Indeed, employment for PWD is an area regularly highlighted within disability studies (Jones and Schmidt 2004; Miller and Dishon 2006; Mizunoya and Mitra 2013; Scheid 2005); however, PWD are reported as facing higher levels of prejudice when searching for employment (England 2003), which reflects a long history of social exclusion. The findings of this study uncovered the importance that PWD place on employment, and the varying difficulties faced by PWD in securing and maintaining employment.

Although not an explicit legacy goal of the event itself, the IPC in collaboration with United Nations Human Rights Office (IPC 2018) released a campaign based on employment as a legacy of the London 2012 Paralympic Games titled “Transforming Lives Makes Sense for Everyone”. This campaign discussed the improvement in opportunities for employment of PWD as a legacy of the event (IPC 2018); focusing on companies as missing out by perhaps excluding PWD. If it is being reported and regarded as a legacy by the governing body, there is a need for greater awareness and incorporation of employment as a legacy goal.

The majority of participants in this study, when asked about legacy, expected improved employment opportunities and experiences post-event. Positive experiences of employment can influence: social integration and inclusion (Barnes and Mercer 2005); improved status, power and economic independence (Ross and Mirowsky 1995); and poverty alleviation (Smith and Twomey 2002). Thus, when positive experiences of employment are not felt, conflicting negative experiences such as social exclusion, and decreased power and independence, result. A potential alleviator of this social exclusion is paid employment, which is frequently regarded as the first route out of poverty (England 2003). Access to employment is especially important due to the increased living costs of PWD, meaning that PWD are most at risk of experiencing poverty (Palmer 2011).

The findings of this study revealed greater imbalance in power between employers and PWD, than employers and Pw/oD. Within the UK, the majority of participants were in employment (full- or part-time, some self-employed), whereas, in Brazil, the majority of participants were unemployed and detailed their struggle to enter the workforce. However, when consolidating the findings from both research sites, the employment discussion was overwhelmingly negative and frustrating for both sets of participants, even those currently in employment (their discussion was based on previous experiences as opposed to current employment). Therefore, issues with employment can be associated with many factors that will now be discussed.

Disability Quotas

Quotas have long been developed and enacted into law by governments in many countries worldwide, as a method to address the issue of employability for PWD (Greve 2009). Sargeant, Radevich-Katsaroumpa and Innesti (2018) define quota as 'an obligation to employ a specific number or proportion of persons of a particular group and is traditionally examined within the concept of affirmative action' (407). That is, by law, PWD must represent a certain proportion of the workforce, which can lead to greater confidence in PWD in respect to applying for jobs. Employment quotas have at one time or another, been implemented in both Brazil and the UK.

In the UK, quotas were initially instigated in order to ensure employability for disabled servicemen, but were abandoned in the 1990s due to declining adherence and an increase in companies finding ways to avoid penalties (Sargeant, Radevich-Katsaroumpa and Innesti 2018). As a result of the non-compliance of companies, the UK replaced the failing quotas with policies, such as employment-based programmes; also regarded as unsuccessful due to the policies' inability to improve inclusion; and in fact, were seen as reinforcing or exacerbating social exclusion as opposed to their goals of facilitating social inclusion (Barnes and Mercer 2005). Therefore, currently, the only basis to aid PWD entering into employment in the UK is the Equality Act 2010, which aims to prevent prejudice through anti-discrimination law in all aspects of life, and encompasses all people who may face discrimination.

From the perspective of participants in Brazil, law-enforced quotas, first introduced in 1991 stating that companies with over 100 employees were required to allocate 2-5% of their jobs to PWD (Neves-Silva et al. 2015), were recognised and discussed based on their failure to date. Brazilian participants were acutely aware of the extant quotas in place to aid their endeavour in gaining employment, but expressed scepticism and disappointment in these quotas to date. Many interviewees believed employers would rather pay a fine than adhere to the quota or place PWD in menial low-paid jobs away from the company in order to meet the quota and avoid a fine, rather than attempting to hire PWD based on their skill sets. This scepticism corroborates the work of Sargeant, Radevich-Katsaroumpa and Innesti (2018), and Stull (2014), in which the efficiency and applicability of quotas in today's society are discussed and questioned. Taken together, the findings of this study, along with prior research on employability of PWD, accentuates the failure of quotas to achieve their intended outcome, and as predicted, their ability to exacerbate exclusion.

Quotas can lead to evident power imbalances in experiences of employment for PWD as apparent from these findings, whereby employers without disabilities decree whether or not PWD align with their needs. The findings of this study display ableist ideals and behaviours, which remain prominent in the jobs market. Many discussed the unwillingness of companies to adjust and make allowances for PWD in their facilities' physical environments, resulting in exclusion in line with England (2013). These findings support a 2012 report by the UK Equality and Human Rights Commission (Adams and Oldfield), which identified a failure in PWD receiving reasonable accommodation and the fear by PWD of requesting allowances due to being perceived as different, or unable to cope with extant conditions. There is a perceived ease from the perspective of PWD, in employing Pw/oD with the same education or qualifications as opposed to PWD, as discussed by many interviewees as an enraging factor in their employment experiences.

Furthermore, from the lived experience of PWD with respect to employment, the subtle as well as outright obvious effects of ableism, were evident when applying for jobs or attending job interviews. This finding aligns with current research, as ableism is increasingly utilised by researchers when discussing PWD access to employment (see: England 2003; Jammaers 2016; Harpur 2009; Mik-Meyer 2016). The need for accessibility adaptations is perceived by PWD as a factor that they believe prevents employers offering employment to PWD (Houtenville and Kalargyrou 2012). Study findings show that PWD do indeed regard employer unwillingness to adapt physical space as a barrier to employment, and a cause of social exclusion, even though 80% of PWD would in fact not require any adjustments to be made (Food Manufacture 2010).

Taken together, these findings provide insight into the importance assigned to employment for PWD, and calls for improved access in this area in order to contribute to enhanced feelings of inclusion in the lived experiences of PWD. Although the word ‘employment’ does not appear in the legacy goals released by the IPC prior to the Paralympic Games, as previously suggested, it can be argued that it would be encompassed by the opportunities in the social inclusion legacy goal (IPC 2015). Although not mentioned explicitly in the legacy goals set prior to a Paralympic Games, employment has been claimed by the IPC (London 2012 and Rio 2016) and UK Government, as emerging as a positive legacy of both events (Field 2019; IPC 2018, 2019).

Claims of employment legacy

By the IPC making claims of employment improvements for all PWD, it is essential to consider this area from the perspective of PWD; for example, the UK government claim that 1 million more PWD are now in employment since 2012, and this legacy claim is supported by an article published by the IPC (2018), recognising the event for its role in this so-called improvement. However, this claim is over-simplified, and fails to recognise the complexities of disabilities by discussing all impairment groups as one, and fails to acknowledge the meaning of employment specific to each country; in the UK, employment is currently 'persons employed, at work —i.e. who worked for at least one hour for pay or profit in the short reference period.' (ILO 2019). With the current NLW for adults over 25 years old as of January 2020 £8.21 (GOV.UK 2019), it is incomprehensible to deduce from these figures that PWD can have seen an improvement in living conditions and social inclusion as a result of increased 'employment', especially when current austerity measures (previously touched upon) are considered.

Similarly, in Brazil, the IPC (2019) has claimed post-event that Rio de Janeiro specifically has experienced a 49% increase in the number of PWD employed as a legacy of Rio 2016. Again, this claim omitted context, and is thus, misleading, as the majority of PWD in this study have expressed continued struggle in securing employment. When the author did further research in the public domain to put this improvement into context, it was deduced that a 49% increase of PWD in employment brings the total percentage of employed PWD of working age to 1.04% of the population with a disability, when compared to 2013 figures (Guimarães, Martins and Junior 2015). Therefore, when taken in context, it is clear that claims made post-event intend to support and present the event as positive for the population, as one would expect using government metrics as justification. However, the omission of key facts can lead to PWD questioning their inability to secure employment, negatively impact their self-esteem in job hunting, and potentially culminate in social exclusion.

Hence, while these findings do not contest that it is possible for PWD to be employed (as many of the participants in this study are), I posit that, for the most part, PWD experience negative connotations with job hunting due to an ableist-based jobs market with prejudice based on long-standing myths and stereotypes. These imbalances between lived experiences of PWD and legacy claims with respect to employment, find an area of discord, and thus identify an area of greater consideration for future events.

Equally, with disseminated reports post-event expressing in a positive light how PWD are currently living, when contrasted with the actual lived experience of participants, can have a negative effect on how PWD view themselves. Conversely, positive experiences of an event can be compared to the benefits of positive experiences of successful PA (physical activity) experiences such as enhanced self-perceptions, ranging from global self-esteem to more discrete and specific competence and self-efficacy judgements (Martin 2013).

7.3.5 Summary of Inclusion/Exclusion in Objective Space

Overall, it appears from the multiple dimensions of objective space discussed above, that the general experience of the majority of participants in both the UK and Brazil was negative. Although during the event there was reference to increased inclusion in some aspects of objective space, these failed to remain post-event and have ultimately culminated in a legacy of exclusion for the majority of participants in this study. This exclusion was evidently underpinned by ableism in its shortcomings to create a lasting legacy in each research site.

7.4 PWD Mixed Experiences of Inclusion/Exclusion in Subjective Space

In sum; the findings of this study unravel the mixed experiences of inclusion/exclusion by participants across two dimensions of their subjective space, namely; media representation and attitudes. As a result of the event the IPC legacy goals aspired to attitude changes towards and by PWD (IPC 2010), as well as improved social integration of PWD enhanced by media representation of PWD; for example, due to resulting imagined group contact (Crisp and Turner 2009). The findings of this study suggest that attitudes towards and by PWD temporarily altered (as opposed to changed) during the event, but regressed post-event to pre-event levels in both research sites. Similarly, in both research sites the media representation of PWD was perceived for the most part as focusing on athletes with disabilities as opposed to non-athlete PWD, feeding into and perpetuating the 'supercrip' stereotype (Silva and Howe 2012). For some athletes with disabilities, such as former Team GB Paralympian David Weir, being regarded as 'superhuman' may be empowering. After his London 2012 success Weir (2012) was quoted in an interview as saying 'People just want to see athletes performing at their very best. We're superhumans and phenomenal athletes', showcasing his belief that the term can be used positively in context. However, in general, the 'supercrip' stereotype has not been regarded as working to the advantage of all PWD (Hartnett 2000). The following sections will feature discussions of key areas of para-sport related subjective space based on the findings and supported by relevant extant literature.

7.4.1 Media (Mis)Representation

This study's findings identified media representation as an area of contention for participants in both research sites. This was due to the prominent focus on athletes with disabilities versus non-athlete PWD, predominantly informed and developed in line with ableist perspectives as perceived by the study's participants. An evident lack of understanding surrounding disability by those in power in the media, has left a gap in the media, with sensationalist visibility of athletes in the media leading to discrepancies in the lived experience of athletes and non-athletes with disabilities. Examples in this study addressed how representation aligned with sensationalism and tokenism, which were regarded as regularly present and often problematic for PWD (Zoller and Worrell 2006) when the event ends and everyday life resumes. Although the term ‘supercrip’ was not present in the interviews, when participants discussed media representation, there was reference to the assumption that all PWD surely aspire to be elite athletes and compete in the games and equally that all impairment groups have the capacity to become elite athletes in line with the ‘supercrip’ narrative (Silva and Howe 2012). These widely disseminated stereotypes surrounding the event can negatively impact the self-esteem of non-athletes who do not view their achievements as overcoming their disability (Martin 2010), due to the general population consuming the images presented and then developing expectations.

The importance of media representation for para-sport events is continuously growing, due to its ability to reach people worldwide (McPherson et al. 2016). This reach allows for widespread education and information regarding disability to be disseminated on a large scale, as well as provide sporting enjoyment (McGillivray et al. 2019). Brittain (2004) demonstrated in his work that media representation is often fleeting around the event and is regarded as dying off within three weeks of the event ending. Brittain’s (2004) study is corroborated by the findings of this study, as, in both research sites, many participants identified that media representation (predominantly featuring athletes with disabilities) was most prevalent in the run up to, and during the games and was regarded as disappearing post event.

Although in recent years there has been a rise in research considering the issue of media representation of minority groups such as PWD (Burns 2016; Haller and Zhang 2013; Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019; McGillivray et al. 2019), this field of research is relatively recent, and thus my findings indicate a necessity for extant research to be expanded and incorporated by future organising committees, to ensure that true to life representation remains post-event. The opinions of participants in this study corroborate the findings of Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis (2019) and McPherson et al. (2016) in which they identified a need for greater consideration of how the media presents and represents PWD due to misalignment with current representation and lived experience. Specific to the London 2012 Paralympic Games, Carew, Noor and Burns (2019) examined the impact of exposure to media coverage of Paralympic Games on how Pw/oD interact with PWD. Their study is the first of its kind to examine media representation (as a form of imagined intergroup contact) and exposure on intergroup contact. However, although the study supports the importance of media representation on contact, Carew et al. (2019) identified that the media coverage in their study focused on the athleticism and capabilities of athletes with disabilities, which is consistent with this study's findings; with extant representation not illustrative of the experience of all PWD. Accordingly, participants consider visibility of PWD and the types of representation (e.g. superhuman) in the media as non-representative of all PWD. This leads to the question of who is responsible for the development of these representations?

For those employed within the media, there is an evident lack of awareness of the power the media harnesses, and a lack of understanding (Brittain 2004) of the potential impact that media can have on the lived experience of PWD. There is currently an omission of PWD by those in positions of power within the media due to a lack of awareness with regard to the influence the media holds, in perpetuation and creation of unattainable ableist-informed stereotypes related to minority groups such as PWD, thus exacerbating exclusion in the area. There is an unquestionable gap exposed by participants in my findings calling for an increase in true-life experiences represented in the media. The ‘superhuman’ or ‘supercrip’ (Silva and Howe 2012) narrative was perceived by UK participants in this study as detrimental to their lived experience. While in Brazil, the ‘superhuman’ stereotype, although not well known by this term, is still present and alluded to when the media is discussed by participants in this research, but without an explicit title. The awareness and negative view of the ‘Superhuman’ stereotype across both research sites identified the disagreement in disability representation and an evident lack of input into the disability narrative from PWD.

In contrast to selling their event in such a spectacular way, in order to achieve their legacy aims, the IPC need to ensure that broadcasting does not further ostracise the population whose lived experience they are apparently endeavouring to improve. In order to achieve this, there is a need for the governing body (IPC) and the organising committee of the host city to engage with these actors prior to, during and post event, to prevent past issues of misrepresentation continuing. This will require the IPC and organising committees to work alongside written and photographic press, sponsors and broadcasters etc., to ensure well-informed representation across public and commercial media platforms. Although the IPC have a digital media guidelines document for accredited media attending the event (IPC 2020), more is needed for wider consistency across media channels linked to the Games.

Similar to experiences within the objective space, within media representation there was an evident hierarchy of disability present, based upon a continuum of athlete versus non-athlete, as well as impairment groups. This research supports the argument made by Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis (2019), showcasing the hierarchy of disability as evident in the media and therefore, the media not being truly reflective of the lived experience of all PWD.

Overall, media representation of PWD is found by participants to increase in the run up to and during an event, alongside increased marketing of the event. However, cessation of the event is found to align with cessation of representation of PWD in mainstream media. This inclusion of disability within the media during and post event, must also consider the presence of misrepresentation often associated with para-sport events (McGillivray et al. 2019), as not all representation is inherently positive for the overall lived experience of PWD. In order to greater inform the overall subjective space, it is also essential to consider how attitudes have been impacted by the event with respect to the occurrence of inclusion/exclusion in the event space and wider society.

7.4.2 Attitude Regression Post-Event

Attitude change has consistently been one of the key legacy areas identified by the IPC prior to their events (IPC 2010, 2015). The IPC claim they are 'the world's number one sporting event for transforming society's attitudes towards impairment.' (IPC 2015). This change in attitude as a legacy was also central to the Rio 2016 Games, with the Organising Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games emphasising this in their pre-Games public sustainability report (2014) whereby they claimed that 'transforming society's perceptions of people with an impairments is, our biggest mission and most important legacy.'

Analysis of this study revealed that many participants felt there were some differences between the attitudes of Pw/oD towards PWD pre-event, during the event, and post-event. In addition, the findings show that the event taking place makes a short-term impact on improving PWD perceptions of Pw/oD attitudes towards them, with the omission of longevity.

With these short-term improved attitudes, potential is created for PWD to experience improved inclusion in society during the event itself. Nevertheless, it is important to note that short-term exposure that can enhance attitudes towards inclusion is generally only maintained for short periods of time (e.g., one week of exposure was shown to enhance inclusion and attitudes for up to one-month post event (Li and Wang 2013)). Improved experiences of attitudes can act as a catalyst, making PWD more likely to seek out opportunities to interact in society with varying impairment groups, as well as with Pw/oD. When PWD experience more positive attitudes, and perceive themselves as included, this can lead to implications in other areas of life and improved inclusion in areas such as education, employment and social activities, which negative attitudes often prevent (Scior and Werner 2015).

Ableist-informed attitudes which Campbell (2008) describes as deeply embedded in today's society, can potentially be altered during the event due to seeing athletes with disabilities achieving to a high level, and undertaking an activity predominantly seen as ‘able-bodied’ by many in society. However, the findings of this study uncovered that attitude change that occurs in individuals with subliminal ableist attitudes are, for the most part, informed by a misrepresented experience of disability. In turn, the resulting attitude change cannot be expected to incorporate all PWD. Following the event this study identifies a reversion to reduced interaction, and previous attitudes re-emerge in society (as per Li and Wang 2013). As highlighted in this study, a number of UK participants expressed polarising experiences when they considered the attitudes of Pw/oD in contact with PWD. This finding supports the view of other PWD in the UK outside of this study such as Bridewell (2013), who post-London 2012 wrote a blog post discussing how PWD stuck between two polarising and extreme stereotypes can prove difficult, as when the public see PWD in their ordinary lived experience, it does not reflect what the public experienced during the event or meet the expectations the event creates; as a result potentially, negatively impacting attitudes and possibly resulting in social exclusion.

Results of this study contest the claims of the UK Government, who stated that London 2012 improved attitudes of Pw/oD towards PWD and as such has provided opportunities for PWD to experience enhanced inclusion in society (DCMS 2013). However, the government's study was found to omit the voices of PWD, with Pw/oD self-reporting improved attitudes as opposed to PWD experiencing it. On the other hand, in support of this study's findings, disability charity Scope (2013) conducted a survey which found that, in fact, 81% of PWD surveyed have not experienced improvement of attitude towards disability since London 2012. Furthermore, I would argue that these findings showcase a gap in the continuation of improved positive attitudes that were evident during the event, to remain post-event. The same thing was identified by participants in Brazil, who described a short-term change, showing that the goal of attitude change failed to materialise across both research sites.

Although offering a more positive view of attitudes during the event, the findings also demonstrate that once the event has ended, this positive interaction does not continue to be evident, or improve, but in fact, often reverts to previous negative experiences and continued social exclusion of PWD. That is, while intergroup contact has in some cases been shown to improve attitudes and reduce prejudice, it has also been regarded as potentially undermining social change (MacInnis and Hodson 2019) as is evident in these findings. Several possible explanations exist that can provide insight into this finding. The most pertinent potential justifications will now be discussed in line with relevant supporting findings and literature.

The role of intergroup contact

Firstly, intergroup contact (Allport 1954) has the potential to be both a positive and a negative when it comes to attitudes of Pw/oD towards PWD. How intergroup contact influences attitudes is determined by several factors, including, quality of contact, quantity of contact, and the willingness of group members engaged in the contact (Pettigrew and Tropp 2008).

Quantity of contact has been found to predict more favourable attitudes towards the out-group; in this case, PWD (Brown et al. 2007). However, as a Paralympic Games takes place over a roughly two-week time period, this only provides short-term contact, which may not be long enough to instil long-term changes as demonstrated by my findings and in line with the previous findings of Li and Wang (2013). The short-term contact is a potential indicator of the failure of the event to change attitudes as quantity of contact is found to predict attitudes (Brown et al. 2007). Similarly, imagined group contact (Crisp and Turner 2009) does not exist for long enough to positively impact attitude change, as hypothesised by the researchers who developed the theory.

The quality of contact is another critical factor upon attitude development, in which, quality of contact is regarded as more beneficial when the outgroup member is seen as ‘typical’. Due to how PWD are portrayed in the media, and viewing athletes in the event with disabilities as opposed to ‘typical’ PWD, I argue that this study’s findings infer that the event can cause Pw/oD to regard athletes with disabilities and the ‘superhuman’ stereotype as the ‘typical’ and expected, as opposed to the regular lived experience of all PWD. In sum, the findings showcase a clear lack of understanding by Pw/oD around the complexity of disability. Therefore, the short bursts of intergroup contact with athletes with disabilities as opposed to regular PWD, does not translate to lived experience as highlighted in my findings.

Hence, while it is not contested that intergroup contact can and does in some cases lead to reductions in prejudice experienced by PWD, as hypothesised by Allport (1954), I posit that in fact the intergroup contact of a Paralympic Games does not meet the criteria required to cause prejudice reduction with the reasoning now explained. In relation to reducing prejudice, Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) have previously identified key impacts of ICT such as; reduction in intergroup anxiety, increased empathy towards the out-group (i.e. PWD), and a greater knowledge base surrounding the outgroup. However, when the intergroup contact is with athletes with disabilities, the lived experiences of regular PWD is not prevalent, and as such, the knowledge increase, anxiety decrease, and increased empathy does not automatically translate to non-athlete PWD. For example, the findings of this study show that regular PWD experience awkwardness from Pw/oD, which manifests as avoidance of interactions with PWD due to a fear of being perceived as politically incorrect as highlighted by P3L (wheelchair user) when she stated:

> *'Even though I noticed that people are more willing to talk to me, people are more scared definitely to say the wrong thing […] political correctness"* (P3L, wheelchair user)

This finding aligns with the work of Carew et al. (2019) in which attitudes were found to be influenced by fear of insulting people, or embarrassment on both sides. Therefore, it is possible that once the Games end, a major talking point fades and which can lead to reduced interactions.

PWD as a single group

The overall consideration of PWD as one group is in itself limiting, as differing impairment groups face different challenges. As such, similar to other aspects of space, the hierarchy of disability (Thomas 2000; Tringo 1970) appears to play a role in attitudes towards PWD. The UK findings highlight that PWD internalise this hierarchy and demonstrate internalised ableism (Campbell 2009), by wishing to be seen as separate and not regarded in the same way as other impairment groups. However, this was not applicable for all PWD, with some participants expressing the development of a kinship post-event and improved attitudes towards other PWD. Taken together, my findings express the complex, and at times contradictory experiences of PWD, with respect to how attitude changes have impacted on inclusion and exclusion in society, whether self-inflicted exclusion or triggered by others. In line with other aspects of space, it appears that wheelchair users are, once again viewed as almost separate to all other impairment groups and the most accepted impairment group in society. Notably, this finding aligns with the work of Deal (2003) as highlighted by the non-wheelchair user participants in my study, with wheelchair users regarded as having the least social disapproval, and most accepted by society in general. This finding was continually evident through the voices of participants in this study, particularly with respect to those in the UK.

Increasingly, in line with the embarrassment and taboo around disability, an issue within Brazil that has remained post-event is the increased institutionalisation of PWD, due to a lack of facilities and a lack of support for families and individuals with disabilities to live independently, as outlined in a new report by Human Rights Watch (2018), an international non-governmental organization. A recently released report on Brazil looking at research and advocacy on human rights titled: "'They Stay until They Die': A Lifetime of Isolation and Neglect in Institutions for People with Disabilities in Brazil" (Human Rights Watch 2018) showed a continued disregard for basic respect and independence of PWD, evident in a country (Brazil) that has hosted the Paralympic Games. With increased social inclusion and improved attitudes as a central legacy expectation, this report highlights the failure of the event to produce long term achievement of legacy goals. In fact, Brazil has seemingly achieved the opposite and exacerbated social exclusion as a result. Organisers of para-sport events need to consider the pressure that such legacy goals put on the family. Increased social inclusion and sports participation can lead to a need for more effort and financial burden on families of PWD; in turn, a barrier faced by PWD in accessing sport participation is a lack of support from their family (Santiago and Coyle 2004). In some cases, participants discussed how their parents are supportive and encourage them to go out and thrive in society independently with support at home. While for others, they prefer to hide their family members with disabilities treating them like children and taking care of them as if terminally ill and unable to function independently in society (see Table 26, page 221).

Overall, attitudes post-event discussed in this study are regarded as having negatively affected lived experience due to the exacerbated experience of exclusion. The short-term changes that occurred during the event, and were discussed by participants while creating temporary enhanced inclusion during the event, in fact exacerbated the exclusion in post event lived reality due to the failure of attitudes to remain changed and positive.

7.4.3 Consideration of Objective and Subjective Spaces Combined

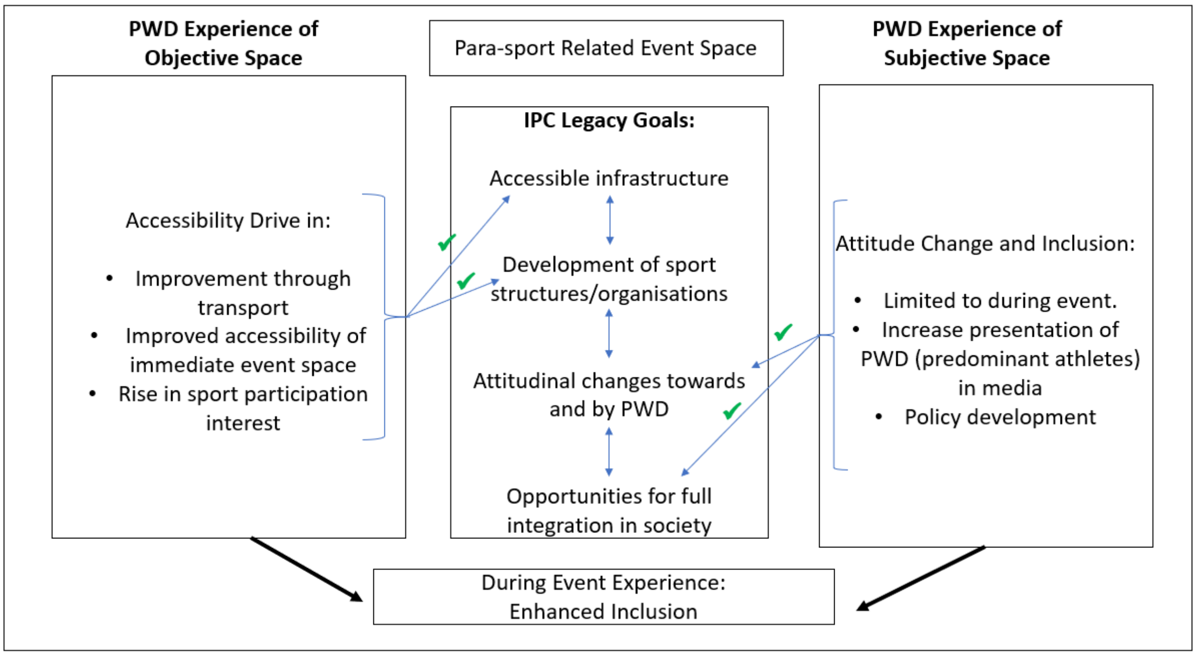
From the discussions above, it is evident that many issues remain in the lived experiences of PWD following a Paralympic Games, categorising legacy as largely unattained despite claims to the contrary. Particularly noteworthy throughout the findings was the constant reference to fleeting or short-term changes as opposed to long-term changes, in almost all aspects of space discussed, with the only exception to this being employment (which was identified by participants as experiencing no changes). Relating to Müller's (2015) 'event fix', the findings of this study strongly posit that this 'event fix' (initially developed to explain short-term development singularly in objective space to allow the event to occur), in fact transcends across spaces and presents itself in the subjective space with ableist informed short-term changes of seeing an increase in representation of athletes with disabilities in the media surrounding the event, but easing off post-event, and short-term changes in attitude change during the event.

As well as the short-term changes, noteworthy in this study was the prominence of the Hierarchy of Disability within a UK context. Ableist mechanisms have impacted upon both objective and subjective space, with hierarchy being one of these. The hierarchy compellingly emerged as a factor across both objective and subjective spaces within the marketplace, leading to perceptions of enhanced inclusion for certain groups, and exacerbated exclusion for others. This hierarchy of disability (Tringo 1970) is in itself present and clearly adhered to by the event, with the Paralympic Games being long established as exclusionary in nature throughout its history.

Furthermore, I posit that the idea of a hierarchy of disability, as well as being used to discuss evident differences between impairment groups, can also be used to identify a distinction between athletes and non-athletes, with athletes with disabilities being more accepted than non-athletes, based upon ability and relating back to ableism.

The updated models to follow integrate the findings with the original conceptual model (Figure 8, page 114) in the context of long-term and short-term legacy. This looks to extend the focus on the lived experience of PWD post-para-sport event to aid in legacy planning and implementation. Figure 10 is refined, based on the empirical findings from the conceptual framework and demonstrates that the event is found to have short-term legacy impacts in both the UK and Brazil, often as the event takes place within the event space. Namely, improved transport links, accessibility of the immediate event space, short-term attitude change and greater representation of athletes with disabilities in the media.

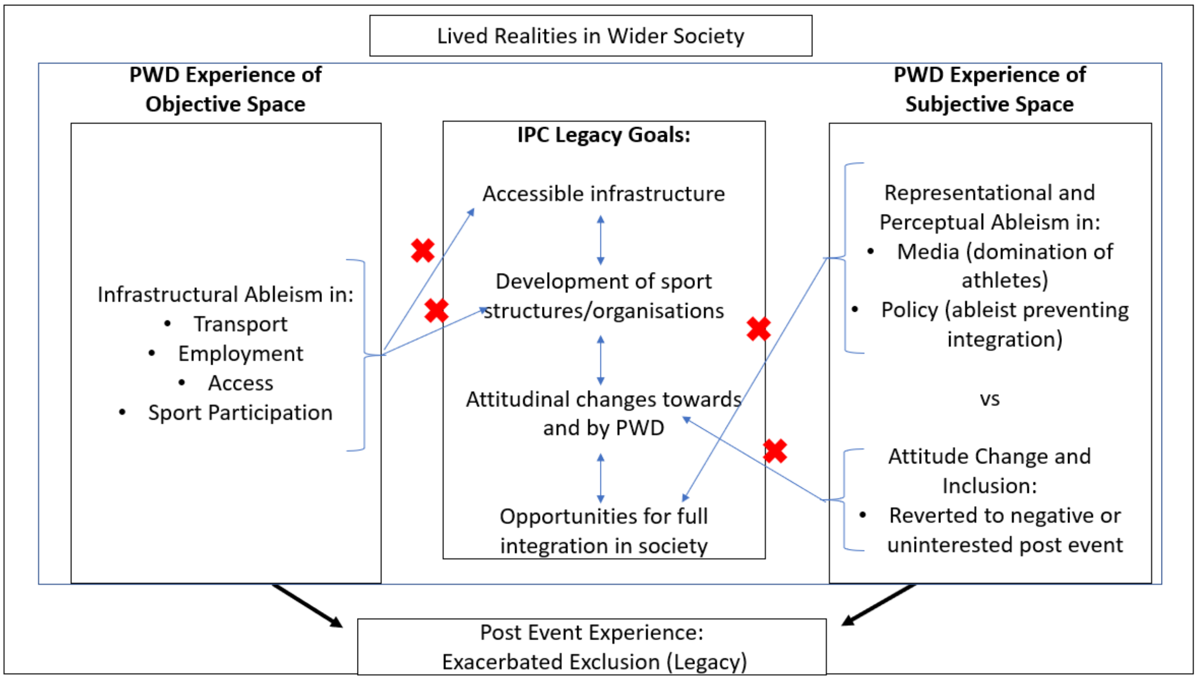
Figure 10. Conceptual Model of PWD Lived Experience in a Para-sport Event with Short-Term Legacy



However, as evident in Figure 11, due to ableism being deeply ingrained in society, the event itself is not enough to create lasting change, as short-term changes struggle to counteract ableism that has long been deeply embedded in the culture (Campbell 2008). Figure 11 presents the results post-event within the wider society.

From Figure 11, it is apparent that long-term legacy for the most part, failed to materialise, with a reversal of positive changes in wider society post-event. When both short- and long-term legacy are considered together, the figures show long-term legacy is questionable. This is consistent with extant literature that identifies short-term changes in line with legacy goals that are contested and disappear post-event (BBC 2014; Brittain and Beacom 2016; Brown 2020).

Figure 11. Conceptual Model of PWD Lived Experience in a Para-sport Event with Long-Term Legacy



Figures 10 and 11 showcase the scope of the event as wider than first assumed. The IPC are both instigators and monitoring bodies of legacy creation. However, their reporting of legacy to date has been selective in metrics to justify the event and perspectives of all stakeholders have not been taken into account.

The original model (Figure 8, page 114, inserted below for clarity) considers other actors and outputs that need to be considered by both organising committees and those engaged with the Paralympic Games (e.g. media broadcasters, sponsors). The final model (Figure 12, page 290) is a refinement of the original conceptual framework and incorporates the findings of this study in order to conceptualise how future events can result in a legacy of enhanced inclusion of PWD in their lived realities that transcends from the event space into post event.

Figure 8. Conceptual Model of PWD Lived Experience in a Para-sport Event (Reproduced for clarity and comparison purposes)

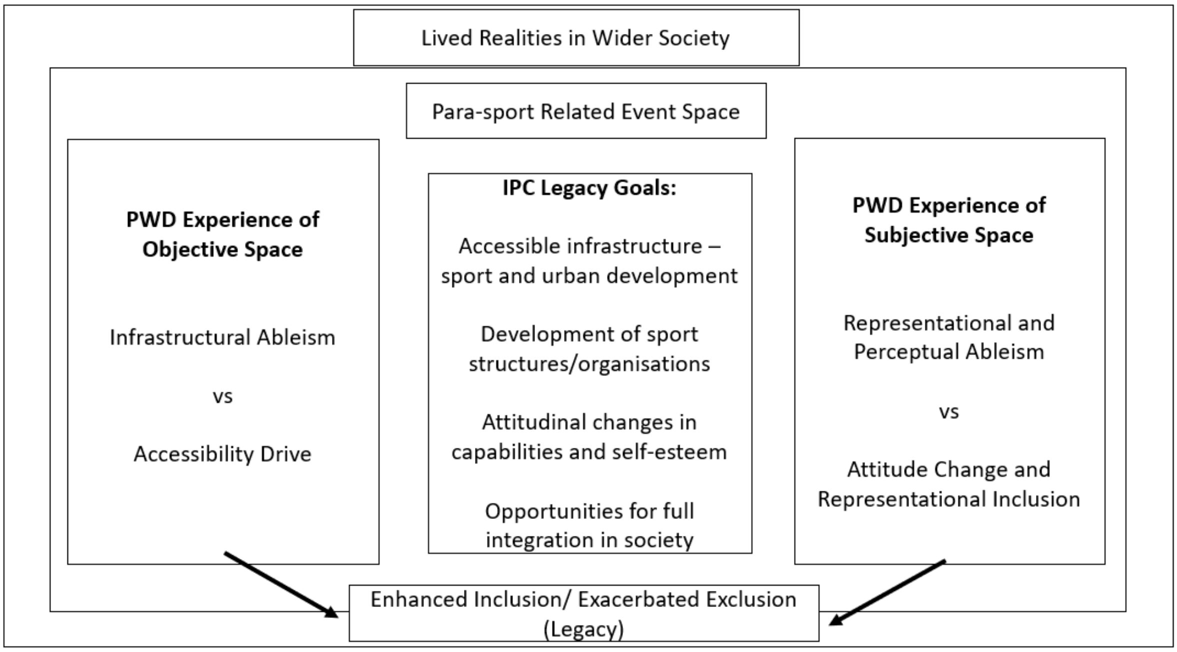
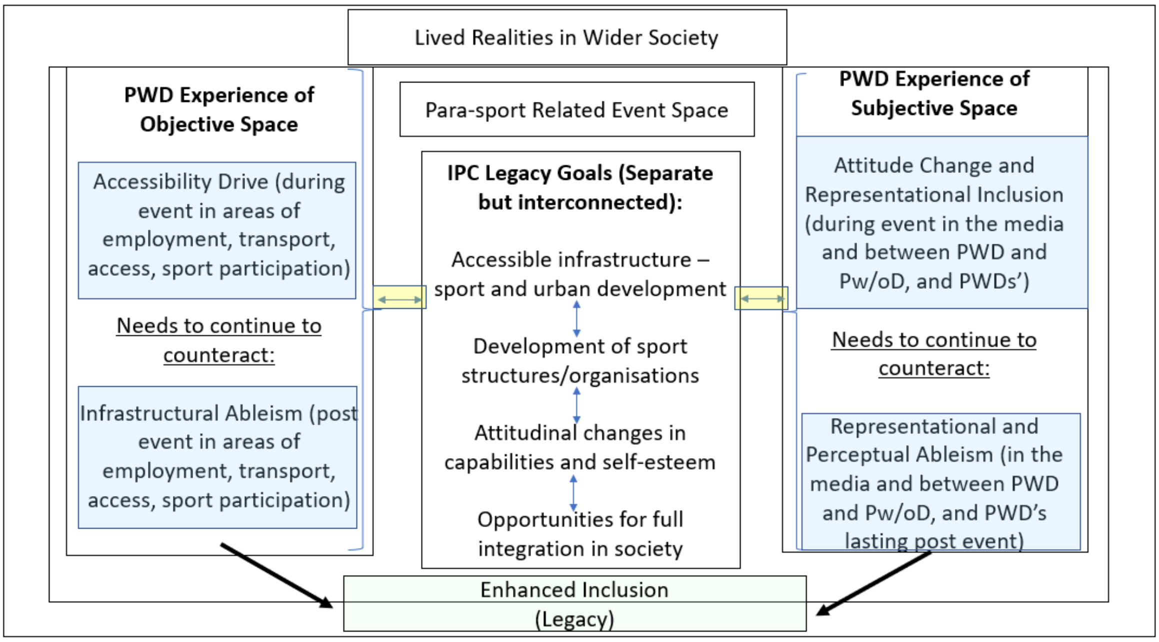


Figure 12. Revised Conceptual Model Informed by Study Findings



As is evident from Figure 12 (page 290) the framework evolved to include the key areas of importance identified by participants in both their objective and subjective spaces. The blue boxes indicate the expansion of each experience within both objective and subjective spaces and the key areas they address. While the original conceptual framework saw the experiences within space as competitive (i.e. ableism **'vs'** inclusion), in the final conceptual model there is awareness of both positives and negatives with a move towards counteracting negative experiences of space by continued engagement with positive experiences in the long term. The conceptual framework now demonstrates that there are two potential experiences of the event and that these were evident in both the pre and post event spaces. However, in order to consider longer term legacy, the areas of spaces and requirements for organising committees and bid countries must be considered. As is portrayed by the arrows in yellow boxes, the IPC legacy goals both affect the experiences of space, and are affected by the experiences of space. Legacy as a whole does not occur in a vacuum; the findings of this study and the subsequent conceptual model show that it is dependent upon interactions with the individual's experience within the space also.

As such, the missing component for legacy building is indicated. Therefore, in order to ensure the achievement of planned legacy, and in turn create enhanced inclusion, the researcher will make recommendations for policy makers in the next chapter (Chapter 8: Conclusion). These are based on the incorporation of the voices of participants to ensure both short-term and long-term legacy are addressed in the planning process.

7.5 Conclusion

Overall, as this study reveals, legacies claimed do not automatically equate to legacies achieved by the event. Evident from the above discussion of this study's findings is that Müller's (2015) event fix is distinguishable across all aspects of space. Although legacy is regarded as a positive buzz term surrounding mega-events, from my findings and discussion I would argue that legacy is not attainable in its current form (i.e., 'Legacy is a planned and unplanned, positive and negative, intangible and tangible structure created through a sport event that remain after the event’ Gratton and Preuss 2008). As such, legacy claims can be regarded as misleading and at times damaging to PWD by exacerbating social exclusion. When discussing legacy during my data collection, there was a consistent lack of understanding of what the term encompassed and meant, which led to repetitive explanation to participants. My findings showcase that, in fact, there is a predominantly negative legacy post-event which is often (deliberately?) overlooked by those who claim legacy. I propose that, in place of the term ‘legacy’, when discussing outcomes from the games they should be referred to as ‘improvements’ or ‘outcomes’. Legacy is misleadingly regarded as inherently positive, and as such when negative outcomes remain, they are not referred to by the term ‘legacy’ or, more worryingly not referred to at all.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapters discussed the prominent findings of this study with respect to both research sites and the legacy of Paralympic Games. Thus, to begin, this final chapter will recap the central research question and summarise the main findings. The chapter will then present the overall achievements of this study, and then present the theoretical and professional contributions. The chapter will conclude with a presentation of limitations and future research directions in the field of lived experience of disability and para-sport legacy.

8.2 Realisation of this study's aims and objectives

The purpose of this study was to develop greater understanding of the lived experience of PWD' inclusion/exclusion linked to para-sport events. As para-sport events continue to grow in popularity (Ekmekci et al. 2013), with growth in terms of size and scale (Dowling and Legg 2017), there is a growing need to consider the impact of the events on the population of host countries. To date, much of the research into the legacy of Paralympic Games has overlooked the voices of non-Paralympian PWD and their experience of the event (Misener et al. 2013). By improving understanding of the lived experience of PWD in host countries, this study endeavoured to connect the experiences and knowledge of PWD with mega-event organising committees and legacy planners. Therefore, the aim of this research was to delve into the lived experiences of PWD post-Paralympic Games from the perspective of inclusion/exclusion in both objective and subjective spaces as a legacy of the Games. To reiterate, the research question posed by the author was:

"How do PWD in the host country evaluate experiences in their lived realities linked to legacies of a Paralympic Games?"

In order to attain this aim, and answer the previously posed research question, four objectives were set; which were as follows:

1. To develop, through a multidisciplinary review of the literature, in-depth insight into how para-sport events impact upon the lived experiences of inclusion/exclusion of PWD in the event space and wider society.
2. To theorise the role of ableism in the marketplace inclusion/exclusion experiences of PWD across both objective and subjective dimensions of event space.
3. To explore the experiences of legacy post-event, from the perspectives of PWD in host countries by means of qualitative empirical studies.
4. To develop a conceptual model that allows future event organisers to consider, anticipate and prevent the reoccurrence of inclusion/exclusion considerations when planning and implementing legacy-creation activities.

Using these objectives to inform the study, a qualitative approach was undertaken, with the purpose of developing understanding of the lived experiences of PWD in host countries of Paralympic Games with respect to legacy of the event. There were two country sites included for research in the study: the UK and Brazil, as the host countries of the last two Paralympic Games. The key findings linked to the research question are summarised below. The study aimed to identify the experiences of PWD with respect to two key aspects of their lived realities: objective and subjective space.

In the Theoretical Background chapter, definitions for the key concepts in this study including; disability, mega-events, lived experience and legacy were discussed. An overview of models of disability led to a decision on the chosen model for this study; namely the biopsychosocial model. The theory of ableism was examined, highlighting its presence in multiple areas of life for PWD and its role linked to the Paralympic Games. Through contrasting the concept of legacy of the Paralympic Games against the concept of lived experience, a gap was identified, whereby PWD' experiences and knowledge as a tool to promote inclusion lacked incorporating in legacy planning, addressing objective 1. Thus, a need for a new legacy planning strategy, one that incorporates PWD' lived experience and knowledge based on past events, was identified.

The Conceptual Framework chapter reviewed the chosen theories for grounding this study, and for conceptualising the lived experience of PWD in the para-sport event space within their wider lived reality, in line with objective 4. Ableism (Wolbring 2011, 2008, 2007, 2006), Socio Spatial Theory (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013), Intergroup Contact Theory (Allport 1954) and Imagined Contact Theory (Crisp and Turner 2012, 2009) interact to form the conceptual framework to study the lived experience of PWD in the context of Paralympic Games legacy. Based on the legacy goals of the Paralympic Games developed by the governing body, the IPC, alongside the previously mentioned theories, a conceptual model was advanced by the researcher. This model guided and facilitated the empirical research in both the UK and Brazilian sites to answer the research question set out in Chapter 1: Introduction.

In the Methodology chapter, the researcher considered and identified the philosophical stance appropriate for this study, namely, an interpretivist philosophy. In line with the chosen philosophical stance a qualitative approach was determined as most suitable. Objective 3 was addressed as empirical research was carried out in two research sites, the UK and Brazil. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants from both countries into the lived experience of PWD and the legacy of the Paralympic Games. The data analysis took a thematic analysis approach, supported by visual data collected by the researcher.

Objective Space Findings chapter presented the findings with respect to: employment, access, transport and growth of para-sports in both research sites, addressing objectives 2 and 3.

From both research sites the responses of participants were predominantly negative with issues in all aspects of objective space identified. The areas in which the issues were identified, such as a lack of accessibility in infrastructure and transport, are promoted by the Paralympic Games organising committee and the IPC as legacy goals and areas whereby PWD can hope to see experience increased inclusion during and post-event. The disconnect between the legacy goals and reported legacy emerged from the analysis has appeared to result in exclusion of PWD in many areas of objective space and increased anxiety in overall lived experience.

For almost all participants in this study, employment (even for those currently in employment) was expressed as an area in need of overhaul due to the prominence of ableism preventing access to employment for many PWD. Transport was regarded as predominantly negative across both research sites. However, both research sites touched on some positive aspects with the VLT in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and trains in the UK, regarded as an improvement. Access was not regarded as improved in either research site by the majority of participants. Sports participation was largely unchanged in both research sites. However, in both research sites, participants acknowledged an increase in the visibility of para-sport during the event.

Subjective Space Findings chapter demonstrated the continued issues surrounding attitudes towards PWD from Pw/oD in both research sites, fulfilling objectives 2 and 3. When attitudes were discussed with participants in both research sites there were mixed experiences. In both research sites there appeared to be a failure in the continuation of any positive connotation with the event. Media representation varied in the research sites. The findings indicated a prevalence of stereotyping in media representation specifically related to the Paralympic

Games, leading to often unrealistic portrayals and expectations of Pw/oD towards the abilities of PWD.

In the Discussion chapter, the findings pertinent to all objectives were considered holistically, concluding that ableist ideals remain prevalent in both research sites with respect to the inclusion of PWD. While the Paralympic Games are predominantly an elite sporting competition, their legacy goals attempt to extend to the everyday lived experience of PWD. These goals were acknowledged by many of the participants, and in turn, created expectations for what they hoped would emerge as a result of hosting the event. These expectations were not met and, as such, exacerbated exclusion was the dominant experience. The IPC and organising committee of future Games must address these shortcomings by connecting with PWD in host countries.

8.3 Theoretical Contributions and Implications

This study's findings (presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6), emphasise the potential for the legacy of para-sport events to improve the overall lived experiences of PWD. While some positive changes identified during the event were seen to facilitate inclusion, overall, the absence of long-term legacy has for the majority, resulted in exclusion. These findings illuminate a number of theoretical implications. Three key theoretical contributions are made in line with the study's research question and objectives. These will be detailed below.

First, in line with objectives 1 and 2, the multidisciplinary approach undertaken in this study contributes insights that can inform future investigations into lived experiences of PWD specific to a para-sport event. This investigation is grounded in the premise of improving the consideration of the needs and expectations of PWD in the planning and execution of para-sport events and their legacy. The first macro theory, ableism (Wolbring 2006; 2007; 2008) has, to date, been utilised as a lens through which many issues have been addressed specific to PWD; such as misrepresentation in advertising (Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019) and marketplace inclusion/exclusion (Baker 2006; Baker, Holland, and Kaufman-Scarborough 2007; Kaufman-Scarborough 2015). This previous utilisation of ableism as an underpinning theory in various research streams highlights its promise as a theoretical lens for examining lived experience of PWD to inform legacy research, since it allows for consideration of one's self and one's experience of self in the event space and wider society (Kearney, Brittain and Kipnis 2019). There are however some shortcomings associated with ableism that must be acknowledged, including; its inability to identify solutions to alleviate ableist behaviour and its pervasiveness in society. This study takes a novel approach by bringing together ableism and socio spatial theory (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013) as the underpinning theories in the consideration of para-sport legacy, whilst regarding the event itself as a space in order to further understand the outcome of event legacy; that is, enhanced inclusion or exacerbated exclusion.

Second, this study extends the theories of space (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013), ableism (Wolbring 2006; 2007; 2008) and intergroup and imagined contact (Allport 1954; Crisp and Turner 2009) to encompass lived experience of PWD linked to para-sport events and wider society post-event. This study's findings highlight the areas of space, which intersect to influence lived experience of PWD linked to legacy. Although a sporting event, the legacy goals associated with the Paralympic Games expand much wider than the event itself. To date, much of the research omits the voices of PWD (Misener et al. 2013) and the influence of legacy goals, both realised and mis/unrealised on their lived experience. By focusing on these areas, this study offered novel perspectives, extending extant research and contributing to the field of legacy and disability research (Ahmed 2013; Brittain and Beacom 2016). Specifically, this study conceptualises para-sport events and empirically examines the

Paralympic Games – the largest para-sport event - as a space within PWD' wider lived realities (Shildrick 2012). By viewing the event as a space within society in which PWD' objective and subjective space dimensions interact to determine lived space, it allows for greater consideration of how the interaction of the spatial dimensions determine the lived experiences identified by participants. The integration of ableism (Wolbring 2008), intergroup contact (Allport 1954) and imagined contact (Crisp and Turner 2009) offered a broader conceptualisation of lived experience in this study, as they allowed for a more holistic consideration of contributing factors to inclusion/exclusion. Their addition allowed the researcher to garner understanding of the causes of inclusion/exclusion, linked to attitudes and contact surrounding the event and post-event. While attitude change is a key legacy goal of the event, findings from this study extend intergroup (Allport 1954) and imagined contact (Crisp and Turner 2009) across spaces to help practitioners understand the impact of contact surrounding a para-sport event and in the long-term. This is demonstrated within the findings whereby participants discussed contact in both the physical (objective) and imagined (subjective) space and the importance of both. In line with objective 3, this research attempted to bring the voices of PWD to the foreground. This objective was achieved with the incorporation of voices of PWD in both research sites. As the research sought to benefit PWD it considered the subjective and emotionally laden responses of participants, allowing both the researcher and participants themselves to better understand their lived experience linked to a para-sport event (Ozanne and Fischer 2012).

Third, this research saw the development of a new model allowing for in-depth consideration of inclusion/exclusion experiences of space linked to para-sport legacy goals, in both the event space and wider society. By integrating the key theories (socio-spatial theory (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013), ableism (Wolbring 2008), intergroup contact (Allport 1954;

Crisp and Turner 2009) alongside the IPC legacy goals (IPC 2011), the new model makes it possible to visualise how experiences across spaces interact in an under-explored context, to help practitioners understand the impact legacy goals and experiences of space surrounding para-sport events and in the long-term.

8.4 Practical Contributions and Implications

Utilising the response of PWD from both research sites, the findings offer multiple practical contributions for future event organisers, governing bodies and governments alike to facilitate the enhanced inclusion of PWD. The researcher identified five key practical contributions, detailed next.

First, the findings in this study highlighted the underestimation of the role of the media in the lived experiences of PWD surrounding events such as the Paralympic Games. The current stereotypes and representation of PWD associated with the Paralympic Games were identified by participants as an area in need of reform. Many participants in this study identified their discord with current representation linked to the event (for example the 'supercrip' stereotype (Silva and Howe 2012)). Therefore, in order to meet the legacy goal of greater social inclusion and attitude change, there is a need for representation of PWD to become more true to life. Greater inclusion of PWD within subjective space can inform attitudes and in turn reduce prejudice via imagined contact (Crisp and Turner 2009; 2012). As such, by avoiding unrealistic expectations and theatrics surrounding the event, unattainable stereotypes will not be perpetuated and expected from PWD. There is a current lack of research into the role of ableism in perpetuating stereotypes that needs to be acknowledged by practitioners. From a practical standpoint, it is essential that the IPC takes care in; its broadcasting of the event (alongside media partners, broadcasters, journalists and sponsors); and its reporting of legacy. Reports of positive legacy, based on small sections of improvement, that has not reached the general population of PWD, can lead to further feelings of exclusion. This will require governing bodies and event organisers liaising with PWD and disability organisations to ensure representation of future events does not exclude non-athletic PWD.

Second, for policy makers including governments, the new model developed (Figure 8, page 114) can be utilised to learn from previous shortcomings from the perspective of PWD in order to understand the wider impact of the Games outside of the event space. This model emphasises the importance of collaborating with disability organisations and PWD to ensure expectations set by the event are appropriate. This model can allow for consideration of long-term legacy and what is needed for this to be achieved and maintained.

Third, an unexpected key finding from this study was the link participants made between the Paralympic Games and employment. Although employment had not been an area of consideration prior to data collection, it emerged as central to the lived experiences of PWD. For organising committees and governing bodies, this highlights the need for employment considerations in host countries to be included within their legacy plans (as it is currently being claimed as a legacy (IPC 2018)), extending to all PWD. This finding presents an area of importance for future research from the perspective of lived experience.

Fourth, in both the objective and subjective spaces, the prominence of the hierarchy of disability (Deal 2003; Tringo 1970; Thomas 2000) was linked to Paralympic Games legacy planning and its effect on inclusion/exclusion. The findings showcase a lack of consideration of the complexity of disability when it comes to changes in space of host locations. By organising committees omitting some impairment groups or catering for those who are considered more ‘able’ in line with the hierarchy of disability, this resultant exclusion can negatively impact the lived experiences of some PWD. Based on the experiences of participants, there appears to be continued ableist informed decision making within organising committees. Therefore, it is essential that all impairment groups are considered to an even extent in the development of objective space, in order to ensure inclusion for all. This is important, as greater opportunity for access can lead to increased inclusion through more positive interactions.

Finally, while the IOC has its own definition of legacy (IOC 2017), this was noticeably absent when discussing legacy of the Paralympic Games and the IPC. Therefore, there is a need for the IPC to develop a definition of legacy to align with their legacy planning and goals, in order to facilitate understanding and expectations for PWD. Without a definition, the meaning of the legacy goals and their aspirations are unclear, with no timeline, and no accountability.

8.5 Limitations and Directions for Future Research

It is important to acknowledge the limitations to this study, which open several fruitful research directions.

First, the exclusive use of qualitative methodology can be regarded as a limitation of the thesis. Although a qualitative approach was chosen due to its ability to allow for deeper understanding of complex realities (Queirós, Faria and Almeida 2017), there are issues with generalisability of findings, due to smaller sample sizes to facilitate in depth data (Tariq and Woodman 2013). This is unlike quantitative research which can be regarded as representative of a given population (Martin and Bridgmon 2012) due to larger sample sizes. Future research should address this potential limitation by employing mixed methods. Utilising mixed methods could produce larger data sets and advance generalisability to PWD in general, while maintaining engagement of the voices of PWD (Tariq and Woodman 2013).

Second, this study's sample was not encompassing of all impairment groups. For the purpose of this study, and as addressed in section 4.4.3, the researcher made the decision to undertake this study with participants with physical and visual impairments only in both research sites. As a result, the findings of this study are missing the input of people with intellectual and hearing impairments and as such, findings are not directly transferable to these impairment groups. Although there were a number of impairment groups included in the study, there was not an equal distribution of impairment groups. Future research should focus on ensuring a representative sample of impairment groups to address this inequality and incorporate the balanced insights into the lived experience of all impairment groups. This will require relevant ethical and practical considerations to be taken for inclusion; particularly for people with intellectual impairments to develop relationships and ensure understanding (Atkinson 2005; Freedman 2001) and hearing impairments due to the potential for high levels of misunderstanding and the possible need for a sign language interpreter on site (Hindley, Hill and Bond 1993).

Third, a limitation of this study is the focus on the two most recent Paralympic Games as research sites. With the growing interest in legacy of Paralympic Games, there is much scope for research surrounding lived experience and the Paralympic Games with respect to PWD and the long-term effect on the minority population. As this study focused on two Paralympic Games future research could consider lived experience of participants in a multitude of upcoming Games to compare on a longitudinal basis, allowing the researcher to provide an emotional space for PWD to share their experiences with a consistent listener (McGrath 2003). While the Brazilian data was collected one-year post-event, this provides an opportunity for future research to contrast these short-term findings by collecting reflections on lived experience of Brazilian PWD in a longer time span post-event.

Fourth, the lack of participatory approach for this study can be regarded as a limitation. With the growing call for the active inclusion and drive of PWD, future research would benefit from a participatory approach with greater input from PWD (Kramer et al. 2011). Through such an approach PWD have the potential to attain empowerment through the co-production of knowledge by being involved in every stage of the study from design, to data collection and evaluation of the data (Goodley and Lawthom 2005; Khatri and Ozano 2018: Zarb 1992).

Finally, the lived experience lens adapted by the researcher could be considered a limitation. A lived experience lens was purposefully selected in order to capture the experiences of general PWD and also some athletes (although not the main focus). However, a broader approach outside of lived experience may have provided a more holistic approach with the inclusion of stakeholders and organisers etc. Future research could incorporate both the experiences of PWD, alongside the process followed by event organisers pre- during- and post event to plan for achieving their legacy goals.

8.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study provided insight into the lived experiences of PWD linked to the legacy of the two most recent Summer Paralympic Games (London 2012 and Rio 2016). Specifically, this thesis focused on the experiences of inclusion/exclusion of PWD in both objective and subjective spaces, in the event space and wider society.

Based on extant literature and the chosen theoretical underpinnings, a conceptual model was developed and in turn tested, in order to inform future organising committees and governing bodies surrounding event legacy linked to lived experiences of PWD. The model allows for improved understanding of the wider impact of the event, and the importance of the incorporation of voices of PWD.

The findings presented negative associations of experiences as the majority, in various contexts associated with the event across spaces (such as access, transport, media representation, attitudes), with the hierarchy of disability remaining evident in society. The results also showed ableism remains deeply embedded in culture as previously expressed by Campbell (2008) in both subjective and objective space.

The thesis provides a number of contributions to theory. These include; first, the extension of ableism and socio spatial theory to examine lived experience; second, the incorporation of the voices of PWD and empirical research to address legacy and lived experience; and third, the development of a model for consideration of lived experience across space and legacy goals.

The thesis also offers a number of practical contributions for future events. These include; first, highlighting the need for greater respect for the role of the media on lived experience; second, a conceptual model for understanding the wider impact of the event; third, the unanticipated link between employment and Paralympic Games; fourth, the prominence of the hierarchy of disability in society; and finally, the absence of a definition of legacy specific to the Paralympic Games.

Therefore, this thesis demonstrates how para-sport events and their legacy have the potential to facilitate enhanced inclusion of PWD in their lived experience, but currently through the omission of voices of PWD in planning and a lack of support in maintaining changes post-event, the proposed legacy in both research sites has yet to materialise. As such, it is essential for future event organisers to incorporate the experiences of PWD in their planning of legacy to avoid ableist ideals, in order to ensure inclusion is the lived experience of PWD in the host country.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Indicative Interview Protocol

I would like to thank you for agreeing to become a participant in my study. I am conducting research into how the legacy of Para-Sport events (in particular the Paralympic Games) impacts the lived experience of people with disabilities. This will be considered in a general setting as well as from a critical spatial marketplace perspective.

For now, we will start with some general questions.

No.	**Question**	**Probing prompts**
1	Tell me a little bit about yourself and your background, and if comfortable a little about your impairment. How long have you have you lived in _?	
2	Can you describe an average day in your life with regards to interactions and access within society?	**i.e marketing, contact and attitudes, physical access**
3	How would you describe the attitudes of people without disabilities towards people with disabilities in _?	**Friendly, dismissive, ignored?**
4	How would you describe the accessibility for people with disabilities in _?	**Physical accessibility, social accessibility, employment?**
5	In your opinion, are people with disabilities well represented in advertising in _?	**Can you give an example of a campaign and what you liked or didn't like?**

Questions specific to pre London/Rio 2016 Paralympic Games

No	Question	Prompt
6	Prior to the hosting of the Paralympic Games, how did you perceive the treatment of people with disabilities in _?	
	What was your experience as a PWD during the _ Games?	
7	Prior to the hosting of the Paralympic Games were people with disabilities visible in everyday marketing and advertising? If yes, can you give examples?	
8	In your opinion, following the hosting of the Paralympic Games what legacy as a person with a disability did you expect to see?	**Greater accessibility? Attitudes? Inclusion?**
9	Prior to the Paralympic Games, how often would you have contact with people without disabilities outside your circle of friends and family? How would you describe the nature of this contact?	

10	Prior to the Games would you have considered your experience of contact with people without disabilities to be competitive or co-operative?	

Questions specific to post London/Rio 2016 Paralympic Games

No	Question	Prompt
	Did you attend any events at the _ Paralympic Games?	
11	What, in your opinion is meant by the term ‘lived experience’?	
12	In your opinion, following the hosting of the Paralympic Games have you seen any evidence of a positive or negative legacy as a person with a disability?	
13	Have you noticed any differences in the visibility of disabilities in society and marketing post event?	
14	Have any policies changed in the UK since the Games to improve the lives of PWD?	
15	In your opinions, how can future Games improve legacy? Any suggestions?	

Appendix 2

Overview of Participants in Brazil

Participant No.	**Gender**	**Race**	**Impairment Type**
P1R	Female	Pardo	Visual Impairment
P2R	Female	Pardo	Visual Impairment
P3R	Male	Pardo	Visual Impairment
P4R	Male	Pardo	Visual Impairment
P5R	Female	Pardo	Visual Impairment
P6R	Male	Pardo	Visual Impairment
P7R	Male	Pardo	Visual Impairment
P8R	Male	Black	Visual Impairment
P9R	Female	Pardo	Visual Impairment
P10R	Male	Pardo	Cerebral Palsy
P11R	Male	Pardo	Cerebral Palsy
P12R	Male	Pardo	Wheelchair User
P13R	Male	Pardo	Wheelchair User
P14R	Male	Black	Cerebral Palsy
P15R	Male	Pardo	Wheelchair User
P16R	Male	Pardo	Wheelchair User
P1CA	Male	Pardo	Mobility Issues (crutch user)
P2CA	Male	Pardo	Wheelchair User
P3CA	Female	Pardo	Cerebral Palsy
P4CA	Female	White	Multiple Sclerosis
P5CA	Female	Pardo	Cerebral Palsy
P6CA	Female	Pardo	Wheelchair User
P7CA[7]			
P8CA	Female	Black	Wheelchair User (polio)
P9CA	Female	Pardo	Wheelchair User
P10CA	Male	Pardo	Mobility Issues
P11CA	Female	Pardo	Mobility Issues

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[7] Each participant was given a number and this was expressed prior to the interview. P7CA attended the interview, however, he was non-verbal and wanted to email the answers to the questions but failed to do so, therefore his number was no re-used.

Appendix 3

Overview of Participants in UK

Participant No.	**Gender**	**Race**	**Impairment Type**
P1L	Male	White	Wheelchair User
P2L	Male	White	Wheelchair User
P3L	Female	White	Wheelchair User
P4L	Male	White	Double leg amputee
P5L	Female	White	Joint Hypermobility Syndrome
P6L	Male	White	Muscular Dystrophy
P7L	Male	White	Wheelchair User
P8L	Male	Asian	Wheelchair User
P9L	Male	White	Visual Impairment
P10L	Female	Black	Polio
P1C	Female	White	CP
P2C	Female	White	Arm Amputee
P3C	Male	White	Wheelchair User
P4C	Male	White	Wheelchair User
P5C	Male	White	Wheelchair User
P6C	Male	White	Double leg amputee
P7C	Female	White	Short Stature
P8C	Male	Asian	Wheelchair User
P9C	Female	White	MS (Wheelchair User)
P10C	Male	White	Wheelchair User

Appendix 4

As per Coventry University thesis submission guidelines, please find the published journal paper uploaded as a separate appendix. Please see pdf file in OneDrive folder titled:

Appendix 4. CMC Published Paper

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Appendix 5

Coventry University ETHICS

Medium to High Risk Research Ethics Approval

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Medium to High Risk Research Ethics Approval Checklist

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