

Paralympic Legacy Learning from Sydney 2000 to Prepare for Tokyo 2020

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Introduction

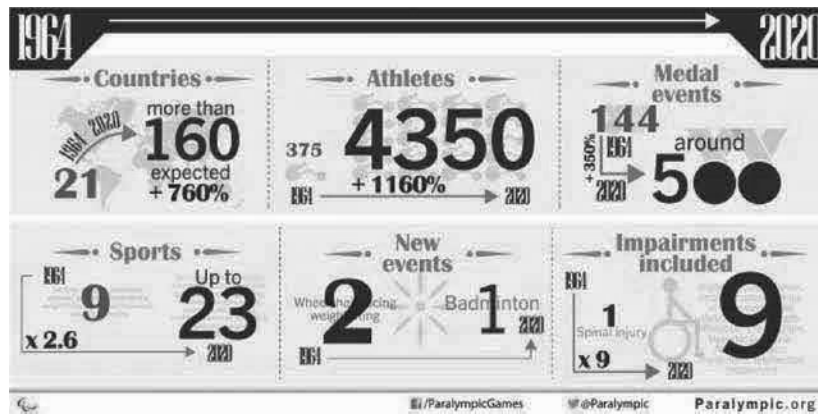
The Olympic and Paralympic Games have a major impact on the cities that they are hosted in many different ways (Gold & Gold, 2010). The Olympic games has a rich history of research scholarship but the Paralympic games has been examined to a far lesser extent (Legg & Gilbert, 2011). In an examination of Paralympic legacy empirical research it was identified that only 13 of 43 papers sampled through major journal databases had undertaken any empirical research on Paralympic legacy (Misener, Darcy, Legg, & Gilbert, 2013). The majority of empirical research undertaken had been completed on the Sydney 2000 Paralympic games.

Tokyo in 1964 became credited as the first official Paralympic games through the use of the term “Paralympics” within the games documentation (Brittain, 2008; International Paralympic Committee, 2015). Since the Tokyo 1964 Paralympic games there has been an exponential growth in the size of the Paralympics that has been captured by the IPC in Figure 1. Figure 1 documents the changes that are projected to occur between Tokyo 1964 and the games to take place in Tokyo in 2020. The growth metrics are phenomenal:

- 21 to more than 160 countries;
- 375 to 4350 athletes;
- 144 to around 500 medal events;
- 9 to 23 different sports; and
- 1 to 9 impairment groups.

The Tokyo 1964 Paralympic games was a watershed moment for not only the

Paralympic movement but Tokyo itself with a number of significant achievements (Frost, 2012). As the Tokyo 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Organising Committee prepare for the impending games, what might they learn from the experience of the Sydney 2000 Olympic and Paralympic games legacy experience? This paper explores the nature of legacy and key legacy frameworks before presenting a research design and findings that re-examine the Sydney 2000 Paralympic legacy. The paper concludes by presenting what the author believes are the key learnings from the Sydney 2000 Paralympic games for the Tokyo 2020 Paralympic games.



Source: International Paralympic Committee (2015)

Figure 1: 50 years since the Tokyo Paralympics

1. Legacy

Legacy is a recent phenomenon as noted Appleby (2007) where she observed that most discussions about the Sydney 2000 Olympic and Paralympic games had been anecdotal. While there were a few notable exceptions (Appleby, 2007; Cashman, 2006; Darcy, 2001, 2003; Goggin & Newell, 2001), this was hardly unexpected given that public policy evaluation had only moved towards developing a deeper understanding of outcomes from mega events with the advent of triple bottom line evaluation processes that sought to move beyond economic impact (Carlsen & Soutar, 2000; Preuss, 2007; Smith, 2009). If host cities and national public policy and environmental planning processes did seek to evaluate the outcomes of major developments and events then why would it be on the agenda of Olympic and Paralympic stakeholders (bid committees, host cities, IOC, IPC, international sporting organisations and a

multitude of others)? As others rightly note, the developing definitions of legacy identified that it must be strategically planned for by the stakeholders and sustained into the future (Chalip, 2004; Preuss, 2007). As such, it was not until the IOC incorporated legacy (albeit positive) into their charter (International Olympic Committee, 2000) that legacy could be planned. Similarly it was not until the IPC handbook incorporated legacy planning in section 5.2 that a platform for legacies was clearly outlined. They were: accessible infrastructure in sport facilities and overall urban development; sport structures for people with disability from the community to the elite; attitudinal changes towards people with disability; and opportunities for the social integration of people with disability (International Paralympic Committee, 2007). This meant that the Beijing 2008 Olympic and Paralympic games technically became the first games to be able to incorporate legacy planning. With respect to this paper, both the Tokyo 1964 and the Sydney 2000 Olympic and Paralympic games had no incorporated agenda for legacy planning (Appleby, 2007; Cashman & Darcy, 2008). While this suggests that all research was post-hoc in its legacy evaluation, there were scholars who undertook empirical research that this paper is based on. Since this beginning, Legg and Gilbert's (2010) book sought to consolidate an understanding of Paralympic legacy for host cities. As with a great deal of academic work there is a focus on Western English language sources whereas the Barcelona experience (Domínguez, Darcy, & Alén, 2014) and other non-Western Paralympic research scholarship may remain unknown but could have potential additions to the body of knowledge.

2. Legacy frameworks

"The vision of the Sydney Paralympic Organising Committee was to inspire the world by successfully staging a Paralympic Games which set new standards in excellence to enable athletes to achieve their best performance".

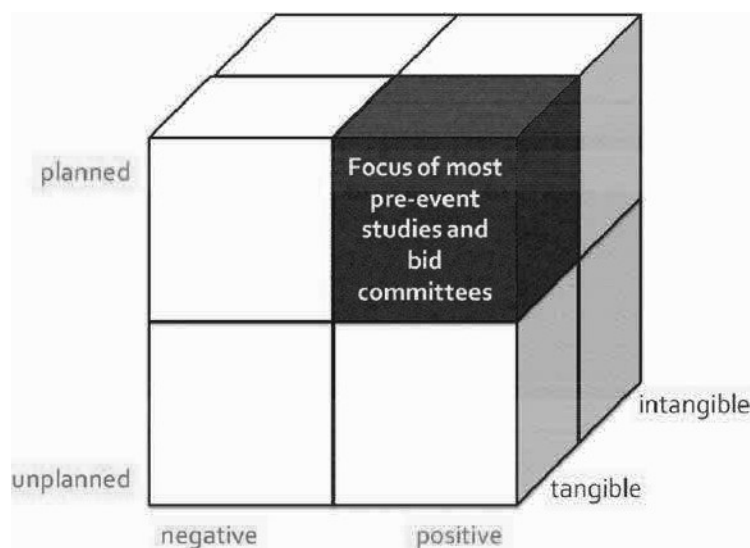
(Appleby, 2007; Sydney Paralympic Organising Committee, 1997)

As Appleby and the Sydney Paralympic Organising Committee documents attest, the organising committee goals are to simply stage the best games for athletes to excel. Yet, for the host city the hosting of an Olympics and Paralympics must be much more than two week festivals of sport. As explored in other papers, legacy

became a quest for the Olympic movement's desire to change perception of the increasing costs of the staging of the games, garnish further recognition and place itself in a better media and operational position (Darcy & Taylor, 2013; Girginov & Hills, 2008). The Olympic movement specifically changed their charter to include "14. To promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games to the host cities and host countries" (International Olympic Committee, 2000). Yet, as critics observed the definition of legacy must be far more encompassing than just positive legacy. In the most used legacy framework developed by Preuss (2007) he defines legacy as

"irrespective of the time of production and space, legacy is all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for and by a sport event that remain longer than the event itself" (Preuss, 2007, p. 211).

The framework became known as the cube conceptualisation of legacy as shown in Figure 1. There are three dimensions to the cube conceptualization: 1, legacy can be planned or unplanned; 2, positive and negative; and 3, tangible and intangible. Preuss' work focused on major sport event legacies, drawing most of its context from Olympic Games. He argues that foremost legacy should be something that is planned and strategic, and for this reason it was not until the Beijing 2008 Olympic and

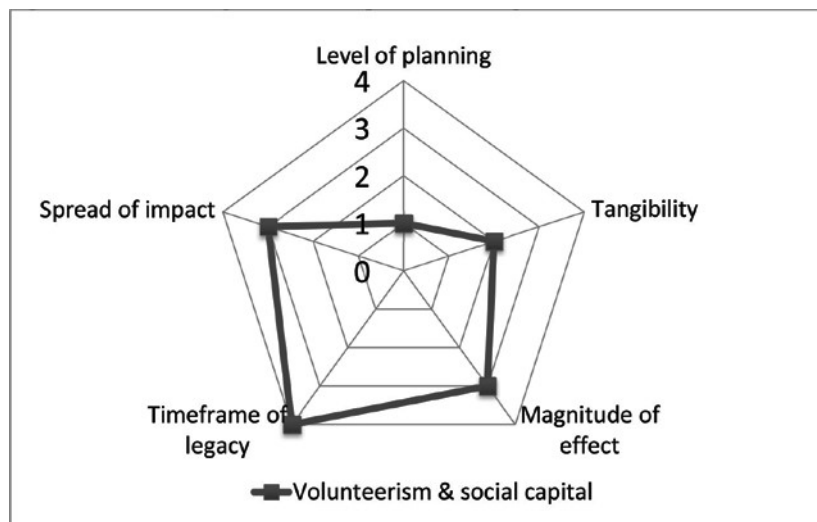


Source: Adapted from Preuss (2007)

Figure2: Cube Conceptualisations of Legacy

Paralympic games that Olympic and Paralympic charters formally incorporated legacy (International Olympic Committee, 2000; International Paralympic Committee, 2007).

Others have critiqued and sought to extend his conceptualisation noting its strength, weaknesses and omissions. For example, Dickson, Benson, and Blackman (2011) note that time and space are important dimensions that should be incorporated into any discussion of legacy. Further, they argue and present that the key components should not only be identified but they should be assessed and measured through what they described as the radar or spider web conceptualisation of legacy. In analysing legacy they identified and extended Preuss' work to include: planning; tangibility; spread of impacts; magnitude of effects; and timeframe of the effect. In reviewing the literature, they suggest that the analysis should include: economic; sport participation; infrastructure; environmental; urban renewal; transport; and volunteer/social capital. Figure 2 is used to explain the radar conceptualisations and shows volunteer/social capital. Using expert assessment, each component of legacy can be scored between 1-4. The scoring system then creates a footprint on the radar diagram that can then measure each legacy component against each other. Their work also identified that while the Olympics had been the most frequently cited mega event within legacy conceptualisations, that other mega events (in their



Source: adapted from Dickson, Benson & Blackman (2011)

Figure 3: Volunteering and Social Capital Radar Diagram

case they use the example of the Paralympics) may have other legacy dimensions that could be incorporated to develop a more sophisticated understanding of mega sport event legacy.

In taking the lead from Dickson, Benson and Blackman (2011), Misener et al. (2013) examined Paralympic legacy through undertaking a systematic review of the literature. To their surprise, in the academic literature there were only 43 articles that fitted the criteria of examining Paralympic legacy but only 13 of these articles undertook empirical research on which to ask questions, gather data and draw conclusions. The other 30 articles wrote generally about legacy in the Paralympics, some proffered theoretical frameworks, and others simply reported the anecdotal accounts of legacy. Of the empirical articles, the legacy components identified were infrastructure; sport; information education and awareness; human capital; and managerial changes. They concluded that while these outcomes appeared to mirror Olympic related research that on detailed examination of the findings Paralympic legacy makes a distinct contribution to extending an understanding of legacies for host cities and nations.

3. Research design

The research design is informed by an interpretive multiple method approach to examining legacy from the perspective the Sydney 2000 Olympic and Paralympic games experiences (Veal & Darcy, 2014). The data gathered is then interpreted through the legacy framework outlined in the previous section (Dickson et al., 2011; Preuss, 2007). Sydney 2000 draws on a literature review, empirical research conducted by the author, policy analysis and interrogation of management information systems of Olympic and Paralympic organisations pre, during and post the games period. The author has been involved in this research since 1993 with the announcement of the Sydney 2000 Olympic and Paralympic games bid success. Not long after I was drawn into examining the developing narrative around Sydney 2000 (Darcy & Veal, 1994) and have continued that involvement through a number of direct relationships. As an academic teaching research, policy and planning together with a professional background as an environmental planner, I became deeply engaged in understanding the relationships between the bid organising committee,

host city, redevelopment sites, Olympic and Paralympic games organising committees and other stakeholders. In 1998, through the Olympic Coordination Authority (state government body charged with long-term planning) I was engaged to undertake research on the 18 months of test events leading up to the games that directly informed operational plans and develop strategic approaches to transport, event management and spectator services. In 1999, again through the Olympic Coordination Authority I assisted in the development of materials for the Sydney Olympic and Paralympic Access Guide (Olympic Co-ordination Authority, 2000) and undertook operational venue audits of sport, cultural and hotel accommodation. This consultancy work continued up until the games where I became a “participant observer”, as well as an ordinary spectator who went into the ballots, received tickets and then enjoyed games experiences. Pre-and post 2000 as an academic, there was opportunity to develop what would then become legacy assessment research that occurred in 4 major phases pre-2000, 2003, 2007-2008 and 2011. For this paper I add a new phase to the legacy research where I draw on my multiple perspectives as informed observer and I adopt a heuristic approach to enquiry that draws on the researcher’s experience of the phenomenon and the essential experience of others who also experience the phenomenon (Patton, 1990, p. 71).

With these preliminary comments, it is also recognized that the Sydney 2000 Paralympic Games has been well served by albeit post-hoc evaluation through an excellent yet poorly distributed post games report (Sydney Paralympic Organising Committee, 2001), post games access reports (Olympic & Paralympic Disability Advocacy Service, 2000; Olympic Co-ordination Authority, 2001), a number of disability critiques (Darcy, 2001, 2003; Goggin & Newell, 2001), an historical review (Cashman, 2006), an insider’s perspective (Appleby, 2007) and a comprehensive examination of a single Paralympic Games (Cashman & Darcy, 2008). The paper now examines the major legacies of the Sydney 2000 Paralympic Games through a re examination of the main legacy critiques of Appleby (2007), Darcy and Cashman (2008), Darcy and Appleby (2011) and other sources, and by providing a fresh summary and interpretation. Table 1 provides a summary of the major themes identified in these works. However, this paper will reinterpret legacy through Preuss’ (2007) framework examining planned, unplanned, tangible, intangible, positive and

negative.

Table1: Sydney Paralympic Legacy Literature

Appleby 2007	Darcy and Cashman 2008	Darcy and Appleby 2011
International	International	International
IOC recognition	Media benchmarks	IPC IOC relationship
Improved organization	IPC IOC relationship	Strategic vision
Media coverage	Sport delivery	Branding/ Media coverage
Athlete support		Sport delivery and athlete support
Education		Education
Moving beyond disability sport community		Post games evaluation / Knowledge transfer
Australia	Australia	Australia
Access issue	Community response	Community response
Role models	Disability education	Australian Paralympic movement (funding and mainstreaming)
Mainstreaming of disability sport with NSOs	Legacy for Paralympians (funding and status)	Education/Role models
Greater sporting recognition		Infrastructure
Public recognition		

Source: Adapted from Darcy & Appleby 2011

4. Findings and discussion

(1) Planned, tangible and positive

① *Strategic long-term vision for site and venues*

Given our preceding discussion that pre-the IOC and IPC including legacy within their charter documents and handbook, all Olympic and Paralympic games before Beijing 2008 could be regarded as having “unplanned legacy”. Yet, Sydney demonstrated a long-term vision for the sites and venues through the administrative arrangements where there were three distinct administrative bodies:

- Sydney Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (SOCOG) charged with the organisation and delivery of the Olympic Games;

- Sydney Paralympic Organising Committee (SPOC) charged with the organisation and delivery of the Paralympic games;
- Olympic Coordination Authority (OCA) charged with overseeing the long-term future of the Olympic and Paralympic games sites and venues.

Operationally there were tensions between these three organisations where SOCOG and SPOC had a short-term agenda that was at odds with the vision of the OCA. So it was the OCA who oversaw operations of SOCOG and SPOC to bring about the long-term future (Olympic Co-ordination Authority, 1998 - October). This included the disability, access and inclusion considerations of the Olympics, Paralympics (Olympic Co-ordination Authority, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001) and the cultural Olympiad (Stevenson, 1997). While the long-term future of the site and the venues was always going to be at the core of its work, the timeliness of establishing a vision for the future was somewhat elastic. It was not until 2009 that the successor organisation established by the NSW Government, the Sydney Olympic Park Authority, released its master plan of the site to 2030 some nine years after the event (Sydney Olympic Park Authority, 2009).

② *Operational partnership*

Following from the above, a major legacy arguably from Sydney with its roots in Barcelona (Legg & Gilbert, 2011) was the operational partnership between SOCOG and SPOC for major operational units across the Olympics, Paralympics and Cultural Olympiad (Darcy, 2003). This was particularly important after the significant Olympic and Paralympic Games transitional issues at the 1996 Atlanta Games, regarded as shambolic at best (Appleby, 2007; Heath, 1996). Quite simply, the major operational units for the Olympics delivered for the Paralympics (Darcy, 2003, 2008a, 2008b; Darcy & Cashman, 2008). Appleby as CEO and Dr. John Grant as president of SPOC, ensured that the operational partnership had an identity and that SPOC itself raised the stakes with regard to the professionalism of Paralympic sport and what should be expected of a Paralympic organising committee and their national Paralympic committees (Sydney Paralympic Organising Committee, 2001)

③ *Accessibility of venues*

The OCA had an important role to play in legacy as they were the ones that would be in charge of the access issues for perpetuity. The OCA in short did this through the production of *Access Guidelines*, implemented the Olympic Access Advisory Committee as central to the process of planning for disability and access issues, produced an access guide for the games and wrote a critical review of games access operations (Olympic Co-ordination Authority, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001). Each of these inclusions contributed to the accessibility of venues and operational planning (see Darcy & Harris, 2003). The outcome was that Sydney Olympic Park where the vast majority of the games took place has been regarded as the premier access precinct in Australia and an example of world best practice for its time.

④ *Sport delivery*

As an outcome of the above three points the sport competition experience delivered to Paralympic athletes was regarded as first rate (Cashman, 2008). Together with Appleby's (2007) section on branding (see a later section) the Sydney 2000 Paralympic Games provided a sporting spectacle of excellence, the games was professionally delivered to the athletes, and had record ticket sales and media coverage. The Paralympic athletes had the same experience as the Olympic athletes using the village, venues, transport and planning overlay. Yet, as Cashman (2008) identifies the Paralympic games are actually more complex technically due to the seven main disability types and the classification system. The establishment of the SOCOG sports commission was another major innovation that separated the politics of sport delivery from the two organising committees while at the same time delivering operational efficiency (Cashman, 2008). Nine years later these processes were again used to host the Sydney 2009 World Masters Games, which can be regarded as a legacy event of the Sydney 2000 Olympic and Paralympic Games (Cashman & Adair, 2009).

⑤ *Creating, marketing and promoting a Paralympic brand*

Appleby (2007) and Darcy and Appleby (2011) explored the Sydney 2000 Paralympic brand creation. Together with the previously mentioned focus on elite Paralympic performance, the organisation needed to attract sponsorship, sell media

coverage and create an atmosphere in the venues in the same way that other sporting contests do. To achieve this they established a very successful Paralympic ambassadors program of athletes and set about promoting this over a four-year period through media, a targeted community program and major media events. This was leveraged into a very successful ticket sale program that offered a \$15 ticket to all events on one day and gave spectators a taste of the different Paralympic sports on offer. Spectator experience was enhanced through a prolonged merchandising campaign with an iconic representation that is such an important element to brand development. What is a major sport event without merchandising? “Lizzie” became a phenomenon that was everywhere in the lead up to the games and had extraordinary merchandising success through a low cost point and availability through a major supermarket chain throughout Australia (see Cashman & Darcy, 2008, pp. 123-140). This approach was diametrically opposite to SOCOG that positioned its merchandising at the premium price point. The outcome for the Sydney Paralympic games was record-breaking ticket sales, spectators and media coverage in Australia and internationally (Cashman & Tremblay, 2008).

⑥ *Planned, tangible and positive/negative*

The Sydney 2000 Olympic and Paralympic Games volunteer program has been regarded as a major success and legacy (Green, Chalip, Stebbins, & Graham, 2004). The volunteer program incorporated Olympic and Paralympic volunteering, with many volunteers committing to both games programs (Cashman, 2006). The volunteer program became a legacy of the Sydney 2000 Games with, for example, the Sydney 2009 World Masters Games drawing on many of those same volunteers (Dickson, Darcy, Edwards, & Terwiel, 2015). Yet, as identified through post games evaluation there were problems with people with disability volunteering experience (Olympic & Paralympic Disability Advocacy Service, 2000; Olympic Co-ordination Authority, 2001). However, the success of the volunteer program also put significant strain on traditional volunteer organisations within Sydney by creating a heightened expectation of volunteer rewards that not-for-profit organisations could not resource (Darcy, 2003). Other volunteering considerations within an international context are that there are significant cultural differences in the volunteering between nations (Lai, Ren, Wu, & Hung, 2013). These cultural variations also occur in a sporting and

event management context (Fairley, Lee, Green, & Kim, 2013). More recent work also suggests that people with disability should be specifically targeted for volunteer programs at the Olympics and Paralympics but that these programs must follow through to all operational considerations or problems can emerge (Darcy, Dickson, & Benson, 2014).

(2) Unplanned, tangible and positive

⑦ *Australian Paralympic movement*

The Australian Paralympic Committee over the decade following the Sydney 2000 Paralympics became the legacy recipient in four major ways: recognition; funding; sport organisation; and capacity development. Holding a home Paralympic games may provide Paralympians, future Paralympians and the Australian Paralympic movement with ongoing recognition within the broader community (Australian Paralympic Committee, 2008). The recognition was supported by government funding with a 150% increase over the seven years post games (Cashman & Darcy, 2008, p. 223). Some aspects of the Paralympic sporting bodies were mainstreamed and said to gain benefits of improved training, coaching and professional sport organisations (Appleby, 2007). Yet with the mainstreaming of sport comes competition from other competing interests within the same sport who may attract greater resources with the disability sport component overlooked or be placed on a lower priority for resources (Darcy, 2014). Through the increased recognition, there was an opportunity to build capacity through delivering disability education programmes that were delivered 1966 times to some 39,000 individuals including coaches, students, teachers and others (Australian Sports Commission, 2009).

(3) Unplanned, tangible and negative (with some positive outcomes)

⑧ *Transport access*

Sydney's public transport system was by no means accessible. At the time of awarding the games 0% of Sydney public and private buses were accessible and less than 5% of rail stations accessible. Olympic Roads and Transport Authority (ORTA) were charged with planning and coordinating transport services during the Olympics and Paralympics, travel demand management and maintenance of existing services during Games. Very little work was undertaken to improve the access situation in

the early lead up to Sydney 2000 by ORTA. This was until three separate Disability Discrimination Act complaint cases were taken by people with disability in NSW, Victoria and South Australia forcing state government tender processes to purchase new low floor accessible bus fleets that were subsequently contracted in for use during the Sydney Olympic and Paralympic Games (Darcy, 2003). This type of systemic disability advocacy brought some semblance of accessible public transport to the games and was a foundation for the ongoing improvements to accessible public transport over the decade post games. That said a great deal of complaints stemmed from accessible transport complaints from spectators (OPDAS, 2001).

⑨ *Access to the urban domain, virtual environments and ticket books*

Any Paralympic games will not change a city without building codes, standards, human rights frameworks and a disability advocacy system (Darcy, 2003; Fox, 1994, 2000, 2001). The Sydney 2000 Paralympic Games benefited extraordinarily well from such systems being in place (Darcy, 2003, 2008a, 2008b). However, even with these systems in place there were a number of very well documented access issues to the built environment, websites and ticket books that led to discrimination against spectators, volunteers and employees with disabilities. The result was poor customer service for people with disability, complaint cases and hearings through the Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (“Maguire v SOCOG [HREOCA H 99/115] ,” 2000; “Maguire v SOCOG [HREOCA H 99/115] ,” 1999; Olympic & Paralympic Disability Advocacy Service, 2000). Early confrontations with both SOCOG and SPOC over access related considerations were antagonistic. This changed when OCA took over responsibility for access, which was systematically included within operational planning (Darcy, 2008a, 2008b).

(4) Planned, intangible and lost opportunity

⑩ *Disability awareness, education and community response*

Ticket sales, media coverage, public awareness and spectator engagement are all part of the IPC hope for legacy from Paralympic games (International Paralympic Committee, 2007). As already stated Sydney for its time, broke records across all major metrics for ticket sales, media coverage and spectator numbers. Anecdotally, the very successful *Reaching the Community Program* (SPOC 1998a) targeted

schoolchildren and seniors to promote to, recruit and engage in attending the Paralympics, with some 320,000 schoolchildren attending the programs (Horin, 2000) and learning about disability and Paralympic sport (Appleby, 2007). However, despite anecdotal accounts of improved attitudes towards people with disability it was a lost opportunity as no research had been commissioned to examine the general public's, schoolchildren's or seniors' perceptions of disability or Paralympic sport pre, during and post the games.

(5) Negative

⑪ *Engagement with the disability community*

As more fully outlined by Darcy (2003) it was an abject failure by SPOC to engage with the disability community beyond the Australian Paralympic Committee community. Even the much vaunted *Reaching the Community Program* had included the disability community as a targeted group. However this part of the program was abandoned without discussion very early on. A great deal of the advocacy work to ensure the accessibility of venues and public transport (discussed earlier) was brought about through the Olympic Access Advisory Committee made up of community members with disability with professional expertise in access planning. Yet, this group was not publicly given the degree of credit they deserved for their prolonged, professionally engaged and doggedly determined contribution to the success of the Sydney 2000 Olympic and Paralympic Games. The lack of engagement with the disability community was even starker in that politicians never mentioned the word disability in discussing the Paralympic Games (Darcy, 2003). This led to an underlying alienation of the disability community that was compounded through the mixed messages of disability as inspiration or as "super crips" (Goggin & Newell, 2001).

⑫ *Spectator, volunteer and employee with disability experience*

While a series of processes and protocols were put in place to improve disability experiences at the games (Darcy & Harris, 2003), there were a series of well-documented negative disability experiences from the perspective of spectators, volunteers and employees with disabilities. In their role as long-term custodians of the Sydney 2000 experience, OCA funded third-party assessment through the Olympic

and Paralympic Disability Advocacy Service (2000). The outcome identified and documented the problems and issues experienced by people with disability in accessing any aspect of Sydney 2000. The issues ranged from accessing tickets, ongoing transport problems, inappropriate venue seating, inappropriate volunteer roles, sight lines in venues and inaccessible documentation to name but a few.

(6) Sydney 2000 Paralympic Games legacy summary

In summary, the Sydney Paralympic games legacy was strategically unplanned from the perspective of the IOC Charter legacy inclusion and the IPC handbook legacy inclusion. However, as was presented in the findings the Sydney 2000 Paralympic games had strategically planned for aspects of legacy albeit under the umbrella of the Sydney 2000 Olympic and Paralympic Games organisations specifically OCA, SOCOG and SPOC. Through the combination of having a strategic vision and the development of the operational partnership, the Sydney 2000 Paralympic Games was able to deliver a legacy of accessibility of venues, sport delivery and created a brand that led to significant ticket sales, spectators and media coverage. The Sydney Paralympic Games were also very well supported by a volunteer program that is essential for any major sport event. The Paralympic movement in Australia has grown and received increased funding. Yet, Sydney was not without its problems largely to do with rail and bus access, aspects of the common domain outside of the Olympic precincts and online access for people with vision impairment. Within the venues there were noted problems with spectator, volunteer and employees with disabilities experiences. Lastly, there was a separation between the elite Paralympic experiences and those from the disability community, which should not occur as both groups can benefit from one another's experiences.

5. Lessons for the Tokyo 2020 Paralympic Games

It has been some 50 years since Tokyo last hosted the Paralympic games in 1964. A lot has happened with the Paralympic movement in that time including the size and complexity of the games growing exponentially. As part of the Nippon Foundation Paralympic Research Group funded workshop, discussions were undertaken with people attending the workshop, in a separate meeting with Japanese media, and in meetings with Japan National Assembly of Disabled Peoples'

International and the Japanese Paralympic Committee, and members of the Tokyo 2020 Committee. These discussions together with my reflections on Sydney 2000 have led me to draw conclusions as to some lessons from Sydney that Tokyo may like to consider in planning for legacy outcomes from the Tokyo 2020 Paralympic Games. Tokyo does not face some of the challenges that the Sydney 2000 Paralympic Games did particularly with regards to the public transport system, which was a major concern for Sydney. However, there are four major lessons that can be learnt from the Sydney 2000 Paralympic Games that may place Tokyo in an even better position to realise legacy and proactively act to ensure a successful Paralympic games in 2020. They are: foster a relationship with the disability community; establish a research agenda; start educating the public and the media about Paralympic sport; and consider the importance of the volunteer program. Each of these will now be discussed.

(1) Foster a relationship with the disability community

The Tokyo 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Organising Committee, together with the Japanese Paralympic Committee should open a dialogue with organisations representing people with disability in Japan. For example, the Japan National Assembly of Disabled Peoples' International (DPI-Japan) attended the Tokyo workshop and held meetings after this time with the Japanese Paralympic Committee. This is a really positive step to opening up dialogue between the two groups and having a concerted effort to establish a dialogue between the organisations. People with disability in Japan should be considered when developing policy and protocols for spectators, volunteers, employees, members of the torch relay as well as athletes attending the game through elite sporting performance. Both groups can learn from each other and create mutually beneficial opportunities to enhance legacy opportunities from the Tokyo 2020 Paralympic Games that will benefit all Japanese people with disability.

(2) Establish a research agenda

The Tokyo 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Organising Committee has an opportunity to develop a research agenda well in advance of the games. It should seek to resource the research agenda as stipulated by the IPC handbook. This should

include Paralympic movement, Paralympic sport and broader disability community research priorities. The earlier that the research agenda can be identified, the more time to establish relationships with scholars, universities and market research houses. However, the questions as to what that research agenda should look like is wholly up to the Japanese Paralympic movement, the Tokyo 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Organising Committee, Japanese people with disability and other informed stakeholders.

(3) Start educating the public and media about Para sport

One of the major challenges that all Paralympic games have is to educate the public and the media about Paralympic sport. The different types of disability participating at the games, the classification system and disability specific sports all need to be explained to a public and international audience. Success can be measured as it was in Sydney through ticket sales, spectators in attendance, and domestic and international media attention. The public must be engaged both domestically and internationally for this success to occur. The London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games had some success with the A-Z of Paralympic Classification that was both web-based and had specific free to air broadcast to coincide with Paralympic events (BBC Sport, 2014). Sydney's Reaching the Community Programme was also particularly successful and provides some direction for programs to be run for Tokyo 2020.

(4) Consider the importance of the volunteer program

There is a significant body of research that has built up on Olympic and Paralympic volunteer programs. As noted previously there is also an understanding that there are cultural differences towards volunteering and that this will be very important to understand in the Japanese context. During the Nippon Foundation Paralympic Research Group workshop and subsequent meetings, it was expressed that Japan may not embrace volunteering in the same way that the Sydney and London Games did. A program more broadly to attract volunteers is important to the success of any games and the knowledge transfer program run by the Olympics and the Paralympics will provide a general framework. However this will need to be culturally contextualised for Tokyo 2020. As in Sydney, the volunteer program will

need a disability awareness module (see Darcy, 2003) to prepare all volunteers for people with disability attending as athletes, spectators, other volunteers, employees and international travellers.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Tokyo is in the unique position of being the first city ever to host two Paralympic Games. Since the first Paralympic Games in 1964 the sheer size and complexity of the Paralympics has developed exponentially. This requires the Tokyo 2020 Paralympic Games to draw on Japan's culture of innovation and solution finding to consider the reflections on the Sydney 2000 Paralympic Games presented in this paper and the learnings offered to ensure that the Tokyo 2020 Paralympic Games legacy can be planned, tangible, positive and evidenced-based. At the time of writing at the end of 2015 we are moving onto the Rio 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games, which signifies that there are only four years for the Tokyo 2020 Paralympic Games to be positioned to capture the opportunity that legacy planning offers and is executed in an appropriate, effective and efficient manner.

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