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Power and Legacies: An Examination of the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Kinesiology

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**POWER AND LEGACIES:
AN EXAMINATION OF THE TORONTO 2015 PARAPAN AMERICAN GAMES
(Thesis format: Integrated Article)**

by

Kaitlyn Lindensmith

Graduate Program in Kinesiology

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts**

**The School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
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Abstract

The concept of legacy has become a potent mechanism for justifying expenditures on large scale sporting events, and is reflected in the policy process. The intention of this research was to examine the embedded power relations within the process of legacy plan development for the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games and how the decision-making processes address community needs. Drawing upon Rütten and Gelius' (2011) Multi-level Interdependence of Structure and Agency model, a combination of interviews and document analyses were used to examine a cross-section of the parasport system in Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area from the policy to community levels. The emphasis was on understanding the structure-agency interactions within the legacy-planning phase of a large-scale sport event. Findings indicate that the decisions made during the legacy-planning phase functioned to reinforce existing power structures, further disable individuals and groups who were not already involved in decision-making processes, and question the likelihood that legacy initiatives will meet community needs.

Keywords

Sport Event, legacy, leveraging, disability sport, power, structure and agency

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Chapter One

Introduction

Members of minorities within a given population (for example, ethnic or cultural minorities, people with low socioeconomic statuses, or persons with a disability) are often marginalized from participation in the opportunities and decision-making processes that directly or indirectly affect their lives (Sprague, 2015). Historically, governments and other policy makers have tended to make decisions on behalf of these marginalized populations – tendencies which, in and of themselves, function to further disempower these groups since the voices of these individuals often go unsought (Sprague, 2015). In the case of persons with a disability more specifically, sport represents an exciting avenue through which meaningful change can be adopted into practice. That is, sport may have a transformative capacity that provides persons with a disability with an opportunity to showcase their physical capability – thus challenging barriers, stigmas, and prejudices. Sport can also serve as a unique platform on which able-bodied people and persons with a disability can relate. In this way, sport can legitimize the voices of persons with a disability and that empowerment can then be translated into other decision-making arenas external to those of sport.

The work presented in this research is focused on the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games and how embedded power relations within the legacy-planning phase have steered the decision-making processes. This research will contribute to establishing whether sport events can possess a transformative potential that extends beyond the realm of sport and into the everyday lives of individuals by determining if these events can function to challenge existing power structures. Given the impetus for cities and nations

to host international sport events, the establishment of these findings is of significant and widespread importance.

This thesis is written in an integrated article format, which is presented in four separate chapters. Chapter one is a brief introduction, followed by a rationale, and an overview of this research. Chapter two contains the literature review, theoretical framework, a short background to provide context, and the methodology that guided this study and its design. Chapter three is written as an article, which focuses on how embedded power relations within Toronto and Greater Toronto Area's (GTA) parasport system impacted the legacy plans aimed at increasing community-level parasport participation. As chapter three was prepared in a submission-ready manuscript style, the information provided therein may be repeated in other sections of this thesis. Finally, chapter four outlines extended results and discussion, practical limitations, conclusions, and future research.

Rationale

Many cities around the world are interested in bidding for and hosting large scale sport events such as World Championships, Pan and Parapan American Games, Commonwealth Games, as well as Olympic and Paralympic Games, despite having to undertake potentially immense economic, political, and social investments in order for the event to be successful. These events bring with them the hope that hosting them will cultivate various legacies for the city, region, and nation in which they are situated. While most of the discourse surrounding sport event legacies has been focused on economic and tourism development (Crompton, 1999; Mules & Faulkner, 1996; O'Brien & Chalip, 2007; Weed & Dowse, 2009), an increasing amount of literature has emerged that targets

how events can be leveraged for particular social outcomes, such as building a sense of community, increasing sport participation, and encouraging volunteerism, among others (Chalip, 2004; Chalip, 2006; Smith, 2014; Taks, Green, Misener & Chalip, 2014). While the discussion surrounding the social impacts of international sport events is broadening, what currently lacks is an understanding of the process of legacy plan development, how embedded power relations impact that process, and how community needs are being strategically integrated into legacy plan development. Examination into this area will provide researchers and event organizers with a clearer idea of how the legacy-planning process impacts the realization of desired social outcomes. Being aware of how a social system's power structure steers the event's goals and strategies may also help event organizers understand how best to link legacy objectives to community needs – thereby justifying the prospect of hosting an event and potentially increasing the likelihood that legacies would be sustainable.

Overview of Research

The purpose of this study was to probe how the power relations embedded within one parasport system steered the strategic leveraging of a large-scale international sport event. I used the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games and its legacy committee's goals as the context through which I studied this agenda. In order to investigate both policy level structures and managerial decision making processes within this context, I used Rütten and Gelius' (2011) model that combines Giddens' (1984a) Theory of Structuration, Sewell's (1992) notions of structural change, and Ostrom's (2007) idea of action levels. Additionally, three research questions guided my examination:

1. How are the decisions about leveraging the Games being made, and by whom?

2. How do the leveraging plans address both communities' needs/interests as well as policy-level agendas?

3. How is structural change enabled through the development of legacy projects?

It is hoped that this study will begin to contribute to a better understanding of whether international parasport events can function to challenge or reinforce existing power structures within the host region. Further, it is hoped that this research will help establish an understanding of how the embedded power structures impact decision-making processes as they relate to legacy plan development and implementation.

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Chapter 2

Overview of Literature

In order to understand the strategies and tactics undertaken by the Legacy Planning Committee (LPC) with regards to using the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games (the Games) to increase rates of parasport participation within Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), it was necessary for me to familiarize myself with current sport development literature, as well as the literature that outlines the ways in which sport events can be strategically utilized to bring about positive change. As a means to those ends, the literature review I conducted focuses on the fundamentals of sport development and its prominent models (especially those that pertain to parasport), and sport event leveraging as it relates to increased sport participation, especially in parasport. This broad literature review – which functions as an extension of the literature review in the integrated article – follows.

Sport Development

Sport development is a concept involving the policies and processes of facilitating opportunities for people to get involved in sport and physical activity, including all levels of involvement, from mass participation to elite performance (Hylton & Totten, 2008; Taks, Green, Misener & Chalip, 2014). As Hylton and Totten (2008) explain, sport development moves beyond the immediate goal of the development of sport participation, and endeavours to contribute to the development of the community more broadly. Hylton and Totten (2008) emphasize the role of partnerships (for example, between government bodies, departments, community members and leaders, and sport administration) in working to cultivate sport development cannot be overstated, as these partnerships are a

critical aspect of the successful development and sustainability of community sport opportunities (Hylton & Totten, 2008).

The most widely accepted analogy of sport development has been that of a pyramid (Eady, 1993; Green, 2005; Sotiriadou, Shilbury, & Quick, 2008). The pyramid model of sport development (see Figure 1) suggests that there are three levels through which athletes may progress (Eady, 1993; Girginov, 2013; Green, 2005; Sotiriadou et al., 2008). That is, the wide base of the pyramid represents mass participation, where the goal is to provide opportunities for everyone to participate in sport; the middle, more narrow section represents competitive sport, where the hope is that athletes have the opportunities to reach their competitive potentials; and the narrowest piece at the top of the pyramid represents those athletes who have been identified and developed for high performance sport (Bramham, 2001; Girginov, 2013; Green, 2005; Taks et al., 2014).

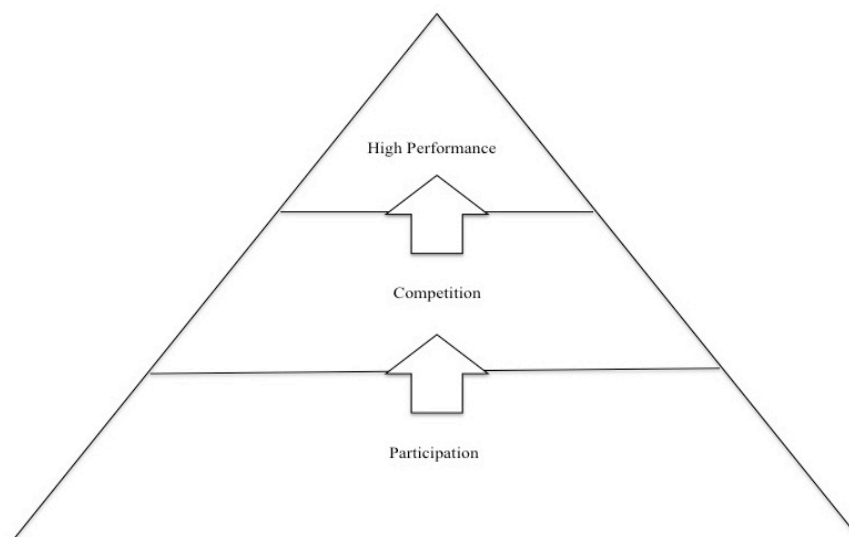


Figure 1. Pyramid model of sport development. Adapted from Eady (1993, p. 14).

Green (2005) asserts that sport development policies should address how to bring athletes into the sport system, how to keep them involved and enhance their commitment

to that sport, and best ensure the advancement of those athletes who show “promise” in their athletic abilities. In this way, the pyramid model of sport development is not facilitating improved quality of life and decreased social exclusion for all members of society, which are the supposed intentions behind sport development policies and processes (Girginov & Hills, 2008; Hylton & Totten, 2008). This shortcoming is evidenced when Green (2005) states:

Participation and competitive standard are linked by the endeavor to create a deep pool of athletes from which a corps of elite competitors can develop. From this standpoint, the objective is to recruit people (particularly children and adolescents) into sports and then to develop a percentage of them (presumably those with “talent”) into high caliber performers. This is the origin of the often noted but rarely analyzed pyramid analogy. According to that analogy, high-performance peaks are supported by a broad base of participation. (p. 234)

In this way, this widely accepted framework of sport development functions either to develop an athlete into high performance sport, or neglect them once the period in which they could become elite performers is over.

In order to develop a model that aligns more clearly with the goals of the Canadian sport policy (enhanced participation, enhanced excellence, enhanced capacity, and enhanced interaction), Canadian Sport for Life created the Long Term Athlete Development (LTAD) model (Robertson, Hamilton, Balyi, & Canadian Sport Centres, 2005). This model adheres to international best practices and research, has been increasingly implemented across the world, and endeavors to promote a “healthy, physically literate nation whose citizens participate in lifelong physical activity”

(Robertson et al., 2005, p. 7).

The LTAD model was designed to promote physical literacy among all sport participants beginning in early childhood and extending to each person – including (but not favouring) the fully developed elite athlete – by encouraging daily physical activity in schools, and suggesting a common method by which to develop physical abilities through community and elite sport programs (Robertson et al., 2005). Athletes progress through the stages that pertain to the level of competition to which they aim to subscribe (see Figure 2), but the goal of the LTAD model is for the entire population to be active for life, regardless of the level of competition. It is through this lifelong, population-wide focus that this model is most differentiated from the pyramid model of sport development.

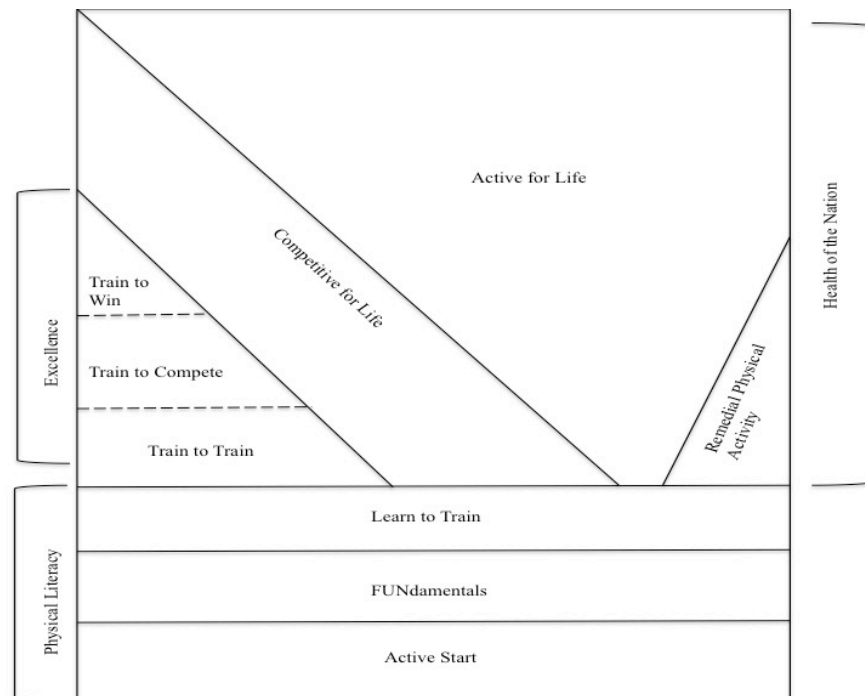


Figure 2. Long Term Athlete Development model. Adapted from Canadian Sport for Life (2011).

Given that the Canadian Sport for Life model is supposed to be about creating a physically healthy national population, persons with a disability are an important

demographic to include in athlete development plans. As of 2012, a large proportion of Canadians – 13.7% – identify as having a disability (Statistics Canada, 2012). As the LTAD model is based on individual athletes' developmental – rather than chronological – ages, nearly everything in the LTAD model is considered to apply to both able-bodied athletes as well as athletes with a disability, but there are some additional factors that indeed must be considered. As noted by Robertson and Higgs (2006), the various ways in which athletes with a disability differ from their able-bodied counterparts, thus necessitating modifications to the LTAD process are:

- Athletes with a disability may have a congenital disability (one with which they were born), or may have acquired a disability at some point in life;
- Children with congenital or acquired disabilities may not have sufficient opportunity to learn fundamental movement skills due to long periods of hospitalization, lack of suitable physical education programs and/or overly protective parents or caregivers;
- Athletes with a disability may require a sporting environment that necessitates supportive personnel not found in able-bodied sport (e.g. sighted guides);
- Many athletes with a disability require adapted equipment and facilities to enable their participation, minimize their disabilities' impact on their sport performances, and take advantage of their athletic ability;
- Because the number of local athletes with the same type and/or level of disability is typically small, access to appropriate competitive environments can be challenging (p. 15).

In keeping with the goal of creating a healthy national population, and in acknowledging

that there are some additional factors that must be considered when accommodating athletes with a disability, the LTAD model was modified slightly to form the No Accidental Champions (NAC) model (Robertson & Higgs, 2006). More specifically, the NAC model consists of two additional stages to facilitate lifelong sport participation for athletes with a disability beyond the seven stages of the LTAD model: Awareness and First Contact (see Figure 3; Robertson & Higgs, 2006). Because an individual can become disabled at any point across the lifespan, there are no ages assigned to the NAC-specific stages (Robertson & Higgs, 2006).

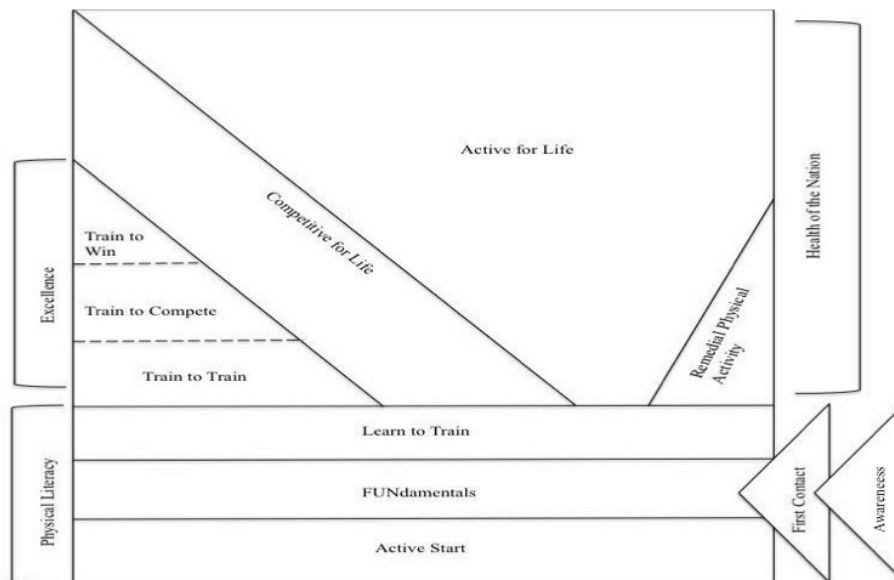


Figure 3. The No Accidental Champions model. Adapted from Canadian Sport for Life (2011).

The first additional stage, Awareness, is based on the fact that sport and physical activity opportunities for persons with a disability are not always well known, and a large majority of potential athletes and caregivers may not be aware of what – if any – appropriate opportunities exist (Robertson & Higgs, 2006). In this regard, the parties

responsible for various sport development plans must make their opportunities known to potential athletes with a disability (Robertson & Higgs, 2006). The second additional stage, First Contact/Recruitment, stresses the importance of the first experience an individual with a disability and his/her caregivers have with a new sport and its environment (Robertson & Higgs, 2006). If the first experience is not positive, the individual may not return to sport or any physical activity again (Robertson & Higgs, 2006).

Event Leveraging Theory

The concept of leveraging sport events is rooted in and borrowed from the business and tourism literature, which exposes the utility in proactively identifying and exploiting opportunities and resources through innovative approaches to resource distribution (Chalip, 2004; 2006; Chalip & Leyns, 2002; O'Brien, 2006; O'Brien & Chalip, 2007). When applied to the field of sport event planning and management, leveraging is an approach through which planners treat the sport event as a resource in and of itself that should be leveraged to optimally achieve desired outcomes that would not be achieved by merely hosting the event (Chalip, 2004; Chalip, 2006; Smith, 2014). As Ziakas (2010) explains, if and when a sport event is not strategically planned to bring about lasting community changes, host regions miss opportunities and cannot reap the valuable benefits that could have been produced by staging a sport event. That is, desired outcomes (for example, enhanced sport participation opportunities or increased voice in decision-making processes for marginalized populations) are rarely passive results of hosting a sport event; but rather, these outcomes are only facilitated by strategic initiatives that are not required to stage the event, but that specifically and actively target

these goals (Smith, 2014; Taks, et al., 2014). This means that employing a leveraging approach involves a concentrated focus on the strategies, tactics, and implementations prior to and during an event that will generate specific outcomes, rather than a focus on the desired outcomes in isolation (Chalip, 2006). Through this perspective, as O'Brien (2006) explains, "events and the opportunities they present are merely the seed capital; what hosts do with that capital is key to realizing sustainable long-term legacies" (p. 25).

The leveraging approach has been adopted in place of that which focused more on post-hoc event evaluation, known as the legacy approach. Legacy planning is often characterized by being overly dominated by the requirements of the event itself, which are often driven by organizations that do not have long-term stake in the host city (Smith, 2012). From a legacy perspective, event planners would often plan the logistics of the sport event and hope that desired outcomes would be achieved; but as O'Brien and Chalip (2007) argue, this approach is no longer suitable. Leveraging, then, represents a conceptual shift away from a field that was dominated by retrospective *ex post*, impacts- and outcomes-oriented research, towards a sustainable, forward-thinking, *ex ante*, longer-term and strategic planning approach (O'Brien & Chalip, 2007). Moreover, Ziakas (2010) emphasizes the importance of this distinction when he states leveraging is not merely a revised legacy approach, but is rather a paradigm shift, and Chalip (2004; 2006) accentuates this concept further by coining the term leveraging theory. When the focus is on strategic leveraging, researchers can gather information regarding the degree to which certain outcomes were realized in order to determine which corresponding strategies and tactics are effective for future planning purposes (Chalip, 2006). The degree to which these leveraged goals suit the needs of the targeted communities, the effectiveness by

which the outcomes are realized, and the sustainability of these results depends on the establishment of strong relationships between community members, community stakeholders and event managers (Misener, 2015; Smith, 2014).

Although many sport policies, bid documents, and pieces of anecdotal research claim that sport events have the ability to encourage social and economic well being through increased sport participation in and around the host community, and as discussed previously, this goal has traditionally been neglected because of a central focus on cultivating sport excellence (Taks et al., 2014). Researchers, event organizers, and communities have therefore seen – at best – a weak link between a city hosting a sport event and subsequent increased rates of sport participation. This is especially true when considering cases of mega sport events, such as the Olympic and Paralympic Games, which showcase the extremely small percentage of athletes at the very top of the pyramid, and are disconnected from the experiences of recreational athletes or non-participants (Taks et al., 2014). The emphasis has remained on increasing the number of athletes engaged in sport as a means to an end of enhancing the quality of performances in sport. Because the 2015 Games are classified as a large-scale rather than a mega-event (which means they are smaller and more logistically simple, yet capable of producing many of the same benefits; Parent & Smith-Swan, 2013), in combination with the LPC's adoption of the NAC model of sport development, the Games may represent a different and more promising opportunity for new athlete recruitment in Toronto and the surrounding regions.

It should be noted that although the Legacy Planning Committee of the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games uses the term 'legacy', I believe the manner in which the

committee regards legacy is actually in accordance with the principles of leveraging theory. For the purposes of using direct quotations, explaining the plans of the LPC, and remaining consistent with the LPC's terminology, I will occasionally use the terms legacy or legacy planning – although I acknowledge that the more academic literature-informed readers would want to replace these instances with terminology consistent with leveraging theory. However, I do not see the use of this language as a conflict, because as Misener (2015) explains, strategically planning to create particular outcomes (or leveraging) results in the development of legacies, and so the latter is an extension of the former.

Application of the No Accidental Champions model of sport development into strategic leveraging and legacy planning processes may represent a relatively novel approach to increasing parasport participation at the community level. An understanding of how power tends to be exercised within decision-making structures is required in order to examine the decisions made surrounding this legacy objective.

Theoretical Framework

The Legacy Planning Committee has adopted the No Accidental Champions model of sport development into the legacy-planning process, and as such, this model has begun to inform and mold the community parasport system in Toronto. In turn, both the existence and the nature of parasport opportunities for people at the grassroots level – at least ideally – have been in accordance with First Contact and Awareness principles (that is, programs have been designed by organizers to increase the awareness of parasport participation opportunities in the community, and development of the programs has involved alleviating common barriers to participation faced by persons with a disability).

Because of the extent to which those opportunities can affect the lives of many citizens, it is important to probe at that developing parasport system. Further, it is useful and important to analyze the embedded power relations within the system in order to examine whether it is conducive to bringing about lasting, positive social changes. I use Giddens' theory of structuration (1984a; 1984b) in an effort to understand how power is being exercised in the development of the Awareness and First Contact programs leveraged by the Legacy Planning Committee of the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games. I then combine Giddens' work with that of Ostrom (2007) and Sewell (1992) in a structure and agency interplay model proposed by Rütten and Gelius (2011).

Giddens' Theory of Structuration

Giddens' theory of structuration was developed as a way to understand the interaction of human actors, or 'agents' in social systems, or 'structures' (Giddens, 1984a). He proposes that 'structure' refers to a set of rules and resources that are continuously being produced (and reproduced) by actors through their 'agency', or their capability to act according to those rules (Giddens, 1984a; Rütten & Gelius, 2011). These concepts mutually reinforce one another, and as such, it is vital to acknowledge and understand the interplay of these constructs when seeking to describe social phenomena (Archer, 1995; Giddens, 1984a; Rütten & Gelius, 2011). In this way, structure can be understood as both the framework in which agents act, as well as the product that agents produce (Giddens, 1984a; Giddens, 1984b; Rütten & Gelius, 2011). Considering that agents act according to a set of rules embedded within the structures to which they subscribe, one could purport that structures function to disable those same agents' actions. However, it is important to note that these structure-agency feedback systems can also

enable actors (Rütten & Gelius, 2011). Further, a given system can function to enable and disable people who are not included in that system (i.e. ‘non actors’), but who are subject to its resulting structures and actions.

As alluded to above, a structure is composed of a set of rules and resources, where rules refer to both the formal and informal conventions that govern the social system, and where resources are, as Sewell (1992) describes them, “sources of power” (p. 9), or means by which interactions take place (Giddens, 1984a; Rütten & Gelius, 2011). Further, Giddens (1984a) describes two types of resources: ‘authoritative’, which provide power over other people; and ‘allocative’, which provide power over objects (p. 33). A person’s level of agency depends on what Giddens (1984a) calls his or her ‘transformative capacity’, which refers to one’s ability to impact an existing state of affairs. That is, a person executes his or her agency when he or she acts in one way, but could have also acted in another way (Giddens, 1984a). This choice, along with the resources to which that person has access is what results in a person’s ‘level’ of power.

Some people, groups of people, or organizations tend to possess more power than other people, groups of people, or organizations, but the ability to exercise that power is mediated by structure. In order to understand how individuals are able to exercise their power and agency, Giddens (1984b) explains that acknowledging the existence of structures, which are innately embedded within society, is integral. The social structures, policy structures, organizational structures, and informal networks that exist in any society (that inherently include some people and exclude certain others) function to enable or disable certain people, groups of people, or organizations from exercising their power. For example, in a society where marriage is defined as only existing between a

man and a woman, heterosexual couples are enabled by the law (the social structure) to get married, while homosexual couples are disabled by the same system; they are less able to exercise their power and cannot get married. In this example, it would be difficult to understand why heterosexual couples have greater power than their homosexual counterparts without acknowledging the simultaneously enabling and disabling structure to which both couples subscribe and the embedded societal understandings of what is considered to be legitimate. It should be noted that this example depicts a very obvious structural constraint. Typically, structure works in more subtle and insidious ways, making its existence and effects more difficult to be aware of and challenge.

The Role of Giddens' Theory

It is important to ensure that people have opportunities to exercise power in matters that affect their lives. More specifically, it is important that members of the community have a voice in the goal-setting phases of international sport event planning. Further, according to Taks et al. (2014), and Misener and Mason (2010), ensuring that goals are developed and agreed upon by groups within the community (including all stakeholder groups; be it sport, nonsport, or event-related groups) will position the event most effectively as a strategic tool (Taks et al., 2014). In order to use sport events to facilitate opportunities for persons with a disability to participate and be involved in the decision-making processes (and hence, exercise their power and agency) for aspects that affect their lives, the relevant structures must be examined with respect to inclusionary and exclusionary practices. Further, we cannot examine these structures as if they exist independent of one another; rather, we must understand that each structure is affected and reinforced by the existence and state of others. As sport events are sometimes regarded as

potential catalysts for positive social change (Chalip, 2004; Chalip, 2006; Smith, 2014; Taks et al., 2014), it would be useful to determine whether a given sport event is being leveraged to bring about change to any of the existing community structures (in terms of enabling more people to exercise their agency), or whether the event is functioning to continue to perpetuate the inequities in structural relations.

Giddens (1984a) acknowledges the fact that a given group, organization, or society can be functioning according to ‘unintended conditions of action’; examples of which include social or political corruption such as human trafficking and racism or fraudulent and forced acquisition of political control, respectively (Giddens, 1984a, p.5; Luo, 2006). Unintended conditions of action result in consequences that are reverberated throughout society, and the need to seek structural change begins to emerge (Giddens, 1984a). For example, if a society has historically unintentionally excluded marginalized populations from partaking in decision-making processes, consequences of this action include segregation, stigmatization, and further marginalization – all of which necessitate the need for positive structural change. However, as Rütten and Gelius (2011) note, Giddens does not allocate much of his work to the possibility of structural change. Rather, his work focuses on the production and reproduction of a system’s structure through agency, depicting what Rütten and Gelius (2011) refer to as ‘stasis’. So, in order to move beyond simply examining what is happening within a system to offering avenues through which change can occur, we must look to those who have built on Giddens’ work in acknowledging the possibility for structural change.

Incorporating Structural Change and Levels of Action with Giddens’ Work

Structurationists, according to Luo (2006), state that a precursor to bringing about

change in a system is being aware of the condition to which the structure is subjected. Luo (2006) explains that awareness is brought about through what he calls reflexive monitoring of action or conduct (Giddens, 1984a; Giddens, 1984b; Luo, 2006). This means that actors must reflexively monitor their motivations, rationalizations, and actions (Luo, 2006). This implies that changes within social or political structures begin with revised actions in response to the embedded conditions (Luo, 2006). It is here where we can begin to see an avenue through which we can discover solutions to potentially disabling structures. In order to facilitate change that functions to challenge oppressive systems, agents must reflexively monitor their motivations, rationalizations, and actions. This applies to any social or political system in which individuals may find themselves.

Sewell's notion of structural change. Beyond becoming aware of the potentially disabling consequences of a system's structure, Sewell (1992) identifies five points that illustrate how change can occur within the interaction of structure and agency. Crucial to understanding Sewell's (1992) contribution is realizing that agents do not exist solely within one structure. That is, a person lives within a "multiplicity of structures" simultaneously (for example, his or her work, social, familial, and religious systems), and as such, when attempting to change the conditions of one structure, that individual can draw on relevant experiences and actions from another (Rütten & Gelius, 2011; Sewell, 1992 p. 16). This is what Sewell (1992) calls the "generalizability" or "transposability" of rules (Sewell, 1992, p. 17). Moreover, these structures in which agents function can also overlap – a potential avenue of structural change that Sewell (1992) dubs the "intersection" of structures (p. 19). For example, an individual may work alongside a coworker with whom that individual also has a social relationship, allowing the workers

to pool their resources or share interpretations of a matter at hand. Further, structural change can be brought about by the “unpredictability of resource accumulation”, for example, if an organization receives a financial grant that was not accounted for during the creation of its budgetary predictions, this will likely modify that organization’s structure or actions (Sewell, 1992 p. 18). In addition to accumulation, this unpredictability can pertain to the possibility of a loss of resources. Finally, Sewell’s (1992) fifth axiom has to do with how interpretations of a resource differ between agents, and is referred to as the “polysemy of resources” (p. 18). In this case, the dominant interpretation will usually dictate action – resulting in continued reproduction of that action. However, structural change could occur if a different interpretation was adopted and the action was dictated accordingly. For example, the president of a committee may interpret board members as representatives through whom inferences about the broader public can be made – so the committee never actively pursues the voices of the public. If and when the committee’s actions do not meet its goals, one of the board members may express his or her view that board members should instead be seen as avenues through which the committee should target the broader population and actively seek the public’s opinion. If the committee decides to revise their strategy and actively seek the public’s opinion through interaction with each board member, structural change will have occurred via the polysemy of resources.

Rütten and Gelius (2011) propose a multi-level model that depicts the interdependence of structure and agency that applies to the field of health promotion. Their model combines Giddens’ work with Sewell’s five axioms for structural change, as well as Ostrom’s (2007) acknowledgement of what she calls ‘action arenas’. This concept

is of particular applicability to this study because of the weight the concept assigns to policy development and analysis, and can begin to shed light on the depth of policies' effects within a system. After a brief explanation of Ostrom's (2007) concept of action arenas, I will outline Rütten and Gelius' (2011) Multi-level Interdependence of Structure and Agency (MISA) model.

Ostrom's notion of action arenas. According to Ostrom (2007), the first step in evaluating a problem within institutional arrangements is acknowledging and understanding the nuances of what she calls "action arenas", which are composed of action situations and actors (p. 28). Action situations consist of participants, positions, outcomes, action-outcome linkages, control exercised by participants, information, and the costs and benefits assigned to outcomes, while actors are characterized by the ways in which they affect action situations according to: the actor's resources; the actor's value systems; the ways in which actors acquire, process, retain, and use knowledge and information; and the actor's action decisions (Ostrom, 2007; Rütten & Gelius, 2011). According to Ostrom, Gardner, and Walker's (1994) Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework, which aids in identifying criteria on which to evaluate the effects of action arenas within institutions, three factors influence action arenas: physical and material conditions (for example, the exclusivity of resources); the attributes of the community (for example, culture) and; formal and informal rules (for example, procedures of interaction developed through agreements of the community; Rütten & Gelius, 2011).

Another important element to understand from within the IAD framework is that there are different levels of action within any institution, society, or organization, etcetera.

For Ostrom et al. (1994) and Ostrom (2007), the main levels are:

1. The operational level, which comprises the everyday lives of individuals and the working level of organizations, etcetera.
2. The collective choice level, which comprises formal and informal settings such as legislatures and courts as well as gatherings and private associations, often where policy is made (Ostrom, 2007, p. 46).
3. The constitutional level, which involves “prescribing, invoking, monitoring, applying and enforcing” the rules that affect collective choice situations (Ostrom, 2007, p.45).

Of course, in real-world situations, the number and hierarchy of these levels is much more complicated. As Ostrom (2007), and Rütten and Gelius (2011) explain, action arenas often overlap with one another, sometimes there are multiple action arenas that operate on the same level, and finally, action arenas can be affected by the existence of other, more basic levels.

Rütten and Gelius’ notion of multi-level structure and agency interplays. In building their model (see Figure 4), Rütten and Gelius’ (2011) use Giddens’ (1984a; 1984b) framework and weave in aspects of the work of Ostrom (2007) and Sewell (1992). With regards to Ostrom (2007), Rütten and Gelius (2011) employ only the operational and collective choice levels, and at the core of each level within their model are Giddens’ (1984a) mutually reinforcing concepts of structure and agency (Rütten & Gelius, 2011). At each level, Rütten and Gelius (2011) provide examples of the fluidity of power in the context of health promotion, and highlight how the interaction between structure and agency can be interpreted according to Giddens’ (1984a) theory in that structure and

agency mutually reinforce one another, or consistent with Sewell (1992), for whom this presupposition provides entry points for structural change (p. 956). Rütten and Gelius (2011) explain that incorporating Ostrom's (2007) levels of action is important because it enables us to look at what does not (or does not exclusively) take place in the everyday lives of individuals (operational level), but what occurs at the perhaps-less-easily-uprooted policy-level (collective choice). Further, this incorporation allows us to see the connection between the levels of action – in that policies (from the collective choice level) may be functioning to enable or disable the actions that take place at the working level of individuals or organizations (operational level). This also works in the opposite direction – that the operational level can affect and inform the collective choice level – and is highlighted in an example offered by Rütten and Gelius (2011):

The population's physical activity behavior may influence the rule-resource sets related to a specific policy context. For example, increasing involvement in physical activity at the operational level may increase the participation of different stakeholders in the policy-making process. Moreover, such processes may ultimately result in changes in policy structures, i.e. modified procedures of policy-making and resource allocation. (p. 956)

It is here where the notions of different levels of action and, in particular, the emphasis on how policy-level decisions relate to community-level actions (and vice versa), really begin to lend themselves to my research. That is, employing this incorporated model allows for the examination of whether policy-level legacy planning functions to enable or disable community members' voice in the decision making processes, and whether community members' actions influenced the decisions made at the policy level. More

broadly, this will form the basis of my inferences about whether the legacy of the Games is one of positive social change or the reinforcement of existing conditions.

To add to the MISA model's utility, Rütten and Gelius (2011) explain how specific examples (in their case of health promotion, from the Ottawa Charter) of stated claims or actual actions can be applied to the model. Each claim or action can be assigned as an example that exists within either the collective choice or the operational level, as well as an example of either structure or agency within that level. The claims that Rütten and Gelius (2011) choose show that the examples applied to the model can be understood as pairs of structure and agency that reinforce one another. They then explain that the labels on the arrows that connect structure and agency denote the nature of the change occurring (for example, "strengthen", "build", "create", and "develop"), but because these arrows can also represent areas where Giddens (1984a) would say that reinforcement could occur, I would add that these connections could also be labeled with "reinforce" or perhaps, "challenge". Finally, Rütten and Gelius (2011) note that interaction of structure and agency can also occur between action levels, and is therefore also denoted with arrows that can be interpreted in the same manner as the arrows between structure and agency in the same level.

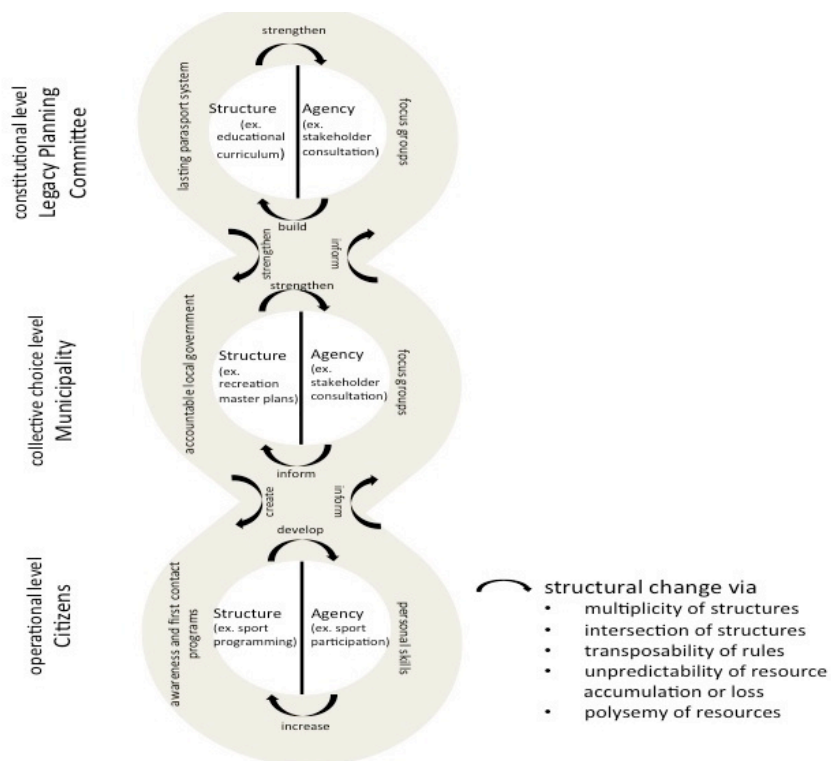


Figure 4. The multi-level interdependence of structure and agency. Adapted from Rütten and Gelius (2011, p. 956).

According to Rütten and Gelius (2011), the aspects of the MISA model that differentiate it from others in health promotion is its operative and valuable linkages between Giddens' (1984b) duality of structure, Sewell's (1992) notion of the possibility of structural change, and Ostrom's (2007) different levels of action, as well as the ways in which it allows us to posit about how structure, agency, and the various levels of action might interact to shape public outcomes. Each of these aspects is relevant and true in the case of my study as well, with emphasis on the valuable utility of demonstrating that policy-level decisions affect the lived experiences of people, who – at least in a theoretical sense – then feed and become stakeholders in those policy decisions – which results in a positive feedback loop of structural and social change. Further, combining the notions of structure, agency, action arenas, action levels, and the possibility of structural

change enables an analysis of the embedded power structures within Toronto and the GTA's parasport system, which may function to enable some people and disable others.

Applying the MISA Model to Toronto and the GTA's Parasport System

When viewed through the lens of Ostrom's (2007) levels of action, the Toronto and GTA parasport system can be seen as composed primarily of the operational and collective choice levels – the former consisting of the lives of citizens of this region, and the latter consisting of a municipality, facility, or sport organization, depending on the situation. That is, although this system is of course subject to the policies and laws of the provincial and federal governments and national sport bodies and organizations, the daily decisions and actions required of this system are relatively internal in nature. Because I am examining this system during a time of preparation for an international sport event, the decisions made that pertain to the system require the addition of Ostrom's (2007) constitutional level of action, which – for this study – is assumed to consist of the Legacy Planning Committee, the provincial and federal governments, and national sport organizations, depending on the situation. Once the parasport system is no longer in a preparatory phase, it will likely return to that which consists of mainly the operational and collective choice levels. For any given case example that I highlight in this report, I indicate which body comprises each level – as each case does not include every body outlined above.

Figure 4 shows an adaptation of Rütten and Gelius' (2011) MISA model as it pertains to Toronto and the GTA's parasport system. In this example, the Legacy Planning Committee occupies the constitutional level, a municipality occupies the collective choice level, and the municipality's residents occupy the operational level. At

the operational level, hypothetical examples of the mutually reinforcing concepts are sport programming (including the resources necessary to carry out programs) and citizens' sport participation (implying action on the part of citizens). At the collective choice level, an example of a structure-agency feedback system includes the municipality's recreation master plan and the stakeholder consultation that might contribute to the development of that plan. Finally, at the constitutional level, examples of the structure-agency relationship include the development of an educational curriculum (and the resources required to develop that tool) and the stakeholder consultation that may have informed its development. When I apply this model to my research more specifically, concrete examples of structure and agency will come from actual claims of individuals and within documents, or from the actions of various stakeholders within the system.

In each case within Figure 4, the arrows between structure and agency depict the mutually reinforcing nature of the relationship between the two concepts. That is, the arrows denote the locations of where Sewell (1992) would suggest structural change would occur, and where Giddens (1984b) would suggest reinforcement would occur. The nature of each hypothetical, mutually reinforcing structure-agency relationship (and hence, how the concepts interact to effect change) is described by the term that accompanies each arrow. For example, at the operational level, Awareness and First Contact programs develop personal skills, and the development of personal skills can increase the demand of Awareness and First Contact programming. Likewise, focus groups at the collective choice level will inform an accountable local government, and an accountable local government will strengthen the role of focus groups, while at the constitutional level, focus groups can build a lasting parasport system and a lasting

parasport system will strengthen the role and existence of focus groups. Finally, it is important to note that the results of these interplays at each level will also change or reinforce the interplays of the concepts at the other levels. For example, an accountable local government with strong and informative focus groups (at the collective choice level) may create Awareness and First Contact programs, and the added programs that develop personal skills (at the operational level) will inform the focus groups of the local government.

Research Context

The Parapan American Games is an international multisport event that occurs every four years. Athletes who compete at Parapan American Games have a physical disability (and as such, throughout this research, ‘disability’ refers to a physical impairment), and represent their home countries from within North and South America. The 2015 Parapan American Games were hosted in Toronto and throughout the GTA from August 7-15, 2015. In 2009, the decision was made by the Pan American Sports Organization (PASO) in collaboration with the Americas Paralympic Committee (APC) to award the Games to Toronto, and the Toronto 2015 Organizing Committee (TO2015) in partnership with the national parasport organization initiated active legacy planning thereafter (national parasport organization [NPO] manager, February 5, 2015; Toronto 2015, 2015a). This resulted in the creation of a Legacy Planning Committee, which brought together leaders within Toronto and the GTA’s parasport system in active and regular discussion regarding goals and strategies associated with leveraging the 2015 Parapan American Games (NPO manager, February 5, 2015). The LPC established four main objectives: increasing the number of trained parasport coaches; increasing and improving parasport

participation; increasing awareness of disability; and improving facilities' accessibility (NPO manager, February 5, 2015). With time, the committee found it difficult to allocate resources across these four areas, and decided to concert their efforts into a more specific area that they felt they had the capacity to manage – increasing parasport participation through Awareness and First Contact programming (NPO manager, February 5, 2015).

The committee encouraged parasport organizations, facilities and municipalities around Toronto and the GTA to use the Games to increase parasport opportunities at the community level, in the hopes of increasing parasport participation rates that remain sustained after the Games have concluded (NPO manager, February 5, 2015). The committee's role was to support these pursuits by providing advice, support, and resources if they were available. Organizations, facilities, and municipalities that intended to leverage the Games in this manner had a representative on the LPC (NPO manager, February 5, 2015). In the case of municipalities, these representatives were called 'municipal leads', and they functioned to liaise between the LPC and their respective municipalities (NPO manager, February 5, 2015). Although the LPC guided and encouraged the organizations, facilities, and municipalities, ultimately, those parties were responsible for the implementation of legacy plans and programs within their jurisdiction.

This emphasis on legacy planning (and in particular, social impacts) has been in response to regions' and nations' desires to host international events and the associated need to garner local support for these pursuits. However, the focus on legacy planning is also a response to the International Paralympic Committees' (the governing body for the Paralympic Movement, and APC's parent organization) increasing use of legacy plans as

one criterion on which to base the decision of to which country the Games will be awarded (International Paralympic Committee, 2013; Toronto 2015, 2015b). As such, the International Paralympic Committee has mandated ways in which organizing committees must target legacy objectives, and it is by these stipulations TO2015 and the LPC were guided.

Methodology

Philosophical Paradigm

I approached this research from the position that reality is socially constructed, complex, and dynamic (DePoy & Giltin, 2011). Further, I acknowledge that previous agents – through formal and informal social structures – constructed the reality in which we currently find ourselves, meaning that it is important to conduct research that seeks to understand its complexity (DePoy & Giltin, 2011). Epistemologically, I understand that what an individual knows is context-dependent, and cannot be separated or understood apart from the individual's world. In this way, as a researcher, I must interact with the knower in order to obtain valuable information from that individual (DePoy & Giltin, 2011). The lens through which I examined the data was through that of a critical theorist; an advocate with the goal of understanding how power has steered the decision making processes of the Legacy Planning Committee, which could function to enable some groups or individuals, while simultaneously disable other groups or individuals (Carpenter & Suto, 2008; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Further, a critical theorist seeks to critique and transform the existing social structure, with the goal of facilitating stimulating actions of restitution and emancipation (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Study Design

This study is qualitative in nature and is guided by a critical perspective. The study was engineered to cultivate an understanding of how structure and agency interact and are exercised, using the Legacy Planning Committee and the Toronto and GTA parasport system as an example. In seeking to understand how power relations are embedded within the parasport system and its decision-making processes, it is necessary to investigate each of the various interactions of structure and agency (that is, within and between actions arenas) within the Toronto and GTA parasport system and analyze what is happening at each of those locations.

Data Collection Procedure

In order to determine how the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games, the events, and the related resources are being leveraged by the Legacy Planning Committee, and begin to understand the power structures embedded within the Toronto and GTA parasport system, I conducted semi-structured interviews with members of the LPC across varying levels of influence (Fontana & Frey, 2005). This includes members who were involved in policy-level plans as well as those involved in community-level implementation. During the semi-structured interviews, I used interview guides to direct the discussion, but I also encouraged participants to elaborate on their thoughts and answers where they deemed necessary (Fontana & Frey, 2005).

Interviews function to uphold the values of the critical design of my study, as well as my ontological and epistemological assumptions in that these methods will allow me to understand the subjective reality of the participants as I interact with them (Creswell, 1994). Further, interviews will function to highlight the historically- and structurally-

situated insights that personnel within the Toronto and GTA parasport system possess (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

In addition to interviews, I also conducted document analyses. Documents included community recreation master plans developed by the municipalities that expressed the intention to develop legacy plans. These recreation master plans outline the local governments' goals and action plans associated with public, community-level recreation. Recreation master plans were obtained from the municipalities' websites. The information I gathered from the interviews were compared with the intentions outlined in these municipal plans in order to determine whether the legacy plans targeted specific community needs and to what extent community members played a role in legacy plan development.

Sample

In order to determine the study participants, I relied on snowball sampling, as there were many individuals and organizations that comprised the LPC from many different organizations and interest groups (DePoy & Giltin, 2011). The actual names of the organizations, municipalities, positions, and individuals who participated in this study have been changed and are kept confidential. In gathering interviewees, I targeted individuals who represented various organizations across Toronto and the GTA on the Legacy Planning Committee. I also targeted the lead contacts for each municipality that expressed an interest in creating a legacy plan on the heels of the Games. In this way, I was able to capture a cross-section of the social structure from the national to the municipal level. The participating interviewees are listed in Table 1, below.

Table 1. Interviewees

Name of Interviewee (pseudonym)	Position of Interviewee	Level of Interviewee
Myles	Manager at a national parasport organization (NPO)	Policy-level
Brooke	Programmer at a provincial parasport organization (PPO)	Policy-level advisor
Sebastian	Manager at a parasport facility	Policy-level advisor
Angelo	Director at a parasport facility	Policy-level advisor
Nigel	Director at a regional sport commission in Municipality 1	Policy/implementation-level liaison
Pierre	Manager at Municipality 2 (within the GTA)	Policy/implementation-level liaison
Genevieve	Director at Municipality 3 (within the GTA)	Policy/implementation-level liaison
Diane	Programmer at Municipality 4 (within the GTA)	Policy/implementation-level liaison

The first four interviewees listed represent their respective organizations as members on the LPC and the latter four interviewees are the ‘municipal leads’ who liaised between the LPC and their municipalities in developing community legacy plans. I employed the use of three interview guides that were created expressly for the purpose of this study and that corresponded to the level of influence of the interviewee (i.e. policy-level, policy-level advisor, or policy/implementation-level liaison). Refer to appendix C for the interview guide used for policy-level interviewees; appendix D for the interview guide used for policy-level advisor interviewees; and appendix E for the interview guide used for policy/implementation-level liaison interviewees. Municipalities referenced in this paper will be referred to as Municipality 1, 2, 3, or 4. I conducted document analyses of each municipality’s recreation master plan and any corresponding documents (for example, appendices).

Data Analysis

I recorded the interviews and transcribed them verbatim. I employed a thematic analysis, which enabled dominant themes within the data to emerge (Braun & Clarke,

2006; Ryan & Bernard, 2003). After I familiarized myself with the data by reading it and taking notes of initial thoughts, I applied initial codes to the data. These initial codes helped to outline when and how individuals became a part of the LPC, what their roles entailed, and how the structure of the LPC was understood to function. This initial coding process helped to systematically organize the data into emerging themes. I then reviewed the transcriptions and the emerging themes with my advisor, and discussed these preliminary findings and how they related to both the project's original theoretical framework and existing themes within the literature, and decided to deepen the theoretical underpinnings of the project by incorporating notions of structural change and multi-level social structures, as discussed above. I then recoded and reorganized the data by taking note of the decisions and actions made within and across Ostrom's (2007) action levels and who were involved in those decisions. By doing so, I began to see how decisions made within one level impacted the realities of the others, and how information was disseminated throughout the multi-level parasport system. This recoding process, then, allowed me to generate new emergent themes. My advisor confirmed these themes in accordance with my research questions and the theoretical underpinnings of my study. In this way, I was continually guided by the theoretical framework and literature throughout the coding process. Ultimately, the major themes were gathered and categorically summarized in accordance with the projects' research questions and theoretical framework. I then chose excerpts of the data that were most illustrative of each identified theme and that were representative of the data. I have included these excerpts in the results and discussion section that follows.

I gathered recreation master plans and their associated documents, and focused on sections that detailed community needs as they pertained to sport participation opportunities and the local governments' action plans associated with those needs. I also focused on sections of the recreation master plans that outlined the needs of persons with a disability as they pertained to accessibility to sport facilities and programs. After I synthesized each municipality's sporting needs and action plans, I compared those to each municipality's legacy plans and the strategies and tactics undertaken to target those legacy objectives (which were gathered from the interviews). This comparison helped to shed light on whether the legacy plans were effectively targeting community needs, whether local residents' voices were informing legacy plans, and ultimately, how power was embedded into the decision-making processes inherent in the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games legacy planning.

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Chapter 3

Power and Politics in Legacy: An Analysis of the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games Legacy Planning Process

Introduction

Bid and host cities are increasingly interested in legacy objectives that target the social impacts of large-scale sport events. Misener, Darcy, Legg, and Gilbert (2013) and Misener (2015), argue that in order for legacy plans to be successful, legacy planning needs to be undertaken by a strategic planning group working alongside the event organizing committee. That is, when legacy planning is the responsibility of the organizing committee, these plans have traditionally been thwarted due to the extensive logistical tasks of hosting a large-scale international event. Beyond the importance of delegating the task of legacy planning to a separate entity, little is written about the decision-making processes behind legacy planning, nor how embedded power relations impact those processes. The purpose of this research was to examine how the embedded power structures within one parasport system steered the strategic leveraging of a large-scale parasport event. I used the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games and its' legacy committee's goals as the context through which I studied this agenda.

I focused this research on how the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games Legacy Planning Committee (LPC) has leveraged the event to increase community-level parasport participation, and how the power structures within the parasport system were embedded in the policy processes and implementation strategies. I used Rütten and Gelius' (2011) model that combines Giddens' (1984a) Theory of Structuration, Sewell's (1992) notions of structural change, and Ostrom's (2007) idea of action levels to probe at

these considerations and to interrogate both policy level structures and managerial decision making processes. Three central research questions helped guide my exploration:

1. How are the decisions about leveraging the Games being made, and by whom?
2. How do the leveraging plans address both communities' needs/interests as well as policy-level agendas?
3. How is structural change enabled through the development of legacy projects?

It is hoped that this study will begin to contribute to a better understanding of if international parasport events function to challenge and/or reinforce existing power structures within host regions. Further, contributing to this body of knowledge could provide researchers with another variable in the problem of attempting to use international sport events to increase community sport participation. That is, if and how an organizing committee engages its community-level stakeholders in the legacy and tactical decision-making processes may be a key determinant of the effectiveness of those plans.

Review of Literature

Through this research, I aim to demonstrate how decisions are made regarding legacy objectives and the strategies and tactics designed to facilitate those objectives. I seek to situate these decisions with relation to the relevant community's needs and interests, and ultimately, understand how a social system's embedded power structures steer these decisions. In order to do so, I draw upon two particular sets of literature to situate this study, event leveraging research, which shifts the study of event impacts to pre-event strategic planning, and secondly, understanding power relations in the context

of policy implementation and planning from the perspective of event related processes.

A Shift from Legacy to Leveraging

Until relatively recently, the international sport event planning literature has been populated with conversations focused on the various legacies that host cities and nations could acquire by hosting international sport events. By employing a legacy perspective, event-organizing committees would plan and execute the logistics of the sport event and believe the lasting legacies would trickle-down simply as a by-product of hosting the event (O'Brien & Chalip, 2007). Instead of planning for these legacies, studies to identify potential legacies took place retrospectively, after the event had concluded. In this way, legacy planning is characterized by ex post, impact- and outcome-oriented planning and research. With time, event organizers, researchers, international sport governing bodies, and governments have begun to realize that without strategically planning for impacts, the lasting positive economic, infrastructural, and social outcomes remain unrealized (Ziakas, 2010).

In an effort to acknowledge the need for more strategic direction, event planners and researchers began to utilize the concept of leveraging an event, which is rooted in the business and tourism literature (Misener, 2014). Through this lens, planners and researchers proactively identify and exploit unique event-related opportunities through innovative approaches to resource distribution (Chalip, 2004; 2006; Chalip & Leyns, 2002; Misener, 2014; O'Brien, 2006; O'Brien & Chalip, 2007). In essence, this means that leveraging is an approach through which organizers use the sport event as the resource that should be strategically leveraged to achieve desired outcomes that would not be realized merely through hosting the event (Chalip, 2004; Chalip, 2006; Smith,

2014). That is, desired outcomes (for example, enhanced sport participation opportunities) are rarely passive results of hosting a sport event; but rather, research has shown that these outcomes may be facilitated by strategic initiatives that are not required to stage the event, but that specifically and actively target these goals (Smith, 2014; Taks, Green, Misener & Chalip, 2014). This means that employing a leveraging approach involves a concentrated focus on the strategies, tactics, and implementations prior to, during, and post-event (Chalip, 2006).

Leveraging, then, represents a conceptual shift towards a sustainable, forward-thinking, *ex ante*, longer-term and strategic planning approach (O'Brien & Chalip, 2007). Practically speaking, using the leveraging approach, researchers can gather information regarding the degree to which certain outcomes were realized in order to determine which corresponding strategies and tactics are effective for future planning purposes (Chalip, 2006). Finally, the degree to which these leveraged goals suit the needs of the targeted communities, the effectiveness by which the outcomes are realized, and the sustainability of these results depends on the establishment of strong relationships between community members, community stakeholders, and event managers (Misener, 2015; Smith, 2014).

As the policy agendas in many event host cities and nations have increasingly emphasized the need for positive event-related outcomes, there has been very little discussion in the scholarly literature about who is and should be involved in the decision making processes with regards to legacy planning, and what power structures are at play that function to dictate which goals are pursued. Further, there is a relatively small amount of literature dedicated to the social impacts to be derived from parasport events, especially as it pertains to increased community-level parasport participation. However,

the possibility of parasport participation being an outcome of hosting a large-scale sport event is an increasingly important prospect, and the discussion surrounding leveraging sport events to realize this outcome is beginning to grow (Misener, 2015).

No Accidental Champions: A Parasport Development Model

Given the increasing emphasis on the social impacts of sport events, more attention is being paid to the value of events for increasing sport participation. This is being addressed through various models of sport development (Taks et al, 2014). Traditionally, sport development literature has been dominated by the adoption and utilization of the pyramid model – which encouraged mass sport participation in support of the interest in cultivating a very small number of elite athletes who participated in high performance sport on the international stage. In this way, the pyramid model did not encourage or promote lifelong sport participation for a significant proportion of the population. In the Canadian context, as response to the sport development literature’s growing need for policies that address how to bring athletes into the sport system, how to keep them involved and enhance their commitment to that sport, and best ensure the advancement of those athletes who show great potential in their athletic abilities (Green, 2005), Canadian Sport for life created the Long Term Athlete Development (LTAD) model, which “promotes a healthy, physically literate nation whose citizens participate in lifelong physical activity” (Robertson, Hamilton, Balyi, & Canadian Sport Centres, 2005, p. 7). The LTAD moves away from the pyramid approach and consists of seven stages through which athletes progress in accordance with the level of competition to which they aim to subscribe, but the goal of the LTAD is to facilitate population-wide lifelong physical activity, regardless of the level of competition (Robertson et al., 2005).

Although most of what is suggested in the LTAD model applies to both able-bodied and parasport athletes, the LTAD model was modified to meet the slightly different and additional needs of athletes with a disability; a modification which is known as the No Accidental Champions (NAC) model (Robertson & Higgs, 2006). The NAC model consists of two additional stages to facilitate lifelong sport participation for athletes with a disability beyond the seven stages of the LTAD model (Robertson & Higgs, 2006). The first additional stage, Awareness, is based on the fact that sport and physical activity opportunities for persons with a disability are not always well known, and a large majority of potential athletes and caregivers may not be aware of what – if any – appropriate opportunities exist (Robertson & Higgs, 2006). In this regard, the parties responsible for various sport development plans must make opportunities known to potential athletes with a disability (Robertson & Higgs, 2006). The first experience an individual with a disability and his/her caregivers have with a new sport and its environment is stressed within the second additional stage, First Contact/Recruitment (Robertson & Higgs, 2006). That is, if the first experience is not positive, the individual may not return to sport or any physical activity again (Robertson & Higgs, 2006). Thus, it would seem that events present the opportunity to create exposure and awareness about sport participation opportunities, and potentially create ways to leverage the event for first contact programming.

Theoretical Framework

Rütten and Gelius' (2011) Multi-level Interdependence of Structure and Agency (MISA) model – which combines Giddens' (1984a) theory of structuration, Ostrom's (2007) notion of action levels, and Sewell's (1992) notion of structural change – help to

demonstrate how structure and agency interact to impact individuals' and organizations' power, and how interactions of structure and agency can function to either reinforce or challenge existing power structures within systems. In order to explore the power relations embedded in the process of legacy planning, I used the case of the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games as an example, focusing on a parasport legacy planning process from the policy to the implementation level.

Giddens' theory of structuration is widely used as a way to understand the interaction of human actors, or 'agents' in social systems, or 'structures', as well as to understand how some people, groups, or organizations tend to possess and exercise more power than others (Giddens, 1984a). When applying these theoretical constructs to real-world situations, an important and useful element to note is the existence of multiple action levels (or arenas) in and through which systems and structures exist. As Ostrom, Gardner, and Walker (1994) and Ostrom (2007) explain, any social system can consist of four levels of action, which include:

1. The operational level, which comprises the everyday lives of individuals and the working level of organizations, etcetera.
2. The collective choice level, which comprises formal and informal settings such as legislatures and courts as well as gatherings and private associations, often where policy is made (Ostrom, 2007, p. 46).
3. The constitutional level, which involves "prescribing, invoking, monitoring, applying and enforcing" the rules that affect collective choice situations (Ostrom, 2007, p. 45).
4. The metaconstitutional level, which involves "prescribing, invoking, monitoring,

applying and enforcing” the rules that affect the constitutional situations (Ostrom, 2007, p. 45)

In real-world situations, the number and hierarchy of these levels is much more complex than articulated above. For the purposes of this study, the national and territorial governments, national sport bodies, and the Legacy Planning Committee (depending on the situation) represent the constitutional level of action; the individual parasport organizations, facilities, and municipalities involved in legacy planning as the collective choice level; and the lives of stakeholders and residents (particularly those with a disability) as the operational level.

As Rütten and Gelius (2011) note, Giddens does not allocate much of his work to the possibility of structural change. Rather, his work focuses on the production and reproduction of a system’s structure through agency, depicting what Rütten and Gelius (2011) refer to as “stasis” (p. 954). In order to move beyond simply examining what is happening within a system to offering avenues through which change can occur, it is important to look to those who have built on Giddens’ work in acknowledging the possibility for structural change. Once actors have become aware of the need for change, and have begun to reflexively monitor their motivations and actions, Sewell (1992) posits that there are five axioms through which change can occur through the interaction of structure and agency within a system. Although the details of each of these axioms is beyond the scope of this paper, it is sufficient to state that according to Sewell (1992), change can occur through a “multiplicity of structures” (p. 16), the “transposability” of rules (p. 17), “intersection” of structures (p. 19), the “unpredictability of resource accumulation” (p. 18), and the “polysemy of resources” (p. 18).

Research Context: Applying the MISA Model

I now explain how the theoretical underpinnings of the MISA model can be applied to my current research. Figure 5 shows an adaptation of Rütten and Gelius' (2011) MISA model as it pertains to a legacy planning committee perspective. In this example, the event's legacy planning committee occupies the constitutional level, a municipality occupies the collective choice level, and the municipality's residents occupy the operational level. At each level, I include examples (from the context of sport) of structure and agency. At the operational level, hypothetical examples of the mutually reinforcing concepts are sport programming (including the resources necessary to carry out programs) and citizens' sport participation (implying action on the part of citizens). At the collective choice level, an example of a structure-agency feedback system includes policy structures such as a municipality's recreation master plan and the stakeholder consultation that might contribute to the development of that plan. Finally, at the constitutional level, examples of the structure-agency relationship include the development of an educational curriculum (and the resources required to develop that tool) and the stakeholder consultation that may have informed its development. In each case, the arrows between structure and agency depict the mutually reinforcing nature of the relationship between the two concepts. That is, the arrows denote the locations of where Sewell would suggest structural change would occur, and where Giddens would suggest reinforcement would occur.

Employing this incorporated model allows for the examination of whether policy-level legacy planning functions to enable or disable community members' voice in the decision making processes, and whether community members' actions influenced the

decisions made at the policy level. More broadly, the MISA model aids in my evaluation of embedded power relations within legacy decision-making processes.

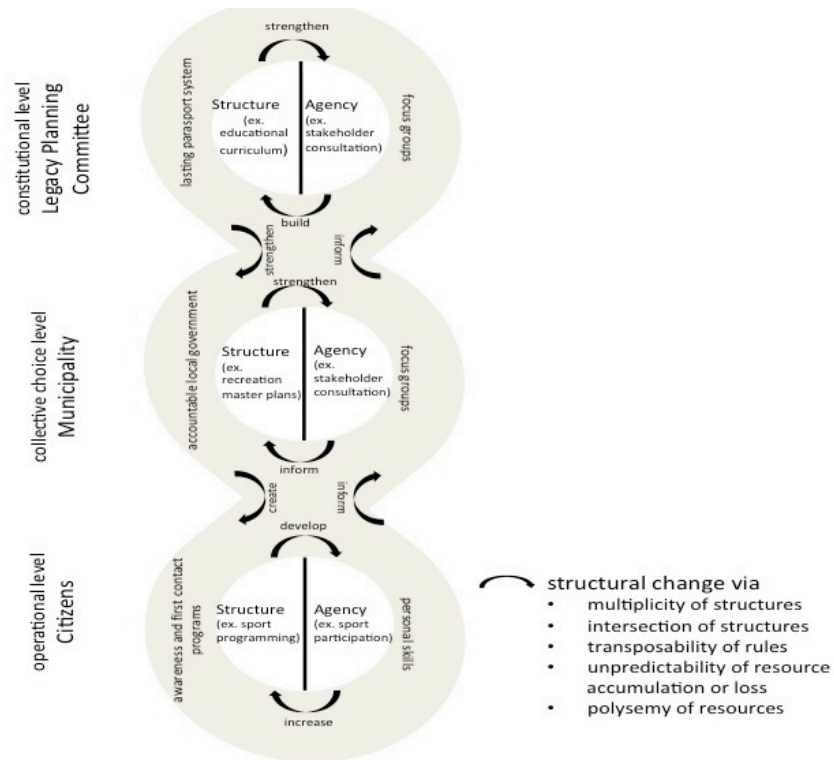


Figure 5. The multi-level interdependence of structure and agency. Adapted from Rütten and Gelius (2011, p. 956).

Research Context

The Parapan American Games is an international multisport event that occurs every four years. Athletes who compete at Parapan American Games have a physical disability (and as such, throughout this research, ‘disability’ refers to a physical impairment), and represent their home countries within North and South America. The 2015 Parapan American Games were hosted in Toronto and throughout the GTA from August 7-15, 2015. In 2009, the decision was made by the Pan American Sports Organization (PASO) in collaboration with the Americas Paralympic Committee (APC) to award the Games to

Toronto, and the Toronto 2015 Organizing Committee (TO2015) in partnership with the national parasport organization initiated active legacy planning thereafter (national parasport organization [NPO] manager, February 5, 2015; Toronto 2015, 2015a). This resulted in the creation of a Legacy Planning Committee, which brought together leaders within Toronto and the GTA's parasport system in active and regular discussion regarding goals and strategies associated with leveraging the 2015 Parapan American Games (NPO manager, February 5, 2015). The LPC established four main objectives: increasing the number of trained parasport coaches; increasing and improving parasport participation; increasing awareness of disability; and improving facilities' accessibility (NPO manager, February 5, 2015). With time, the committee found it difficult to allocate resources across these four areas, and decided to concert their efforts into a more specific area that they felt they had the capacity to manage – increasing parasport participation through Awareness and First Contact programming (NPO manager, February 5, 2015).

The committee encouraged parasport organizations and facilities around Toronto and the GTA to use the Games to increase disability sport opportunities at the community level, in the hopes of increasing parasport participation rates that remain sustained after the Games have concluded (NPO manager, February 5, 2015). Further, once the LPC was established, the committee reached out to each 2015 Parapan American Games host municipality and invited them to develop legacy plans in accordance with the four objectives set out by the LPC (NPO manager, February 5, 2015). The committee's role was to support the pursuits of the organizations, facilities, and municipalities by providing advice, support, and resources if they were available. Organizations, facilities, and municipalities that intended to leverage the Games in this manner had a

representative on the LPC (NPO manager, February 5, 2015). In the case of municipalities, these representatives were called ‘municipal leads’, and they functioned to liaise between the LPC and their respective municipalities (NPO manager February 5, 2015). Although the LPC guided and encouraged the organizations, facilities, and municipalities, ultimately, those parties were responsible for the implementation of legacy plans and programs within their jurisdiction.

As discussed above, this emphasis on legacy planning (and in particular, social impacts) has been in response to regions’ and nations’ desires to host these international events and the associated need to garner local support for these pursuits. However, the focus on legacy planning is also a response to the fact that legacy plans have become a criterion on which the International Paralympic Committee (the governing body for the Paralympic Movement, and APC’s parent organization) and other international sport governing bodies decide which country will be awarded the Games (International Paralympic Committee, 2013; Toronto 2015, 2015b). As such, the International Paralympic Committee has mandated ways in which organizing committees must target legacy objectives, and it is by these stipulations TO2015 and the LPC were guided.

Methodology

Study Design

This study is qualitative in nature and is guided by a critical perspective. The study was engineered to cultivate an understanding of how structure and agency interact and are exercised, using the Legacy Planning Committee and the Toronto and GTA parasport system as an example. In seeking to understand how power relations are

embedded within the parasport system and its decision-making processes, it is necessary to identify each of the various interactions of structure and agency (that is, within and between action arenas) within the Toronto and GTA parasport system, and analyze what is happening at each of those locations.

Data Collection Procedure

In order to determine how the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games, the events, and the related resources are being leveraged by the Legacy Planning Committee, and begin to understand the power structures embedded within the Toronto and GTA parasport system, I conducted semi-structured interviews with members of the LPC across varying levels of influence (Fontana & Frey, 2005). This includes members who were involved in policy-level plans as well as those involved in community-level implementation. During the semi-structured interviews, I used interview guides to direct the discussion, but I also encouraged participants to elaborate on their thoughts and answers where they deemed necessary (Fontana & Frey, 2005).

In addition to interviews, I also conducted document analyses. Documents included community recreation master plans developed by the municipalities that expressed the intention to develop legacy plans. These recreation master plans outline the local governments' goals and action plans associated with public, community-level recreation. Recreation master plans were obtained from the towns' websites. The information I gathered from the interviews were compared with the intentions outlined in these municipal plans in order to determine whether the legacy plans targeted specific community needs and to what extent community members played a role in legacy plan development.

Sample

In order to determine the study participants, I relied on snowball sampling, as there were many individuals and organizations that comprised the LPC from many different organizations and interest groups (DePoy & Giltin, 2011). The actual names of the organizations, municipalities, positions, and individuals who participated in this study have been changed and are kept confidential. In gathering interviewees, I targeted individuals who represented various organizations across Toronto and the GTA on the Legacy Planning Committee. I also targeted the lead contacts for each municipality that expressed an interest in creating a legacy plan on the heels of the Games. In this way, I was able to capture a cross-section of the social structure from the national to the municipal level. The participating interviewees are listed in Table 2, below.

Table 2. Interviewees

Name of Interviewee (pseudonym)	Position of Interviewee	Level of Interviewee
Myles	Manager at a national parasport organization (NPO)	Policy-level
Brooke	Programmer at a provincial parasport organization (PPO)	Policy-level advisor
Sebastian	Manager at a parasport facility	Policy-level advisor
Angelo	Director at a parasport facility	Policy-level advisor
Nigel	Director at a regional sport commission in Municipality 1	Policy/implementation-level liaison
Pierre	Manager at Municipality 2 (within the GTA)	Policy/implementation-level liaison
Genevieve	Director at Municipality 3 (within the GTA)	Policy/implementation-level liaison
Diane	Programmer at Municipality 4 (within the GTA)	Policy/implementation-level liaison

The first four interviewees listed represent their respective organizations as members on the LPC and the latter four interviewees are the ‘municipal leads’ who liaised between the LPC and their municipalities in developing community legacy plans. Municipalities

referenced in this paper will be referred to as Municipality 1, 2, 3, or 4. I conducted document analyses of each municipality's recreation policies including recreation master plans and any corresponding documents (for example, appendices).

Data Analysis

I recorded the interviews and transcribed them verbatim. I employed a thematic analysis, which enabled dominant themes within the data to emerge (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Ryan & Bernard, 2003). After I familiarized myself with the data by reading it and taking notes of initial thoughts, I applied initial codes to the data, which helped to systematically organize the data into emerging themes. I then reviewed the transcriptions and the emerging themes with my advisor, and discussed these preliminary findings and how they related to both the project's original theoretical framework and existing themes within the literature. I then recoded and reorganized the data, generated new emergent themes, and my advisor confirmed the new themes in accordance with my research questions and the theoretical underpinnings of my study. In this way, I was continually guided by the theoretical framework and literature throughout the coding process. Ultimately, the major themes were gathered and categorically summarized in accordance with the projects' research questions and theoretical framework.

I gathered recreation master plans and their associated documents, and focused on sections that detailed community needs as they pertained to sport participation opportunities and the local governments' action plans associated with those needs. I also focused on sections of the recreation master plans that outlined the needs of persons with a disability as they pertained to accessibility to sport facilities and programs. After I synthesized each municipality's sporting needs and action plans, I compared those to

each municipality's legacy plans and the strategies and tactics undertaken to target those legacy objectives (which were gathered from the interviews). This comparison helped to shed light on whether the legacy plans were effectively targeting community needs, whether local residents' voices were informing legacy plans, and ultimately, how power was embedded into the decision-making processes inherent in the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games legacy planning.

Findings and Discussion: Reinforcement and Marginalization

Based on my analysis, the results focus on the Toronto and GTA's parasport system as it applies to the model laid out by Rütten and Gelius (2011) in accordance with the study's research questions. I demonstrate how power may have affected the legacy decision-making and implementation processes in accordance with Giddens' theory of structuration across Ostrom's (2007) various action arenas and levels. I begin by outlining the locations of structure-agency interaction within the Toronto and GTA parasport system, and then move to an exposition of the nature of these interactions as being that of structural reinforcement. These interpretations may indicate that the strategies and tactics undertaken by the LPC may not serve as effective means to increase opportunities for parasport participation after the Games.

The results are presented according to common themes across eight interviews with people from various action arenas and levels, including representatives from the facilities, parasport organizations, and municipalities on the Legacy Planning Committee, as well as from document analyses of four municipalities' recreation master plans. I use examples from these sources that demonstrate where and how I saw the interaction of structure and agency happening within the parasport system. As outlined in the

theoretical framework section, the various interactions of structure and agency can represent the locations of either structural change (according to Sewell, 1992) or reinforcement (according to Giddens, 1984a). These points of structure-agency interaction include: downward, between levels; horizontally, within levels; and upward, between levels.

Reinforcement of Existing Power Relations: Downward, Between Levels

My results show repeated instances of structure-agency interaction occurring downward from the constitutional to the collective choice level. An example that demonstrates this interaction within Toronto and the GTA's parasport system is in examining the Legacy Planning Committee (which constitutes the constitutional level in this example) and how it came to form. According to Myles, a manager at the national parasport organization (NPO) that initiated the construction of the formal Legacy Planning Committee,

The first step was that we instigated a full partner meeting and stakeholder meeting back in December 2012. And that was to effectively engage every organization or individual that had a stake in parasport in Ontario. [...] So essentially, from that 2012 summit, an Ontario partner legacy group was formed. That group consists of key leaders within the province of Ontario and those that have a direct relationship to the Games. (February 5, 2015)

When asked how attendees of the 2012 summit became involved, Myles said of the NPO, "we did a bit of an analysis, and we understood who the key players were already. [...] We've been cognizant of, you know, making sure we have the leaders, you know, at the

table” (NPO manager, February 5, 2015). Likewise, when Brooke was asked how she and other members of the LPC became involved, she posited,

I think [key players were] asked, and then it probably just grew from there. So, you know, taking everyone’s expertise and saying, ‘is there anyone else that would be beneficial to have on this committee that works in this area that has the expertise or has the knowledge that would be good?’ (provincial parasport organization programmer [PPO], January 21, 2015)

Accordingly, downward structure-agency interaction is evident in the way in which the NPO initiated and selected members from the collective choice level of the existing parasport system to comprise the LPC. The excerpts above illustrate that the process through which the LPC was formed involved the initiators of the LPC identifying and selecting members according to organizations’ amounts of knowledge, resources, and expertise. The interaction of structure and agency in this example could at first be seen as functioning to produce structural change between levels – that is, this interaction resulted in bringing collective choice organizations onto the constitutional level LPC. However, this apparent change is actually more complex; powerful organizations determined and selected who would be involved in legacy planning discussions – an action which I regard as a demonstration of structural reinforcement. In this way, embedded power relations within Toronto and the GTA’s parasport system dictated who were involved in the strategic and tactical use of the Games to achieve desired outcomes.

The schema by which the LPC was intended to function also demonstrates downward structure-agency interaction. According to Myles, the role that the NPO played in legacy planning within the LPC was that of facilitation. That is, Myles

expressed that the NPO's role was to bring the leadership group (the LPC) together, facilitate discussions, and "empower [partners] to be able to go out and implement legacy objectives" (NPO manager, February 5, 2015). He further explained that the idea behind keeping members of the LPC limited to the so-called leaders in Ontario's parasport system was that after decisions would be made amongst the LPC, each member or member organization would then translate those decisions down to their constituents (Myles, NPO manager, February 5, 2015). These examples depict clear downward avenues through which structure and agency interacted within the parasport system. This functions to empower organizations in positions of leadership to continue to exercise their power, and results in the less-powerful individuals and organizations being continually excluded from decision-making conversations.

The hierarchical method of selecting individuals to be included also occurred within LPC member organizations and municipal departments. After being invited by the NPO to join the LPC, executive directors within those member groups were tasked with delegating the role of representatively participating in legacy-planning discussions. Each of the eight organizational representatives of the LPC I interviewed explained that their participation in legacy planning was determined because of the position they held at their respective organizations, and not necessarily their ability to contribute to the strategic process. An example of this is from Myles, when discussing how his career led him to parasport. He said, "I got involved in the legacy project because I was told to" (NPO manager, February 5, 2015). Further, Pierre also demonstrated this finding: "it falls within my role naturally. You know, it was brought to me – 'would you want to be involved in this?' – but, I don't think it was necessarily a full option. I don't think I could

have declined” (Municipal manager, May 27, 2015). That is, the participation of the organizational and municipal representatives on the LPC were the results of decisions made from above based mostly on the job description of an individual, rather than by determining who had the most relevant skill and resource sets or by voluntary choice – the latter of which would suggest more upward change between the levels. Again, this selection and delegation process demonstrates how existing power structures were reproduced within the Toronto and GTA parasport system throughout the legacy planning process.

The NPO also subtly exercised their power within the local parasport system throughout the goal-setting phase of legacy planning. That is, when I asked Myles how decisions were made within the LPC with regards to which legacy objectives to pursue, he said, “from an organizational – from a [NPO] perspective – obviously we are very interested in high performance sport. However, understanding that to get the high performance sport, you have to have participation at the grassroots level” (NPO manager, February 5, 2015). In this way, Myles expressed the notion that leveraging the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games to increase parasport participation was a means to an end of facilitating high performance Canadian sport. To accentuate this finding, Myles further explained that:

You know, [the NPO has] a pretty big brand, we’re a national focus, but we understand that really leveraging the Games is going to really help us meet our organizational objectives, cause it’s going to increase participation, and then we can – then that’s going to give us athletes. (NPO manager, February 5, 2015)

This excerpt exposes the fact that the NPO's agenda was to increase its own organizational objectives – hence using their relative power to exploit the Games for their own interest. Brooke also revealed similar sentiments with regards to the NPO's motivation in determining legacy objectives. She stated that “at the highest level, from the [NPO], I think they're really focusing on high performance. So, hoping to leverage the Games to really grow the high performance program and agenda” (PPO programmer, January 21, 2015). These excerpts show that the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games presented the highest policy-level decision makers with a unique opportunity to further exercise and grow their preexisting power.

In an effort to encourage municipalities in the GTA to develop legacy plans on the heels of the Games, the LPC decided to partner one LPC member with each municipal representative to help facilitate the strategic and specific legacy planning within that municipality. In many cases, and for reasons that are beyond the scope of this study, municipalities were slow or resistant to form legacy plans beyond initial claims of intention. Myles said of the municipality's resistance, “we know that this is often a side or desk job for some of these municipalities, so [...] we support and help [...] and get them kickstarted. [...] We're going to hold their hand for implementation ” (NPO manager, February 5, 2015). This reluctance to form legacy plans highlights the fact that the LPC sought and valued the participation of parties that possessed the power to implement change (i.e. those who were in a position of power), regardless of whether those parties demonstrated genuine interest in participating in legacy objectives. The municipalities' hesitation heightened the importance and the extent of the LPC members' role in facilitating the planning. This resulted in cases of obligatory and dictated legacy

plans within the municipalities in a top-down approach (Legacy Planning Committee [LPC], 2015b), functioning to reproduce the existing power structures within the parasport system.

Another example, which perhaps most clearly demonstrates the downward structure-agency interaction that occurred throughout the legacy planning process, was in the case of the construction of a national sport facility in Municipality 2. This facility was constructed with the goal of being the host venue of a parasport event during the Games, and facilitating some parasport programming afterwards. In this instance, the construction of the facility was the municipality's only legacy objective. That is, other potential legacy goals, including entry-level sport programming, were not their primary focus. When I asked Pierre who was involved in the decision making process to pursue this project as their legacy goal over others potential projects, he stated,

The decision making process to fund and build the [facility]? That would happen not with [the municipality]; that would happen at the, you know, Games level, and at the federal level to say, 'hey, do we want to spend \$50million to build a [facility]?' We were kind of the community that was selected to build. And at that point, the decision had been made from the federal government level to build it. So were [citizens] involved in that level? I don't know. At our level, not directly, because like I said, the decision had already been made at their end. (Municipal manager, May 27, 2015)

It is clear from this excerpt that according to Pierre, the decision to create this facility was not the result of a consensus reached by multiple stakeholder parties; rather, it was a decision made from within a higher level of the system (that is, the constitutional level of

the federal government and national sport organization) that was translated down to the collective choice level of the municipality. It resulted in the exploitation of power by policy-level decision makers over less powerful community members, in effect, reproducing the existing power structures within the system.

These examples demonstrate that legacy plans and the associated strategies and tactics employed in an effort to accomplish those objectives were steered by preexisting power structures within the parasport system. Decisions made by policy-level organizations (namely the NPO, LPC members, and federal government) were carried out in such a way as to empower and only include those who were in positions of influence. In continuing to investigate how power was embedded within the legacy decision-making process, I now proceed to structure-agency interactions that occurred within action levels of the Toronto and GTA parasport system.

Strengthening Existing Power Relations: Horizontally Within Levels

As discussed by Rütten and Gelius's (2011) there are also areas of potential structural change or reinforcement of existing power structures based on what occurs horizontally between structure and agency within a given action level. An example of horizontal change was evident in examining the recreation master plans of the municipalities (i.e. collective choice level). These recreation master plans function to outline the community's policy agenda and action plans in the coming years. During the development of the recreation master plans, local residents had opportunities to participate in discussions regarding the communities' goals, and the recreation master plans also include summaries of these meetings. In the case of Municipality 2, in which the aforementioned national facility was built, the municipality's master plan indicated

that focus groups and round tables had been held in the lead up to the recreation master plan's development (before the national sport facility was built). The recounts of these focus groups shed light on residents' and organizations' desires to participate in discussions regarding future plans for town facilities: "groups stated a desire to have greater involvement in the facility planning and design process so that functionality and programming ability does not get lost" (Municipality 2, 2014a, p. 6). In addition, the focus groups outlined the expressed desire for affordable programming: "The ability of households to afford things beyond housing and other basic needs is becoming more challenging, thus participation in community activities is difficult for lower income or newcomer households" (Municipality 2, 2014a, p. 4). In a similar vein,

Groups reported that persons with disabilities may require coaches and volunteers who have specialized expertise for their needs, and since those resources do not always exist locally, there is a financial cost to hiring them. Additionally, programs run for persons with disabilities can require that less participants per hour can use a facility which is another challenge in ensuring affordability when facility rental rates are universal. (Municipality 2, 2014a, p. 6)

In this way, the focus groups served as platforms through which residents were able to voice their needs to their local government. In response, action plans within the recreation master plan express the intent of the town's government to address these needs. One of the action items reads, "build upon the number of relationships with groups that provide services to persons with disabilities and therapeutic services, in order to enable a seamless system and barrier free access to recreation and sport pursuits" (Municipality 2, 2014c, p. 25). In this way, the findings within the recreation master plan reveal the local

government's intentions to address community needs. In effect, this example functions to highlight how relationships can be strengthened through horizontal interactions. This example further demonstrates the structural change that can potentially take place within a system – in that the local government pledged intentions to facilitate the changes its residents needed.

While this horizontal interaction of structure and agency via local government-resident communication seems ideal, what actually happened during the decision-making process of the new facility and its legacy-planning was the marginalization of residents through the ways in which community needs were neglected. In effect, the decisions that were made functioned to marginalize the residents and their stated needs. That is, as is noted in a local newspaper, a representative of the company that drafted the facility's business plan said:

[A similar facility in another town] sees 85 per cent local usage, which [the representative] said won't be the case in [Municipality 2]. 'This is going to have a national brand and be used for the elite training of national [sport participants] and up and coming youth development events'. (Inside Halton, 2012)

This quotation highlights the fact that the focus of the facility's programming will not be on community-level sport, but rather, that of national, elite-level sport. The excerpt functions to draw a contradiction between the needs and desires of the municipality's residents and the intentions behind the facility. The quotation also demonstrates the fact that facility programming will not be aligned with the LPC's goal of creating introductory sport programming on the heels of the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games. Further, the passage supports Taks et al.'s (2014) position that the goal of

increasing sport participation through the leveraging of sport events typically gets neglected because of a central focus on elite rather than community sport.

As documented in the municipality's recreation master plan, a "price premium" will be required for access to the facility (Municipality 2, 2014c, p. 32), which is in direct opposition to the needs expressed through the local government's focus groups. This finding fails to acknowledge the fact that persons with a disability already tend to face higher sport and recreation costs due to equipment, personnel, and transportation costs. Thus, access to the facility for parasport programming after the Games will be financially difficult. In this way, the construction of (and the associated cost of access to) the national sport facility is not conducive to Awareness and First Contact Programming (which will likely have less participants per hour, in effect making rental cost higher per participant due to the universal price of facility rental), in effect, dismissing the needs of the community. The high financial cost to access the facility favours high performance, national sport programming (since associated organizations would likely be better positioned to afford these costs), which further legitimates powerful organizations over the local community and sport organizations.

The excerpts above that pertain to Municipality 2's national sport facility function to expose the contradiction between the community's stated needs, the government's stated intentions to pursue those needs, and what actually came to fruition during the legacy planning processes of the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games. The disregard for the expressed needs of the people who occupy the operational level in this municipality in favour of the agendas of the more powerful national sport bodies and

governments functions to marginalize the former and legitimate the latter, and reinforce the existing power structure.

Another example of horizontal structure-agency interaction occurring in the legacy planning stages of the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games is demonstrated through the use of LPC member organizations' resources in order to facilitate legacy-planning discussions. These resources included the member organizations' facilities, equipment, audience, knowledge, skills, and experiences, among other things, in order to carry out its mission of actively planning legacies (i.e. In-Kind Contributions as an expectation of involvement in the partnership). As an example, external to the LPC, the NPO developed an educational resource that includes Awareness and First Contact strategies and is designed to be integrated into public school curricula. During the legacy planning process, the NPO distributed this resource to the LPC member organizations to aid in developing entry-level parasport programming (Myles, NPO manager February 5, 2015). Further, organizations that have access to meeting spaces within facilities often offered that space for LPC meetings, and members shared insight on how to be successful in grant applications, program planning, and resource acquisition, among other horizontal structure-agency interactions within the LPC (LPC, 2015a). In these ways, the parasport leaders' increased access to resources functioned to further strengthen their power and influence within the existing system, and create a clear hierarchy of members in terms of those with access to resources and those lacking in these opportunities. Thus, those already in positions of power were enabled to further exercise and strengthen their roles, which will function to widen the gap between those within the system who possess power and those who do not.

Horizontal interaction of structure and agency can also be observed within Toronto and the GTA's parasport system through the strengthening of partnerships between members of the LPC. Organizational representatives on the LPC to which I spoke indicated that prior to the active efforts to facilitate discussions between these parasport organizations, although they knew for the most part that these other parties existed, they did not converse regularly, coordinate efforts, nor strategically support one another. These representatives noted that the initiation of the LPC and its commitment to meeting regularly has strengthened the network of parasport organizations in Toronto and the GTA. An example of these strengthened relationships is in an excerpt from Sebastian:

We're all busy all the time. And busy doing. And not necessarily having the time to sit and strategically think and plan. But having the legacy committee has forced us to all stop once in a while, sit down, and talk, and bounce ideas off, and actually get opportunities to network, and, you know, where you're away from your desk or away from your office. So I mean, pre involvement with [the] Parapan [American Games], I still spoke with, you know, [a parasport organization] for example, but just didn't talk to them quite as often. You know, before the legacy committee was formed, I had contact with the [national parasport organization], but now I chat with them a couple times a month, which is a lot more than we did before. Sometimes it's a couple times a week, to talk about their [educational resource], or to talk about their [Awareness and First Contact program], or something. So yeah, I mean, I can't say any of these relationships are necessarily new, [but] they're definitely stronger because of it. (Parasport facility manager, February 12, 2015)

Further, as Myles explained, the idea behind cultivating a network of parasport organizations was to create a parasport system that exists, thrives, and serves the Toronto and GTA long after the Games are over:

[the LPC has] been very targeted and trying to engage the government and trying to engage key partners and saying ‘we’re hosting the Games, but that’s not going to increase participation’ and even if it does, [new athletes] haven’t got a system to go into. So, we as a collective group [LPC] need to make sure that we actually leverage the Games effectively to actually increase participation and build a system that can accommodate that increase in participation as well. (NPO manager, February 5, 2015)

The strengthened relationships between parasport organizations on the LPC function to highlight horizontal structure-agency interactions. However, the consolidation of these partnerships also functions to reinforce the existing power structure of the parasport system; those who were selected to be a part of the LPC are now enabled to reap the benefits of broadening and strengthening their social systems, while those organizations who were not identified as leaders remain excluded from the system and are not enabled to grow through networking nor increased access to resources.

Disempowerment and Marginalization: Upward, Between Levels

The final site for potential structural change or reinforcement, as discussed by Rütten and Gelius (2011) Sewell (1992), and Giddens (1984) is located between the levels in an upward direction, occurring between either the operational and collective choice levels or between the collective choice and the constitutional levels. My findings

indicate that many times, the exercising of power by pre-existing leaders within the system precluded attempted upward change from happening.

The first example of this precluded upward change is closely related to the ways in which people became involved on the LPC through the selection process outlined above. In those examples, individuals and organizations were considered “key leaders” and were invited to join the LPC. In this way, top-down power was exercised. Now, in the expansion of this example, one can begin to see how bottom-up changes (from the collective choice to the constitutional level) within the system were discouraged as I demonstrate why certain individuals and organizations were considered key leaders. When I probed at why certain organizations were chosen as LPC members over others, Myles explained that:

What you had to do to be a part of the group was actually be able to commit to the legacy plan, and actually implementation as well. So it was a certain, it was a values-based system. So, you would come to the table if you had something to give, you could contribute to the discussions, you were willing to work in a collaborative environment, and you could go away and implement and enforce change. (NPO manager, February 5, 2015)

In reference to Myles’ explanation as to what organizations were included in legacy planning, I would question his description of the system as values-based. That is, it seems this was a system centered on which organizations are capable of exercising the most power in terms of influence, reach, and resources. In this way, participation on the LPC was dictated not according to individuals’ values, but rather, the level of power each individual or organization was regarded as already being capable of exercising. Further,

findings from my interviews indicate that self-nominated participation on the LPC was not encouraged nor permitted – which, in effect, further diminishes the role of an individual or organizations’ values as criteria on which participation in legacy decision-making was permitted. In a way, the criteria by which individuals and organizations were selected to be a part of the LPC makes sense; those who have adequate resources, influence, and reach are perhaps best positioned to be able to deliver the legacy objectives outlined by the LPC. However, it remains that because there was no call for voluntary participation sent out, and hence, the NPO and LPC were not made aware of any smaller or newer organizations that also may have been willing or equipped to help, this selection process functioned to preclude upward change, and in fact, reinforce existing power structures. The reinforcement of the existing power structures functioned to further marginalize and disable individuals who were not considered leaders within this community, while simultaneously enabling and legitimizing those who were already considered leaders.

Precluded upward change was also demonstrated from the operational to the collective choice level. That is, strategic and active opportunities were not created for stakeholder citizens to participate on the LPC in legacy goal setting or to provide insight into their needs and desires. For example, Sebastian was asked if he was aware of any specific strategies for persons with a disability to participate in legacy planning discussions on the LPC, to which he responded: “that’s a good question. Um, I think indirectly, there definitely is. [...] [Our facility] ha[s] a large contingent of members who do have disabilities, and we do ask them and look for, you know, what they need” (parasport facility manager, February 12, 2015). This excerpt exposes the fact that

Sebastian felt he represented the voices of the members of his facility, without being able to point directly to a concrete way in which he acquired their opinions. However, even if Sebastian could adequately represent the needs of the facility's members, he certainly cannot speak for non-members – people who are not currently participating in sport who would be the target audience for legacy initiatives such as First Contact and Awareness programs. In this way, the LPC did not seek the voices of the people whom the legacy plans should have – by definition – been targeting, thus further marginalizing an already non-participative portion of the community. When I prompted Angelo to discuss what could be done in the future to better facilitate the stated legacy objectives, he offered:

We need more people out there advocating, expressing what is needed to happen so that people feel they have the tools that they can use. [...] So it's, I think, getting an understanding out, from again, champions in the community, community leaders, and people with disabilities. (Parasport facility director, February 12, 2015)

This excerpt from Angelo indicates a need for more upward communication – for stakeholders of the decisions to inform plans – and implies that the system currently lacks in this area. Further, when I asked Brooke if she was aware of any specific barriers faced by persons with a disability within the region that her organization serves, she remarked,

A couple of years ago, we worked on a project to develop accessible sports councils, which were kind of meant to be that community link – so that direct link – to what's going on in the community; having them be kind of the voice, with you know, what's going on in their region. I know Toronto was on the list, but nothing ever really developed. There is now someone who has taken that

leadership to try and get things going again, and we've had a couple of introductory meetings. But up until like, two weeks ago, you know, there hasn't really been a central voice for sport and recreation opportunities for people with physical disabilities in Toronto and I think, you know, because of that, you know, it's so hard to reach out to these people. (PPO programmer, January 21, 2015)

Again, this excerpt highlights a lack of communication between persons with a disability (i.e. those at the operational level) and both people who form the collective choice and by extension, the constitutional level. This functions to produce a disconnect between parasport programming and the actual needs of those the programming should serve. The excerpt exposes the fact that the planners from the collective choice and constitutional levels remain unaware of the real, daily barriers, needs, goals, and desires of the stakeholders they aim to serve. This raises questions about the likelihood that programs developed through the LPC will target the needs of and minimize the barriers faced by the target audience. This disconnect also marginalizes persons with a disability by causing them be acted upon, rather than actively seeking their thoughts in the decision-making processes that affect their lives.

The disconnect observed between the policy level desires for broader participation and the implementation of said policy strategies as the local level can also be seen between the municipal leads in charge of legacy program planning and the residents of those regions. In an example provided by Nigel when discussing the ways in which persons with a disability in the region had been asked what specific needs they have or barriers that they face that could perhaps be addressed through legacy plans, he said:

I think we still need to do some sort of needs assessment. I'm not sure that that's really been done per se, so, I would say that that's probably one of our first steps is trying to reach out to the accessible community and finding out you know, what types of opportunities they would like to see available. Cause I mean, that would be a logical way for us to formulate the plan, I mean, it's one thing for us to sit in the room and say 'here's what we think', but I think we need to consult with the community first, before we can make a determination. (Regional sport commission director, May 27, 2015)

Further, when asked if there had been consultations done with persons with a disability or disability advocacy groups in terms of legacy planning, Genevieve said:

Um... I would say not at this point. I think that is something that we're hoping to do. [...] I think once we get the families in the door [of the programs], then we'll look at, you know, 'how do we move forward?', 'what does it look like for you?', 'what are the demands?'. (Municipal director, June 19, 2015)

These excerpts suggest consultation with persons with a disability may occur further down the planning process, however, they demonstrate the fact that the voices of persons with a disability are not the primary drivers behind the legacy plans. The organizers show desire for their programs to be effective, but do not show evidence of seeking the voices of the stakeholders at the operational level. In this way, upward change through communication with stakeholders at the operational level was precluded in the legacy planning processes, resulting in the reinforcement of existing power structures.

The findings presented above indicate that the locations of notable interactions between structure and agency within the Toronto and GTA parasport system include

horizontally within Ostrom's (2007) notions of action levels and both upward and downward between levels. In the case of the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games legacy planning processes, my overwhelming finding has been in accordance with Giddens' (1984b) notions of structural reinforcement. That is, the legacy decisions have functioned to reinforce the existing power structures within the parasport system.

As outlined by Rütten and Gelius (2011), the nature of structure-agency interactions that occur within social systems can, in theory, be interpreted according to Sewell (1992) as structural change, or Giddens (1984b) as structural reinforcement. The implications of these possible interpretations result in vastly different outcomes for the given social system. In the case of a parasport event, the former interpretation would mean that structural change would result in persons with a disability having an increased role in decision-making processes that affect one's life and because of this, extend to and result in effective and relevant programming that would increase rates of parasport participation. The latter interpretation, and the one that this research supports, would mean that the existing power structures and the resulting distinction between enabled and marginalized groups would continue to be reproduced, with no change in the form of newly-legitimated voices nor increased rates of parasport participation.

Implications of these Findings

Given the results presented above in relation to the theoretical framing, there are a number of implications for understanding how structure and agency interact to both reproduce and reinforce existing power relations in the process of parasport legacy planning. I first discuss the ways in which certain decisions functioned to reinforce the existing power structures by enabling some groups and disabling certain others, and then

explore how organizations that were considered leaders were able to use the legacy planning process to strengthen their positions throughout the legacy planning process.

Reinforcing Patterns of Marginalization

The results indicate that throughout the legacy-planning process of the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games, existing power structures were reinforced through repeated instances of top-down, and precluded horizontal and bottom-up decision-making. Initial examination may indicate that these interactions resulted in structural change; among other things, a legacy planning committee was formed, legacy intentions were planned, and the relationships between the parasport system's leaders were strengthened – all of which indicate that some form of change occurred. Upon closer examination, however, I argue that these instances of top-down and bottom-up interactions reflect the reinforcement of pre-existing power structures. For example, while it may seem as though structural change occurred in a top-down fashion when the national parasport organization (NPO) initiated the LPC and selected members from the collective choice level to participate in this constitutional level decision-making group, it is crucial to note that individuals and organizations that already exercised the greatest amounts of power (in the form of equipment, facilities, reach, influence, etcetera) were provided with an opportunity to exploit the parasport Games preparation phase to reinforce existing structures and relationships. Similarly, individuals and organizations such as disability rights groups with less ability to exercise power or act on their individual sense of agency were prevented from participating in the process. In this way, some groups were enabled by this planning phase, while other groups were disabled and further marginalized – in effect, reinforcing the existing power structures. This is not to say that the individuals and

organizations who were involved in the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games legacy planning intended to contribute to the reinforcement of this power structure, nor the resulting marginalization of certain groups of people – particularly persons with a disability. Indeed, there seemed to be a real passion for inclusion, growth, and strategic and forward thinking revealed through my interviews with these individuals. Irrespective of the LPC's intentions, however, the actions which dictated who was and who was not invited to participate in the decision-making processes functioned to portray that power in the form of resources is more important and more legitimate than lived experiences of persons living with disabilities.

The way in which the federal government and national sport organization orchestrated the national sport facility in Municipality 2 was overwhelmingly top-down in nature and was simultaneously marked with precluded horizontal change. That is, the price premium that will necessitate access to the facility will likely function to disable community and disability sport programs from using the facility, and simultaneously enable national and international sport programming to thrive in this world-class venue. This stands in direct opposition to the need for affordable local sport programming – especially for persons with a disability – outlined by community members in Municipality 2's recreation master plan, which exposes this facility as a driver of precluded horizontal change. The extent of the task of preparing for and launching a facility of this magnitude also precluded investigation into how the community's needs could have been most effectively met by other means. That is, all of the community's legacy plans focused on this facility – which provides disability sport opportunities for a select sport and limited classifications of disabilities – rather than a more inclusive

parasport programming approach which may have been of interest to and met the needs of a broader segment of the disability population.

As Rütten and Gelius (2011) explain, oftentimes, the effect of change through the interaction of structure and agency between levels is an increase in the number of people who become involved in or stakeholders of a system. In effect, structural change often expands the reach of the social system. If the LPC's goals were to leverage the Games such that more entry-level parasport opportunities become available in Toronto and the GTA (that is, expand the reach of the parasport system), it only follows that the LPC should have sought to involve individuals and organizations outside the parasport system. This would allow persons with a disability and disability advocacy groups the opportunity to inform how legacy plans could meet their needs and encourage and enable them to participate in the system that could directly affect their activities. When devising plans for Awareness and First Contact, the most invaluable informants to the LPC would be persons with a disability who do not currently participate in sport. In this way, the interaction of structure and agency would have occurred in an upward direction, bringing about positive social change in the form of increased voice for persons with a disability in decision-making opportunities, an increase in the number of people who are a part of the parasport system, and more well positioned programs to bring about increased sport participation.

Strengthening the Existing Structure

Another finding of this study has been the strengthening of the partnerships between parasport organizations within Toronto and the GTA. Prior to the phase in which Games' legacy preparation occurred, various organizations' representatives noted that

there was a lack of communication between organizations who offer similar programming and operate according to similar missions. This led to duplication of programs and inefficient use of limited funds, and in essence, each of these organizations operated in “silos”, independent of one another (Brooke, January 21, 2015; Myles, February 5, 2015; Sebastian, February 12, 2015). The theoretical nature of these strengthened relationships are indeed more complex than merely stating that it is one of change or reinforcement. Indeed, the strengthening of any given relationship can be understood as a form of change. However, the fact that certain organizations were invited to participate in legacy discussions while all other organizations were excluded functions to reinforce the power structures that existed prior to Games preparation. Those within the parasport system who had decision-making power prior to the Games will continue to have that power exclusively – but the relationships between those in power have been made stronger.

Conclusion

One of the stated goals of the LPC was to increase participation in parasport programming. In order to increase participation in sporting opportunities, social systems and the opportunities provided therein should be changed in order to enable non-participants to become participants. In order to develop programs in which non-participants want to partake, those involved in creating those programs should seek the reasons as to why non-participants do not partake, and then address those reasons in program development. My findings function to bring to question whether parasport participation rates will increase on the heels of the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games – simply because the voices of non-participants played no role in new program

development. My results indicate that legacy planning for the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games did little to disrupt existing power structures within the parasport system. However, more research should be done into actual parasport participation rates following the conclusion of the Games, and future research should be conducted to determine whether actively seeking the voices of non-participants and incorporating those findings into sport program development will function to increase parasport participation opportunities. More research should also be done to investigate how Sewell's (1992) five axioms of structural change could be employed to facilitate meaningful change to the power structures embedded within the Toronto and GTA parasport community.

This research stands as preliminary research into a legacy planning group's decision-making processes as they pertain to legacy development from the policy to implementation levels. The results indicate that within the specific system I investigated, embedded power relations steered the decisions made regarding the goals to be pursued and the strategies chosen to target those objectives. Further, the power relations dictated who would be included – and by extension, who would be excluded – from discussions involving the aforementioned variables. In effect, the legacy development decision-making process functioned to enable already-powerful individuals and organizations to exploit the parasport event for the growth of their own agendas, while simultaneously functioning to marginalize less-powerful individuals and organizations from exercising their voice in matters that affect their lives or the lives of the population they represent.

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Chapter 4

Introduction

As discussed in previous chapters, the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games (the Games) organizing committee and the national parasport organization (NPO) initiated the formation of a Legacy Planning Committee (LPC). This committee established four main legacy objectives that they would actively pursue on the heels of the Games: increasing the number of trained parasport coaches; increasing and improving parasport participation; increasing awareness of disability; and improving facilities' accessibility (NPO manager, February 5, 2015). With time, the committee found it difficult to allocate resources across these four areas, and decided to concert their efforts into a more specific area that they felt they had the capacity to manage – increasing parasport participation through Awareness and First Contact programming (NPO manager, February 5, 2015).

Given the narrow scope of the manuscript, this chapter links back to the overall literature of legacy development and the practicalities of understanding power structures in the legacy development process. This chapter also extends to discuss the limitations of this research project, and by extension, a discussion of opportunities for future research.

Findings and Discussion

The findings that are presented in chapter three outline the ways in which the decisions made throughout the legacy planning process of the Games functioned to either empower or marginalize certain groups of people and organizations. The findings show that policy-level decision-making functioned to reinforce existing power structures, neglect community interests and needs, and hence question the effectiveness of legacy

related pursuits. The results I present in this chapter highlight the ways in which decision-makers on the LPC likely did not intend to contribute to this power structure reinforcement, nor the associated marginalization of some people and organizations, as well as how the fact that a legacy planning committee was formed in the preparation of the Games may serve the Toronto and GTA parasport system well after the Games have concluded.

Reinforced Patterns of Power Despite Noble Intentions

The decisions made by the LPC to include some organizations and exclude certain others from legacy planning discussions functioned to reinforce the parasport system's existing power structures. This is not to say that the individuals and organizations who were involved in the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games legacy planning intended to contribute to the reinforcement of this power structure, nor the resulting marginalization of certain groups of people – particularly persons with a disability. Indeed, there seemed to be a real passion for inclusion, growth, and strategic and forward thinking revealed through my interviews with these individuals. In fact, when asked how the goals of the LPC were being pursued, Angelo said:

I also think that it's a shared interest of the people who are at the [LPC] table [...]. So, the people who are at the table have been involved for quite a few years in the field of disability, accessibility, inclusion. So I think there's a very strong community and group of people who want to see things happen. (Facility director, February 12, 2015)

This passion was also demonstrated through Myles' explanation of how he became involved in parasport. He said, “[When] I came across parasport and implemented

parasport in my program and [saw] each individual achieving to their full potential – just like – a light bulb went off” (NPO manager, February 5, 2015). Even though, as the excerpts show, individuals who work for the parasport organizations represented on the LPC have devoted years of their work to advocating for persons with a disability and their right to inclusion and accessibility, this is not equal to disability rights groups or persons with a disability being involved in decision-making processes.

What could be one of the most significant factors that contributed to the LPC’s disregard for the voices of community members – and more specifically, persons with a disability or disability advocacy groups – was the time constraint of the Games coming. For example, when asked to consider what could have been done to better facilitate LPC initiatives, Sebastian offered, “there’s definitely things we can do that are better, but it’s what’s within the timelines and the impact of the Games, you know?” (Facility manager, February 12, 2015). Further, as Myles explained, “we’ve had to really focus our time and concert our efforts in specific areas that we know we’ve got the capacity to manage” (NPO manager, February 5, 2015), which indicates that this preparatory phase was marked with a pressured timeline, which may have impacted the haste with which decisions were made and the lack of consultation with people whose needs could have been targeted through legacy objectives.

In acknowledging the time constraint associated with legacy planning, it is also important to note the political and practical issues associated with attempting to include people who are outside the parasport system in the legacy planning process. Questions that complicate this process include – but are certainly not limited to – how to contact individuals, whether they actually have an interest in parasport or legacy planning, and

how to keep legacy plans pointed while considering a potentially wide array of needs, barriers, and opinions. These complications do not negate the importance of the inclusion of people external to the parasport system – in particular, persons with a disability – on the LPC, but these difficulties may seem more insurmountable to legacy planners when considering the already-constrained timeline of Games preparation.

Suggesting that the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games legacy is marked by downward reinforcement of existing power structures should also bring about the caveat that the individuals and organizations that were represented on the LPC do have expertise and experiences that lend themselves well to legacy planning as Misener (2015) and Taks, Green, Misener, and Chalip (2014) explain is necessary. The resources to which they have access and the potential successes and failures of past efforts within their own organizations likely manifest themselves as immeasurable pieces of knowledge that have guided legacy planning discussions. As Angelo said:

I think that what they're looking for from me is ideas for things that have worked, and things that haven't worked, and our success as an organization with the numbers that we have coming here. What are the barriers, what are the obstacles, the provisions that we do to make sure that everyone feels welcome. (Facility director, February 12, 2015)

So, the acknowledgment of top-down decision-making and downward reinforcement should not discredit the value of the input from the individuals and organizations that comprise the LPC. Rather, this finding, in combination with the evidenced precluded upward change, should function to highlight the potential disconnect between the actual barriers faced by and needs of persons with a disability and the plans implemented by the

LPC to increase community-level disability sport participation. It should also function to highlight the lack of opportunity for persons with a disability to participate in decision-making processes that affect their lives. If the members of the LPC sought Angelo's professional knowledge of barriers and obstacles (for example), surely the input of people with lived experiences of barriers and obstacles would also be valuable. As it is, members of the LPC demonstrated the belief that power in the forms of resources, professionally acquired knowledge, and the ability to implement change was more valued than the actual lived experiences of the target audience for which the legacy plans were pursued. In this way, the LPC functioned to enable people and organizations who are more equipped to exercise power within the parasport system, while at the same time, functioned to disable people and organizations that are less equipped to exercise their power.

The Legacy of a Streamlined Parasport System

Perhaps one of the strongest legacies that the Toronto and GTA parasport system will accrue is a more streamlined approach to program delivery and more clear communication, support, and feedback between parasport organizations. As Myles stated, when asked if any of the programs or initiatives developed by members of the LPC would have been pursued without the existence of the Games,

[the Games were a catalyst] and I think [...] without support, would anything have got done? You know, and again, when the Games are done, you have missed opportunities. But more so, what we wanted to do was [...], we're trying to build a system. There's some fantastic programs out there, and you don't have to start from scratch, it's what you can leverage currently. So, would the programs have

existed or not, you know, it's very hard to say, but if the programs did exist, would they necessarily be aligned with the parasport system? The answer is probably 'no'. (NPO manager, February 5, 2015)

In this way, one can see how the continued alignment of various parasport organizations' common goals and approaches after the Games have concluded will contribute to a more strategic and streamlined parasport delivery system. As Myles added,

I think the biggest achievements so far is that different organizations – parasport organizations – are talking to each other, and they're actually at the table working together. So even if on paper, it doesn't look like we've achieved, you know, specific quantifiable data, [...] we're starting to work towards an environment where people are talking to each other and those partnerships are being formed. So there certainly were pockets of activity and pockets of partnerships, but now it's more unconscious – now it's a conscious effort to work together to implement.

Despite the reinforced power some organizations will accrue, it may be that the most beneficial, long lasting, exciting, and promising legacies of the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games brought about by the LPC will be the strengthening of the partnerships between the organizations that deliver disability sport. As Misener (2015) and Smith (2014), explain, the degree to which leveraged goals suit the needs of the targeted communities, the effectiveness by which the outcomes are realized, and the sustainability of these results depends on the establishment of strong relationships between community members, community stakeholders, and event managers. In this way, the LPC may have begun to build a strong parasport system, but the future inclusion of community members

and stakeholders in decision-making processes may be the difference between unchallenged power structures and effective community parasport programming.

Limitations

This study is marked by limitations that should be acknowledged. Firstly, the research was narrow in scope and only centered on one legacy-planning process in one city in Canada. Whether these results are transferable to other cities hosting different parasport events with different parasport systems is unknown. Further, the pool of interviews from which the results were derived is small, and interviewing a larger number of individuals (including people from outside the parasport system, particularly, persons with a disability) may have impacted the findings. Additionally, the underlying focus of the interviews was to gain an understanding of the embedded power relations within the parasport system. In this way, the discovery of strategies and tactics undertaken by the LPC that may have been more effective in targeting legacy objectives may have been missed. Finally, recreation master plans are designed to be long-term proposals, meaning that community needs outlined therein may still be met through other initiatives external to the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games legacy-planning processes. Therefore, it is unfair to conclude that community needs will go unmet just because the legacy plans did not deliver in this capacity.

Conclusion and Future Research

Although the creation of the LPC and the initiatives the committee developed generated some advances towards structural change within the parasport system in Toronto and the GTA, an examination of the embedded power structures lends itself to

the conclusion that what took place was actually the reinforcement of the pre-existing power structures. The organizations, groups, and individuals who already had access to the most power in the forms of equipment, facilities, professional experience, influence, and reach were the ones selected, invited – and hence, enabled – to participate; while potentially less-well-known organizations, groups, and individuals (in fact, anyone considered a non-leader) were subsequently marginalized from being involved in the decision-making processes that affect their lives or the lives of their stakeholders. In this way, the LPC – whether consciously or subconsciously – contributed to the belief that power in the form of material resources and influence over a wide audience is more legitimate than the lived experiences of persons with a disability.

The reinforcement of this power structure produces a potential disconnect between the parasport programming that the LPC and constituents envision and the actual needs of individuals the programs should be serving. The needs of persons with a disability as they relate to sport participation remain relatively unknown to and untargeted by the legacy planners who are aiming to increase the rates of parasport participation on the heels of the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games. If the goal of the LPC was to increase parasport participation – or, in Rütten and Gelius' (2011) terms, bring more people into the system – the LPC needed to seek more input from non-participants, existing participants, and past participants. This would indicate the enabling of upward change between levels and informed legacy plans. The unchallenged power structures have hence likely weakened the very legacy outcomes the LPC sought to pursue.

More research should be done to investigate how Sewell's (1992) five axioms of structural change could be employed to facilitate meaningful change to the power structures embedded within the Toronto and GTA parasport community specifically, and legacy decision-making processes more broadly. Further research should also be done into actual parasport participation rates following the conclusion of the Games, and more research should be conducted to determine whether actively seeking the voices of non-participants and incorporating those findings into sport program development will function to increase parasport participation.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Western University Certificate of Approval for Research Involving Human Subjects



Research Ethics

Use of Human Participants - Initial Ethics Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: Dr. Laura Misener
 File Number: 104365
 Review Level: Delegated
 Protocol Title: LEVERGAGING PARASPORT EVENTS FOR SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION: Comparing Integrated to Non-Integrated Events (TO2015 Legacy)
 Department & Institution: Health Sciences/Kinesiology, Western University
 Sponsor: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council

Ethics Approval Date: October 04, 2013 Expiry Date: December 31, 2017

Documents Reviewed & Approved & Documents Received for Information:

Document Name	Comments	Version Date
Western University Protocol		2013/09/11
Other	Email Script	
Letter of Information & Consent	Consent Form	
Instruments	Survey	
Recommendations Form	Recommendations	2013/09/17
Letter of Information	REVISED LOI	2013/09/24
Instruments	REVISED INTERVIEW GUIDE	2013/09/24
Response to Board Recommendations	RESPONSE TO REVIEWS	2013/09/24

This is to notify you that The University of Western Ontario Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects (NMREB) which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Humans and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario has granted approval to the above named research study on the approval date noted above.

This approval shall remain valid until the expiry date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses to the NMREB's periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information.

Members of the NMREB who are named as investigators in research studies, or declare a conflict of interest, do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on, such studies when they are presented to the NMREB.

The Chair of the NMREB is Dr. Riley Hinson. The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Signature

Ethics Officer to Contact for Further Information

Grace Kelly	Vikki Tran	Erika Bastie
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This is an official document. Please retain the original in your files.

Appendix B

Letter of Information



LETTER OF INFORMATION TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

**Title of Study: Leveraging the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games to Increase Community
Parasport Participation:
An Investigation of Awareness and First Contact Initiatives**

You are invited to participate in this research study conducted by Kaitlyn Lindensmith (Western University), and Dr. Laura Misener (Western University). You may retain this letter of information for your records. If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Kaitlyn Lindensmith at 905-960-6783, or by email at klindens@uwo.ca.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to understand how the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games are contributing to the facilitation of Awareness and First Contact opportunities in the host region, and how these programs are being developed in various regions. It is hoped that this study will begin to contribute to a better understanding of the efficacy of Awareness and First Contact programs, and the value of sport events in developing those programs.

This study is part of a broader research project that examines how the hosting of different forms of sport events for persons with a disability are being leveraged to create opportunities for community participation, and influence community attitudes towards disability. We focus on two different types of large scale sporting events: integrated events where able bodied athletes and athletes with a disability compete alongside one another (2014 Commonwealth Games – Glasgow, Scotland), and non-integrated events that have a distinct event for athletes with a disability separated by time, but occurring in the same or similar location (2015 Pan/Parapan/American Games – Toronto, Canada). We are specifically interested in leveraging tactics being employed in each of the cases to understand legacy tactics, strategies, and programs of integrated versus non-integrated events.

PROCEDURES

We are asking you to participate in a 45-60 minute face-to-face, telephone, or Skype interview at a time and location of your convenience regarding Awareness and First Contact initiatives and decision-making processes for the legacy planning of Toronto 2015.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There are no known risks to participation in this study. Except for the participants' position in the context of the legacies of Toronto 2015, no further personal information will be asked. This research will focus on the participant's knowledge of any Awareness and First Contact programs related to Toronto 2015; therefore there is little risk physically, psychologically or emotionally. While interviewees are not being asked to judge theirs or others performance, it is possible that interviewees may feel uncomfortable presenting information that would seem that they were reticent in these Toronto 2015 programs. If you feel uncomfortable with any line of questioning, please feel free to decline to respond or remove yourself from the research study.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY



Through the interview, you will have the opportunity to reflect and learn about the programs related to Toronto 2015. Implementing this information may result in a feeling of pride and success when accomplishing these preset goals.

COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

There will be no payment for participation in this study. However, participants will gain knowledge acquisition and receive a token of appreciation for their participation.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. If you choose not have your official position revealed in the results, a generic title (i.e. manager) will be assigned to you. To guarantee confidentiality of the participants no names will be released with the results. As such no references to names will be made within the data. With your permission, all interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed, at which time either your official title or generic title will be assigned to your data. This information will only be accessible by the members of the research team. The audio files will be destroyed when transcribing is completed. The transcribed interviews will be copied on a secure external drive and stored for five (5) years after completion of the study in a secure data storage facility, after which they will be destroyed.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. Any participant, who wishes to withdraw from the study, will have his/her data deleted and destroyed immediately. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in the study.

FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

A summary of the research findings will be provided to research participants.

Contact email: klindens@uwo.ca

Date when results are available: August 31, 2015 (interim summaries will be available from the Principal investigator upon request).

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact: Research Ethics Office, University of Western Ontario, at ethics@uwo.ca, 519-661-3060.

You will be given a copy of this Letter of Information for your records.

PUBLICATIONS



The results of this research will be written up in the form of a published report and other outputs. For example, in press releases and scholarly articles. By consenting to interview, you are consenting to allowing us to publish quotes from your interview. The researchers will ensure that you are given the opportunity to see such output before publication should you be quoted in the research and if there is anything you are not comfortable with, we will either remove it or re-word it ensuring you are happy with it.

SIGNATURE OF PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

A very faint, illegible signature in grey ink, appearing to be a name followed by a surname.

05/01/2015

Signature of Investigator

Date

Appendix C

Interview Guide: Policy-level

1. According to your understanding, what are the goals of the Toronto 2015 Parapan Games, as they relate to parasport participation?
 - *Probe:* Will those goals be met as a natural by-product of hosting the Games? Or are these goals being met by specific/strategic programs associated with the Games?

2. According to your understanding, how will success be measured?

3. What processes were undergone in order to establish these goals and develop them into a policy?
 - When were these undertaken?
 - Who were involved in these decisions?

4. In what ways are you (or have you been) involved in pursuing these goals?
 - When (at what stage) did you get involved?
 - How did you get involved?
 - *Probe:* Did people approach you? Were you self-nominated? Are you involved because it's your job?
 - *Probe:* (if it is his/her job) Can you give me a little bit of your background in Parasport?
 - *Probe:* Do you know how other people became involved? Was there some kind of call-for-participation distributed?

5. What strategies and tactics are in place (or will be in place) that you are aware of that were designed to facilitate these goals?

- *Probe:* Awareness & First Contact programs?
 - *Probe:* Linked to community goals/needs?
 - What's the role of 2015 in these programs?
 - Were there plans for these programs to be in place without the presence of the Games?
 - Was there an influx of resources as a result of being related to the Games?
6. Who is responsible for the implementation of these programs/strategies?
- Were these people/organizations involved in the process of creating the goals of the Games?
 - Are they aware of the broader goals that these strategies are designed to target?
 - What training do they receive before the implementation of these strategies?
 - *Probe:* How are the policies and information associated with legacy and Awareness & First Contact being offloaded to different people and organizations?
 - Were there partnerships with these people/organizations before the Games? Were there joint efforts being made to target parasport participation in anyway?
 - *Probe:* Were target audience members (persons with a disability) involved?
7. What is the timeframe for the continuation of these strategies? I.e. lead-up to the Games, x amount of time post-Games?
- Do any of them continue after the Games are over? For how long and by whom?

- If you plan to have a strategy to continue these programs, what is that strategy? Who is involved? How will that be implemented?
8. How do these programs facilitate the principles of Awareness and First Contact?
- *Probe*: ensuring a positive first experience, minimizing known barriers to participation, combatting the lack of knowledge of the existence of sports
 - Who has been helping to inform the need and relevance of certain barriers or other Awareness and First Contact principles?
9. How tied are these programs to the Games themselves? Do you think the Games enhance the programs, or would the programs be just as successful independent of the Games?
10. Considering the programs that have already begun, or in the lead-up to those that haven't, how successful do you think these programs have been (or are being)?
- For those that have begun, can you comment on the successes? Are you pleased with the target audience?
 - What could be done to improve their success?
11. Can you comment on specific Awareness and First Contact programs being implemented at the ground level?
- Where do they take place?
 - Do you know the names of the people or organizations running them?
12. Can you think of any key people I should include in my research on this topic? Could you disseminate the Letter of Information to them?

Appendix D

Interview Guide: Policy-level Advisors

1. According to your understanding, what are the goals of the Toronto 2015 Parapan Games, as they relate to parasport participation?
 - *Probe:* Is that an expectation that you have of hosting the Games? Or are these goals being met by specific/strategic programs associated with the Games?
2. According to your understanding, how will success be measured?
3. In what ways are you (or have you been) involved in pursuing these goals?
 - When (at what stage) did you get involved?
 - How did you get involved?
 - *Probe:* Did people approach you? Were you self-nominated? Are you involved because it's your job?
 - *Probe:* (if it is their job) Can you give me a little bit of your background in Parasport?
 - *Probe:* Do you know how other people became involved? Was there some kind of call-for-participation distributed?
 - *Probe:* Were persons with a disability involved?
4. What Awareness and First Contact programs are you aware of that are affiliated with Toronto 2015?
 - What's the role of the Games in these programs?
 - Were there plans for these programs to be in place without the presence of the Games?

- Was there an influx of resources as a result of being related to the Games?
5. Who is responsible for the implementation of these programs (strategies)?
- If they are involved in this implementation: What training did you receive before the initiation of these programs?
 - *Probe:* How are the policies and information associated with legacy and Awareness & First Contact being offloaded to different people and organizations?
 - Were there partnerships with these people/organizations before the Games? Were there joint efforts being made to target parasport participation anyway?
6. How long are these programs scheduled to continue?
- *Probe:* If you plan to have a strategy to continue these programs, what is that strategy? Who is involved? How will that be implemented?
7. How do these programs facilitate the principles of Awareness and First Contact?
- *Probe:* ensuring a positive first experience, minimizing known barriers to participation, combatting the lack of knowledge of the existence of sports
 - Are you aware of specific barriers that are faced by the people in your jurisdiction? How have those specific needs been met?
 - How do you know those barriers are relevant in your community?
 - Who's been helping to inform the need or the relevance of certain barriers or other Awareness and First Contact principles?
 - Considering those programs that have begun, can you comment on the successes? Are you pleased with the target audience?
 - What do you think could be done to improve their success?

8. Can you comment on specific Awareness and First Contact programs being implemented at the ground level?
 - Where do they take place?
 - Do you know the names of the people or organizations running them?
9. Can you think of any key people I should include in my research on this topic? Could you disseminate the Letter of Information to them?

Appendix E

Interview Guide: Policy/implementation-level Liaison

1. In what ways are you involved with the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games legacy for (municipality)?
 - When (at what stage) did you get involved?
 - How did you get involved?
 - *Probe*: Did people approach you? Were you self-nominated? Are you involved because it's your job?
 - *Probe*: (if it is his/her job) Can you give me a little bit of your background in Parasport?
2. What plans and intentions are in place to leverage the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games for (municipality)'s parasport sport participation?
3. Are you familiar with the Recreation Master Plan in (municipality)?
 - *Probe*: If hasn't been located, ask how to acquire
4. How do the legacy plans or intentions in (municipality) fit with specific community goals or community needs of the Master Plan?
 - *Probe*: Can you reference specifically what in the recreation plan the intentions address?
5. Who will benefit from these plans/intentions? Who is the intended audience?
 - *Probe*: The entire community at large? Persons with a disability?
6. Who were involved in the decision-making process to implement *these* programs?
 - *Probe*: Were persons with a disability involved in the discussion?

7. In what ways have persons with a disability been asked what specific needs they have in this community?
 - Were these answers used to inform the legacy plans?
8. Who will be involved in carrying out these plans/intentions?
 - City workers? Private organizations? External personnel?
9. How will success be measured?

Curriculum Vitae

Kaitlyn Lindensmith

Master's Candidate

EDUCATION

University of Western Ontario 2013 - Present
M.A. Kinesiology; Sport Management (expected completion 2015)

University of Western Ontario 2009 - 2013
B.A. Honors Specialization Kinesiology, Minor Rehabilitation Science

COURSES (Master of Arts)

- KIN 9076 – *Social Theory of Sport and Exercise*
- KIN 9033 – *Sport and Globalisation*
- SOC 9147 – *Social Inequality*
- HS 9156 – *Introduction to Research Methods in Health Science*
- KIN 9611B – *Sport Mega-Event Impacts, Leveraging, and Legacies*
- KIN 9611L – *Identification and Analysis of Key Research Themes in Paralympic Literature*

RELATED WORK EXPERIENCE

- Project and Event Coordinator, Special Olympics Ontario 2015 - Present
- Teaching Assistant, University of Western Ontario 2013-2015
Courses: KIN 3362 – Olympic Issues for Modern Time
KIN 2263 – Canadian Sport History
- Inclusion Camp Counselor & Supervisor, Town of Georgina 2010-2013

HONOURS AND AWARDS

- Deans Honour List 2013
- The Western Scholarship of Excellence 2009
- Ontario Scholar 2009
- Graduate with Distinction 2009

VOLUNTEER WORK

- Research Assistant – Western University @ Toronto Parapan American Games 2015
- PSAC Local 610 Union Steward 2014-2015
- Fowler Kennedy Sport Medicine Clinic 2010-2013
- Youth Soccer Team Head Coach 2010
- Event Staff – Kin Games 2010
- Event Staff – Kinesiology Winter Special Games 2010