

The Paralympic Movement from 1944 to 2016:

A Processual Analysis of Institutional Creation, Maintenance and Change

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1. General Introduction

While Paralympic Sports have underwent profound changes especially these last thirty years, athletes with an impairment still faced fewer sport opportunities from grass-roots sport to elite sport levels. This unequivocal observation was the fundamental theme and leitmotiv behind this research, which examines disability in relation to sport.

The International Paralympic Committee (IPC), the supreme governing body of the Paralympic Movement, is striving to promote sport for athletes with an impairment at the worldwide level. The Paralympic Movement's ultimate aspiration is: "to make for a more inclusive society for people with an impairment through para-sport" (IPC Strategic Plan 2015-2018)¹. To this purpose, the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) has promoted the Paralympic Games that aim to be "the world's number one sporting event for transforming society's attitudes towards impairment". The 2012 London Paralympic Games were presented as "the greatest Paralympic Games ever" by the IPC President Sir Phillip Craven. These Games featured 20 sports and more than 4.200 athletes. Consequently, the Paralympic Games are today the third largest international sport event just behind the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup.

Disability in sport has been examined from a wide range of research perspectives, such as sport psychology (e.g. Martin, 2006), sport philosophy (e.g. Burkett, McNamee & Potthast, 2011; Jespersen & McNamee, 2013) or sport medicine and athletic training (e.g. Vanlandewijck & Thompson, 2011; Walsh & Steadward, 1984). The socio-history of the Paralympic Movement (e.g. Bailey, 2008; Brittain, 2010; Howe, 2008) as well as socio-cultural issues faced by people with an impairment in sport have been increasingly investigated (e.g. DePauw & Gavron, 1995; LeClair, 2011; Marcellini et al., 2012; Thomas & Smith, 2009; Peers, 2012; Wolbring, 2008; Smith & Thomas, 2012). Similarly studies pertaining to the inclusion of athletes with an impairment in mainstream sports have been developed since the advent of the Paralympic Movement itself (e.g. Boursier & Kahrs, 2003; DePauw & Doll-Teppe, 2000; Steadward, 1996). Similarly the long-term Paralympic Games' legacies, as vehicle for social change and inclusion, have been gradually recognized and examined in the literature (Gold & Gold, 2007; Misener, Darcy, Legg & Gilbert, 2013; Peers, 2012).

¹https://www.paralympic.org/sites/default/files/document/150619133600866_2015_06%2BIPC%2BStrategic%2BPlan%2B2015-2018_Digital.pdf (May 2016)

Arguably few papers have investigated the management-related issues or sport-governance issues of inclusion in sport for athletes with an impairment (e.g. Fay & Wolff, 2009; Hums, Moorman & Wolff, 2009; Legg, Fay, Hums & Wolff, 2009; Legg & Steadward, 2011; Nixon, 2011; Sorensen & Kahrs, 2006). As such, scholars recently called for greater research investments in disability sport management (e.g. Darcy, Lock & Taylor, 2016; Misener & Darcy, 2014).

In this vein we argue that the organizational development of the Paralympic Sports over time has been under-investigated (Howe, 2007; Shapiro & Pitts, 2014). Yet Paralympic Sports represent a fertile ground to question management-related issues of sport for athletes with an impairment. The Paralympic Sports indeed represent the main platforms in which the day-to-day question of sport participation operates.

1.1 Purpose of the study and research questions

Drawing on the institutional theory, this research was guided by a straightforward research question: **How to understand institutional change among the Paralympic Sports over time?** The institutional theory examines how social practices “are shaped, mediated and channeled by institutional environment” (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008; see also Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin & Suddaby, 2008). By doing so, institutional theory highlights “how’s” and “why’s” behind organizational change processes such as among the Paralympic Sports and corollary, enables to question participation of athletes with an impairment in sport.

Driven by this research question, three research directions emerged from an extensive multi-step exploratory phase. These research directions highlight salient dimensions of our research question: 1) the social construction of disability in sport as well as in society, 2) the role of the entrepreneurs in the process of change and 3) the notion of framing. These dimensions were examined through a multi-level research design, composed of three independent case-studies. Figure 1 sum up the three research directions² and the underlying sub-research questions that were informed by the institutional theory.

² During the Guidance Committee n°4 (i.e February 2015), it was unanimously decided not to address the third level of analysis (i.e. micro-level) due to the “time-consuming nature” of this research (i.e. multi-level research) and the complex access to the relevant empirical data (see Chapter 4 for more information).

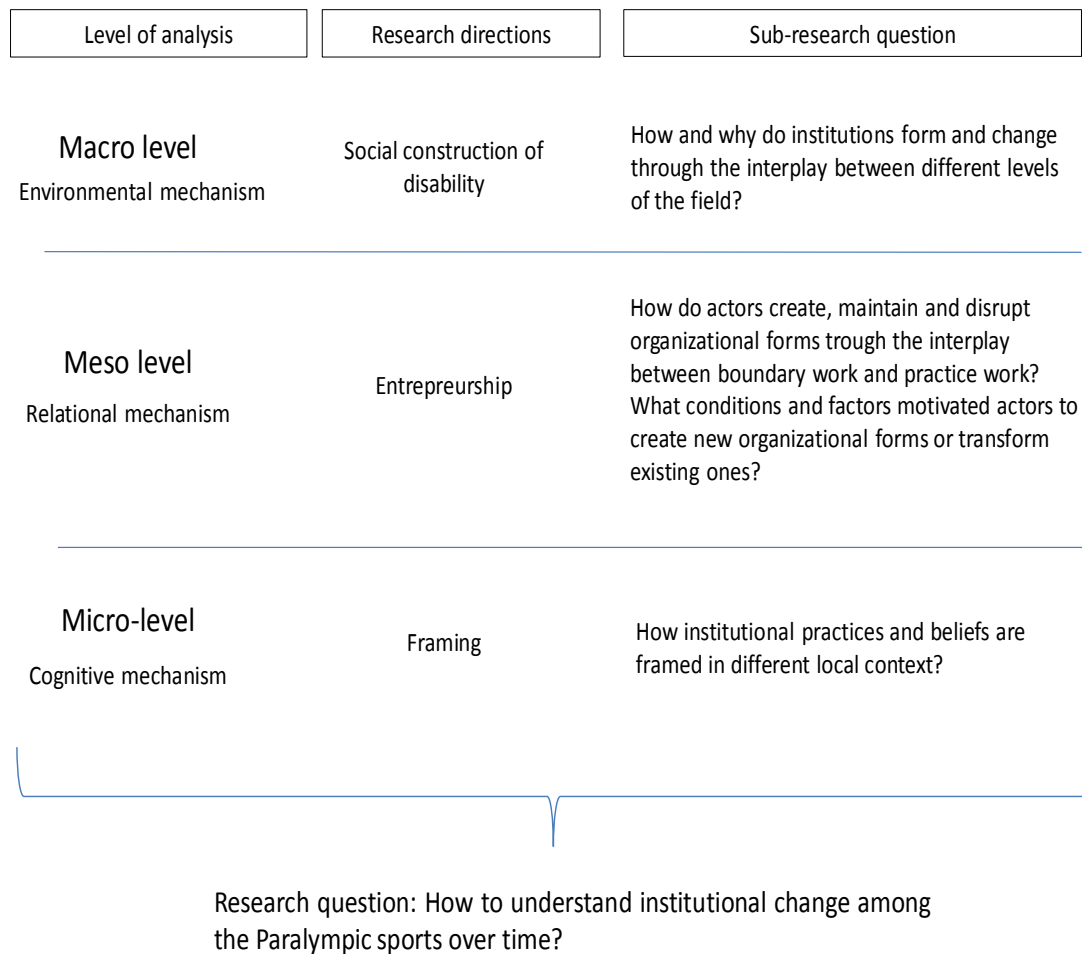


Figure 1 Multi-level research design and research questions

1.2 Societal importance of the study

Disability is a complex construct that encompasses medical considerations as well as social, economic and political dimensions. Although there is no universally accepted definition of disability, there has been a gradual broadening of the concept of disability over these last 40 years (Fougeyrollas, 2010; Oliver, 1990; Stiker, 2009). From a purely medical definition of disability until the 1970s, conceptual focus progressively shifted towards a greater acknowledgement of social context that create and maintain disability. This evolution was supported by increasing governmental and non-governmental programs aiming to overcome social barriers encountered by people with an impairment. Since December 3, 1992, the world annually celebrates The International Day of Persons with Disabilities to promote awareness and knowledge about restrictions related to full-participation of people with an

impairment in society. Recently the 2006 United States Convention of the Rights of persons with disabilities (CRPD) recognized that people with an impairment have, on equal basis, a right to access services from all areas of citizenship. It can be argued that these initiatives partially succeeded since people with an impairment progressively came out from the margins of society. Nevertheless people with an impairment are far from having equal access and opportunities in society and remain the largest minority in the world.

According the 2011 World Report on Disability³, there are over one billion of people with an impairment in the world, of whom 110 to 190 million experience very significant difficulties. This corresponds to about 15% of world's population. Furthermore prevalence of disability is higher than the last World Health Organizations' (WHO) estimation made in 1970, which suggested a figure around 10%. The rate of disability is also increasing due partly to ageing population and increase chronic health conditions. Moreover disability disproportionally affects vulnerable people. The 2011 World Report on Disability estimates that 80% of people with an impairment inhabit developing countries and that more than 800 million individuals with physical and/or cognitive impairments live in poverty, 3.5 million of whom are refugees. Importantly the range of impairments is very diverse and disability experience varies greatly among individuals.

People with an impairment face widespread barriers in accessing services in society. These barriers include "inadequate policies and standards, negative attitudes, lack of service provision, inadequate funding, lack of accessibility, inadequate information and communication and lack of participation in decision that affects their lives" (World Disability report, 2011). Similarly some common barriers in a sport context include "1) a lack of understanding and awareness of how to include people with an impairment in sport, 2) limited opportunities and programs for participation, training and competition, 3) lack of accessible facilities, 4) limited accessible transportation and 5) limited access of information and resources" (DePauw & Gavron, 1995; see also Jaarsma, Geertzen, Jong, Dijkstran & Dekker, 2013). All this induce lower level of participation in sport among people with an impairment, from the grass-roots to high-performance sport levels.

1.3 Structure of the study

The remaining of the study is composed of 6 chapters (see fig. 2). Chapter 2 examines the history of the Paralympic Movement (1944 – 2016) from an organizational perspective. By doing so, we introduce key individuals and organizational actors that have entailed the

³ http://www.who.int/disabilities/world_report/2011/report.pdf (May 2016)

development of sport for people with an impairment. We also describe key issues that Paralympic Movement faced over time.

Chapter 3 is composed of two main parts. In the first section, we detail our intellectual progression and how we approach our research topic to narrow our research question. We then explain how and why we propose a multi-level research design. In the second section, we develop in greater details the theoretical anchor of this research. First, we introduce a range of theoretical streams in organization theory. Second, we provide a literature review of the theory that speaks the more comprehensively to our research, namely the institutional theory. Third, we demonstrate why this theory is adequate for our project (based on our intellectual progression and research design) and how we build on the institutional theory to refine our research questions.

Chapter 4 details the methodological anchor of this research. First, we define our methodological choice – i.e. case-study research – and underline its research implications. Second, we introduce one particular method in case-study research, the process tracing method. Finally, we describe the type of empirical data we use in this study and how we collected them.

Chapter 5 focuses on the macro level of analysis and questions the social construction of disability both in sport and society. To do so, we answer the following research question: How and why do institutions form and change through the interplay of multi-level mechanisms? The study shows how the Paralympic movement's logic moved from rehabilitation-sport logic to sport logic, through the interplay between disability conceptualization at the societal level, shifting logic at the field level carried by different sport classifications systems and the organizational actions interpreting and reinterpreting field logic. In terms of results, the analysis explains how field logic is continuously shaped and reshaped by top-down pressures resulting from dominant discourses in society as well as bottom-up pressures coming from individual and organizational actions.

Chapter 6 focuses on the meso level of analysis and relates to institutional entrepreneurship. Specifically, the research questions are 1) How do actors create, maintain and disrupt organizational forms through the interplay between boundary work and practice work? and 2) what conditions and factors motivated actors to create new organizational forms and transform existing ones? The study shows how the dominant organisational form in the Paralympic Movement moved from disability-based organisational forms to sport-based organisational forms. This move resulted from institutional works aimed to affect 1) the dominant boundaries, which progressively shifted from the rehabilitation sector to the sport sector and 2) the dominant practices, which changed from a medical classification system

(based on medical diagnosis of athletes' impairments) to a functional one (centred on athletes' functional abilities in one specific sport or discipline). The study also highlights key institutional contradictions which pushed and motivated actors to engage in institutional change over time. In terms of results, the analysis demonstrates how institutional change is endogenously produced by institutional entrepreneurs and conditioned by the accumulation of interdependent institutional contradictions over time.

Finally, chapter 7 discusses the theoretical, methodological, managerial and social contributions of the research. It also describes the limits of the study and provides new points of departure for future researches interested in disability in relation to sport.

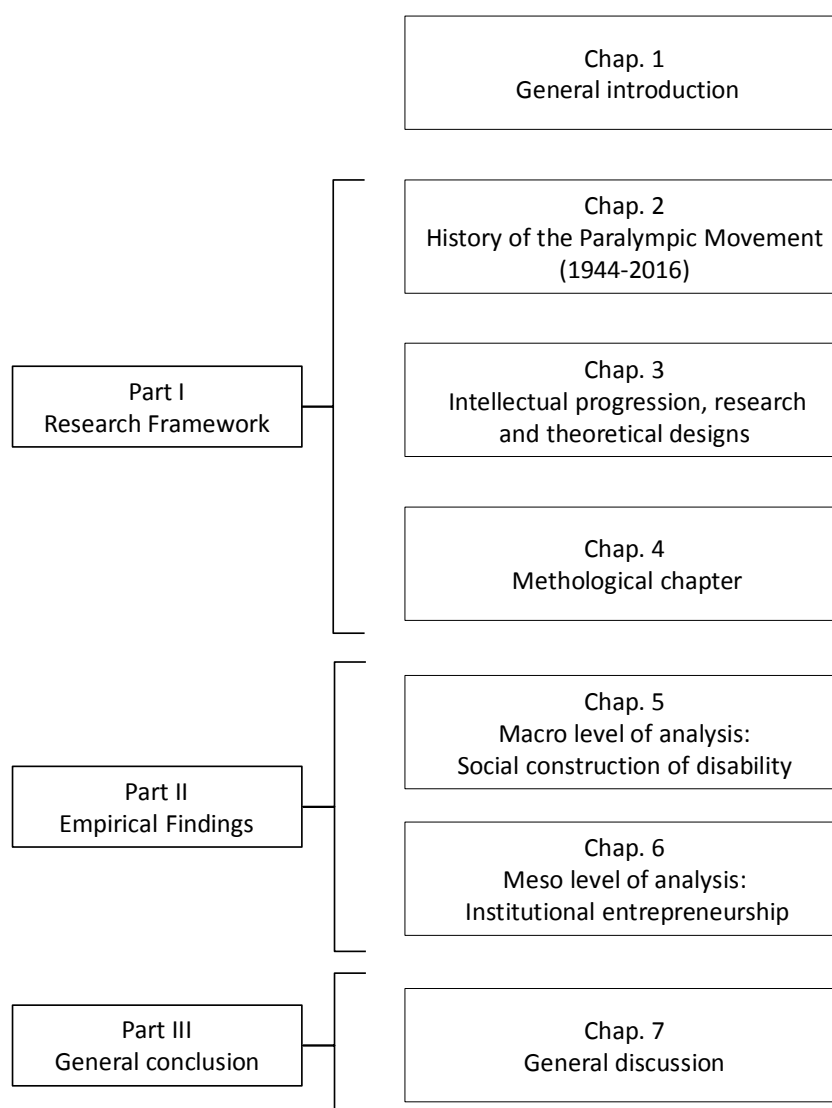


Figure 2 Structure of the study

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Part I : Research Framework

2. The history of the Paralympic Movement from 1944 to 2016: An Organizational Perspective

This chapter examines the history of the Paralympic Movement (1944-2016) from an organizational perspective. By doing so, we introduce key individual and organizational actors that entailed its development as well as main relationships that developed between them over time. We also trace important issues that Paralympic Movement faced during its development.

2.1 Early development

With notable exceptions, people with an impairment had limited access to organized sports during the 20th Century. Among these exceptions was George Eyser, a one-legged gymnast, who won six Olympic Medals at the 1904 Saint-Louis Olympic Games (USA). Newspaper also reported participation in sport of few individuals with physical and sensorial impairments. It is worth to mention Manfred Loos, a one-legged German high jumper that cleared 5ft. 10ins (1, 78m), Hans Redl, an Austrian arm-amputated who took part in the 1947 Wimbledon Tennis lawn tournament or Ron Brown, a one-armed road racing cyclist who competed with adapted bicycles.

Deaf people were the first to develop sport federations at the national and international levels. According DePauw & Gavron (1995), six national sport federations for the Deaf were created between 1888 and 1924, namely in Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Holland and Poland. These six nations, joined by competitors from Hungary, Italy and Romania competed in the 1st Jeux Silencieux ("Silent Games") organized in 1924 (Paris, France). The Comité International des Sports des Sourds (CISS) was created in conjunction with the 1st Silent Games. The CISS became the first international sport federation to provide sport competitions dedicated to athletes with an impairment⁴, aside the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the International Sport Federations (IFs).

⁴ Deaf people do not consider themselves as "disabled" but as being part of cultural minority, marginalized by the mainstream "hearing" community. For more information, please consult Ammons & Eickman (2011).

2.2 The International Stoke Mandeville Games Federation (ISMGF)

The origin of the Paralympic Movement can be traced back to the fall of the World War II. In 1944 the British government hired Dr. Ludwig Guttmann as director of the National Spinal Injury Centre (NSIC) at the Stoke Mandeville Hospital (Aylesbury, UK). Having fled the Nazi-regime during the 1930s, Guttmann was an internationally renowned specialist in treatment of spinal injuries.

At the Stoke Mandeville Hospital, Guttmann framed a new rehabilitation method for people with a spinal injury based on active therapeutic exercise and physical activity. The active cure of spinal injuries represented a new type of treatment (Howe, 2008) and opposed mainstream rehabilitation therapies composed of passive movements, massages and bed rests. Several wheelchair sports were introduced at the Stoke Mandeville Hospital (such as archery, basketball, fencing...) and considered as integral part of the remedial treatment of people with a spinal injury. Following recreation sport activities, competitions were organized in the late 1940s. The 1st National Stoke Mandeville Games took place in July 29th 1948 and gathered 16 ex-service men and women in an archery competition. Described as a “good omen” by Guttmann, the 1st National Stoke Mandeville Games coincided with the opening day of the 1948 London Olympic Games⁵. Doing so Guttmann aimed to connect with the symbolism of the Olympic Games and, on the long term, to devised the Stoke Mandeville Games as “the disabled men and women’s equivalent of the Olympic Games” (Bailey, 2008). The Stoke Mandeville Games were held annually, involving a growing number of UK rehabilitation centers. The 4th Stoke Mandeville Games (1951) recorded participation of 126 athletes (all of them spinally injured) coming from 11 UK Spinal Units (Brittain, 2010). These Games became international in 1952 when a team of Netherlands first participated.

Early 1950s, sport as part of medical rehabilitation of people with a spinal injury spread in the world (DePauw & Gavron, 1995). Guttmann, and more broadly the Stoke Mandeville Hospital, imposed as the gravity center of emerging international sport movement for people with a spinal injury. Sport competitions emerged internationally in various rehabilitation centers, generally in very close collaboration with Guttmann. In parallel foreigner physicians visited the Stoke Mandeville Hospital and initiated physical activity once back in their

⁵ The Olympic Games are considered by many as the pinnacle of sport movement for “able-bodied” athletes. These Games claim their roots back to the Greek Antiquity and are organized every four year by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) since 1896. The Summer Olympic Games gather about 10.000 athletes while the winter edition, about 2.500 athletes.

respective hospitals. From 1955 onwards, a scientific meeting dedicated to medical rehabilitation of spinal injuries took place in connection with the Stoke Mandeville Games.

In 1957, the “1st meeting of experts on sports for the disabled” was organized in Paris (France). This meeting aimed to coordinate sport competitions calendars as well as to standardize sports rules at the international level. It also laid down foundation for the creation of an international sport federation dedicated to sport for people with a spinal injury. The International Stoke Mandeville Games Federation (ISMGF) was created in 1959 with Guttman as 1st President. The ISMGF Executive Committee was composed of a small group of coopted members, most of them being physicians.

The Stoke Mandeville Games remained at the forefront of international sport movement for people with an impairment. The 8th International Stoke Mandeville Games (1959) gathered 360 athletes from 20 countries, competing in 11 different sports. For the first time, the 9th International Stoke Mandeville Games (1960) were organized outside the United Kingdom (UK). They took place in Rome (Italy), with the objective to foster spatial and temporal connections with the 1960 Olympic Games organized in the same city few weeks before. These Games are today known as the 1st Paralympic Games.

2.3 The International Organizations of Sport for the Disabled

During the 1960s, several International Organizations of Sport for the Disabled (IOSDs) were created and developed sport opportunities for athletes other than those with a spinal injury. The IOSDs progressively enabled a world-wide diffusion of sport for people with an impairment (Howe, 2008). The International Sports Organization for the Disabled (ISOD) was founded in 1963 and developed sport programs for athletes with a visual impairment or an amputation as well as for the athletes labeled “Les Autres”⁶. Guttman became the 1st ISOD President besides the ISMGF Presidency. In 1968 the Cerebral-Palsy – International Recreation and Sports Association (CP-ISRA) addressed sport for people with cerebral-palsy. Whereupon ISOD, the International Blind Sport Association (IBSA) took place in 1981 and was dedicated to visually impaired people. These four IOSDs (ISMGF, ISOD, CP-ISRA, IBSA) controlled the international disability sport movement in parallel to the Comité International des Sports des Sourds (CISS).

⁶ The athletes «Les Autres » are those athletes whom the impairment was not addressed by any other of the IOSDs.

The IOSDs were structured according disability and not with regard to the sports as usually in the mainstream sport. This means that one sport (e.g. swimming) was controlled by different IOSDs according the impairments of concerns (e.g. IBSA for people with a visual impairment, CP-ISRA for people with a cerebral-palsy...). This structuration led to a partitioned international sport system wherein each IOSD developed its own system of rules and calendar of championships. Each IOSD also developed a distinct system of classification. These systems of sport classification – labelled medical classification systems – were based on the medical diagnosis and evaluation of the athletes' impairments. Within each IOSD, athletes with a similar “level” or “severity” of impairment were grouped in a same class and competed together.

In parallel the Stoke Mandeville Games endured as the pinnacle of sport movement for people with an impairment. These Games remained organized every year for three consecutive years at Stoke Mandeville, and every fourth year, if possible, in the same country as the Olympic Games. The edition of the International Stoke Mandeville Games, held in conjunction with the Olympic Games, progressively took the name of Paralympic Games (PG).

The Paralympic Games (PG) grown substantially both in terms of athletes and countries involved. While the Paralympic Games organized in 1964 (Tokyo, Japan) gathered 375 athletes from 21 countries, the 1980 Arnhem Paralympic Games (Netherlands) grouped around 3900 athletes from 42 countries. Importantly, the Paralympic Games progressively integrated athletes having an impairment other than a spinal injury. The athletes with a visual impairment first participated at the 1972 Heidelberg Paralympic Games (West Germany), joined by the athletes with an amputation at the 1976 Toronto Paralympic Games (Canada). Finally, athletes with a cerebral-palsy were first involved at the 1980 Arnhem Paralympic Games. As direct consequences of medical classification systems the athletes were increasingly distinguished from each other, based on a medical evaluation of their impairments (Smith & Thomas, 2009). The number of classes increased drastically within each IOSD. In Arnhem almost 1000 medals were allowed, meaning around one medal for each two participants.

2.4 The International Coordinating Committee (ICC)

In the late 1970s the idea emerged about creating a “coordinating group” linking the IOSDs together while, at the same time, preserving the IOSD's autonomy with regard to their respective “disability groups”. As result the International Coordinating Committee (ICC) of World Sports Organisations for the Disabled was set up in 1982. The ICC was initially

composed by representatives of ISMGF, ISOD, IBSA and CP-ISRA. A “Declaration of Authority” was published in 1983, formalizing the way ICC operated. The ICC Constitution clearly stated that each IOSD preserved its autonomy and independence within the ICC. The rationale behind ICC was two-fold. First the ICC aimed to manage increasing complexity of international sport movement for people with an impairment. Second this platform was purposed to deal with the “able-bodied” sport movement, in particular with the International Olympic Committee (IOC).

The first official meeting between the IOC and the ICC took place on February 1983. This meeting represented the starting point of closer cooperation between the two sport movements. The ICC succeeded in obtaining IOC financial contribution as well as in securing demonstration events of athletes with an impairment within the Olympic Program. Demonstration events were first organized during the 1984 Sarajevo (winter) Olympic Games and the 1984 Los Angeles (summer) Paralympic Games. In turn these partnerships implied higher IOC interferences in the conduct of ICC affairs. The IOC requested the involvement of the Comité International des Sports des Sourds (CISS) and the International Sports Federations for People with a mental handicap (INAS-FMH) within the ICC, whom both joined ICC in 1986. This request was in line with the IOC desire to only deal with one international sport organization encompassing all “disability groups”. The IOC also issued a formal statement rejecting the use of Olympic terminologies and symbolic to describe sport competitions for people with an impairment.

The ICC also experienced internal difficulties to coordinate the international sport movement for athletes with an impairment. Frequent conflicts emerged among IOSDs representatives, notably about the involvement of INAS-FMH athletes in international sport competitions and the Paralympic Games. The “nature” of INAS-FMH competitions and their impacts on “ICC’s credibility” (Bailey, 2008) were intensively debated. For the first time the ICC also divided the 1984 Paralympic Games into two competition sites: ISOD, ISMGF and CP-ISRA organized multi-IOSDs Games in New-York (USA) while ISMGF convened to set up its own Games in Champaign (USA). But the ISMGF Games collapsed due to mismanagement and finally took place at Stoke Mandeville. This episode generated deep concerns with regard to the way ICC was developing, and more broadly about the whole structuration of the sport movement. Many nations, belonging to one or more IOSDs, felt uncomfortable with the undemocratic functioning of ICC and IOSDs (Brittain, 2010). In 1983 the Canadian Federation of Sports Organization for the Disabled, represented by Robert Steadward, requested the establishment of “one supreme administrative body at the international level” based on the nations (Bailey, 2008). In parallel the medical classification system became increasingly contested, notably for producing too many classes. During the 1988 Seoul Paralympic

Games more than 30 classes were in place for swimming or athletics. In consequence 744 events took place during these Paralympic Games with more than 2300 medals awarded. The IOSDs progressively acknowledged researches to develop new classification systems in order to reduce the number of classes. Dr. Blomqvist, an influential member of both ISOD and ISMGF Swimming Committees, undertook a swimming classification's study sponsored by ISOD, ISMGF and CP-ISRA. Blomqvist classification system – called the Functional Classification System for Swimming – did not focus on an athlete's impairment but on the functions essential for swimming that were present in athlete's body. This new classification system was notably experienced during the 1986 World Championships and Games in Gothenburg (Sweden). While highly contested, this system allowed reducing the number of classes from 33 to 10 in swimming.

During the 1980s, splintered voices were increasingly vocal and claimed for institutional reforms within the international sport movement for people with an impairment. The 1987 ICC Seminar (Arnhem, Netherlands) gathered many IOSDs representatives to look at “the structure and future of Sports for the Disabled”. As result, a set of 23 recommendations were brought forward notably 1) to create a new international structure based on the nations and not with regard to disability and 2) to develop new classification systems in order to reduce the number of classes. An Ad'hoc Committee was also set up to implement these 23 recommendations.

2.5 The International Paralympic Committee (IPC)

After two years of negotiation about the 23 recommendations put forward during the 1987 ICC Seminar, the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) was created in September 1989 (Dusseldorf, Germany). The IPC General Assembly was composed of 31 nations and the 6 IOSDs. Robert Steadward took the 1st IPC Presidency. Among its constitutional objectives, the IPC claimed to be “the supreme governing body of the Paralympic Movement” and the official governing body to liaise with the International Olympic Committee (IOC). The IPC also took responsibility to organize Regional and World Championships of some multi-disability sports as well as the Paralympic Games. The constitutional objective II.4 meanwhile stated that the IPC is committed to “increase the integration of sports for athletes with a disability into the international sports movement for able-bodied athletes, whilst safeguarding and preserving the identity of sports for disabled athletes”.

In few years, the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) secured its development and progressively took the forefront within the international sport movement for athletes with an impairment. The IPC worked at the establishment of Sport Assembly Executive Committees

(IPC SAEs) within the IPC. IPC SAEs were created to harmonize to governance principles of “some multi-disability sports”. The IPC SAEs gradually gained some autonomy from the IPC with regard to their sports. In parallel the functional classification system was adapted within some IPC sports, in opposition to previous medical classification systems. The functional classification system assessed the functional ability of an athlete in one particular sport or disciplines. Athletes with a similar level of functionality were grouped together whatever their impairments. Thanks to increasing cooperation with the Olympic Games Organizing Committees, the Paralympic Games grown exponentially both in terms of participation and level of sports achievement. For example the 2000 Sydney Paralympic Games (Australia) gathered 3882 athletes from 122 countries (Brittain, 2010).

The IPC's creation did not imply the disappearance of the ICC nor of the IOSDs. The ICC was contractually engaged for the organization of the 1992 Barcelona Paralympic Games and 1992 Alberta Paralympic Games. Similarly the IOSDs remained in charge of sports for their particular disability groups. In 1991 an agreement was signed between the IPC and the IOSDs to define respective roles and responsibilities in the international sport movement for athletes with an impairment. This agreement acknowledged that every IOSD “would represent and bear responsibility for its particular disability on a world level”. Despite this agreement, interferences between the sport organizations persisted notably regarding the organization of some international competitions. The participation of INAS-FMH athletes was still extensively questioned during the 1990s. For example, a motion was made during the 1995 IPC General Assembly to prevent participation of INAS-FMH athletes in the Paralympic Games⁷. The motion was denied, being against IPC Constitution. Similarly CISS⁸ decided to withdraw membership from IPC in 1995, denouncing IPC's lack of cooperation and dedication to sport for the Deaf.

In parallel the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) spent a lot of energy to foster collaboration with the “able-bodied sport movement” and in particular with the International Olympic Committee (IOC). The IPC was officially recognized by the General Assembly of International Sports Federation⁹ (GAISF) in 1995. Contacts with “able-bodied” International Sport Federations (IFs) were also nurtured (e.g. in swimming, athletics, archery, volley-ball,

⁷ Athletes with an intellectual impairment first participated in the 1996 Atlanta Paralympic Games.

⁸ The CISS is still responsible for sport for people with an hearing impairment and organizes the Deaflympics every four years. The last edition, the 22nd Summer Deaflympics (Sofia, Bulgaria), gathered 2711 athletes from 83 countries competing in 16 sports.

⁹ The GAISF (now called SportAccord) is the international federation that brought together of the International Sports Federations

skiing...) during the 1990s. Partnerships were also developed between the IOC and the IPC. The IOC agreed to increase its financial contribution to sport for athletes with an impairment and involved IPC members within some IOC Commissions (such the IOC anti-doping Commission). The IOC also publicly supported the IPC objective towards integration in the “able-bodied” International Sport Federations (IFs).

In parallel the Commission for the Inclusion of Athletes with a Disability¹⁰ (CIAD) was set up during the 4th IPC Executive Committee (November 1990). The CIAD notably sought “the cooperation and commitment of the IOC in the successful inclusion of event with full [Olympic] medal status for athletes with a disability”. In CIAD mind, full medal status in able-bodied sport programs recognized “the value and contribution of all competitors” while demonstration events “could perpetuate a message of difference instead of advancing a message of full acceptance and legitimacy” (Bailey, 2008). Despite very intense lobbying efforts, demonstration events never had full Olympic medal status within the Olympic program. Importantly the CIAD work was also denounced by some IPC members, notably by IPC Athletes Commission.

2.6 The autonomy of sport

Despite remarkable world-wide development of sport for athletes with an impairment during the 1990s, a comprehensive institutional framework was still missing at the international level. Some international sport governing bodies (e.g. IPC and IOSDs) had interfering initiatives. The sport movement was composed of different international governing bodies in the form of either IOSDs or federations per sports or sub-committees per sport. According to Bailey (2008), a total of 73 different governing bodies were active in 31 sports during this period. With up to five interests groups active in some sports (e.g. swimming or athletics), the international governance of sports for athletes with an impairment was highly confused.

During the 1995 IPC General Assembly (Tokyo, Japan), issues and concerns arose relating “the future position and roles of the IPC” in the international sport movement. The paper written by Phil Craven, president of the International Wheelchair Basketball Federation (IWBF) was particularly remarked. Craven stated that IPC should develop “a sport-specific work ethic rather than a disability-specific ethic and work to finally banish the “rehabilitation syndrome” from high performance Paralympic Competition at world and zonal level” (cited in Bailey, 2008). He also asked for more autonomy for the sports within the IPC framework. Following the 1995 IPC GA, a task force was set up to assess IPC governance and

¹⁰ The CIAD was first labelled “Commission for integration”.

management principles. Several Task Force's propositions were examined during the 1996 Extraordinary IPC General Assembly. While the IPC representatives remained skeptical about increased sports autonomy, it was decided to reduce the size of IPC Executive Committee to ease IPC functioning.

The IPC organized the 2001 IPC Strategic Planning Congress (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia) to discuss elements of "Governance, Roles and Responsibilities" within the Paralympic Movement. This congress was a turning point for the organizational structuration of the Paralympic Movement. A set of propositions were brought forward, among them that the IPC should, in the future, solely focus on the organization of the Paralympic Games and not anymore on the Regional and World Championships of the IPC Sports. It was also decided that "the Sports shall pursue individual paths towards their future structure according to their specific situation/International Sports Federation" (Bailey, 2008). This meant that IPC endorsed "the right to any IPC Sport Championship to become independent from the IPC without prejudging which organizational model it adopts (whether it be the inclusion within an Olympic International Federation or the creation of an independent Federation for athletes with a disability, etc.)". These propositions were ratified during the 2003 IPC General Assembly (Turin, Italy). The IPC developed the "Sport Governance & Management Initiative" in 2006 with the aim to strengthen autonomy of IPC sports. This Initiative was supplemented by the 2013 IPC Sports Strategic Plan¹¹.

In result, four types of International Sports Federation can be identified within the sport movement for athletes with an impairment (fig. 3). The International Paralympic Committee (IPC) still governs nine IPC sports (e.g. IPC Swimming, IPC Athletics or IPC Skiing). Several International Sports Federations now organize sports for able-bodied athletes alike for athletes with an impairment (e.g. para-table tennis by the International Table Tennis Federation, para-equestrian by the Fédération Equestre Internationale or para-cycling by the Union cycliste Internationale). Some Sports also developed their own International Sports Federations (e.g. the International Wheelchair Basket-ball, the International Wheelchair Rugby or the International Federation Cerebral Palsy Football) while few sports remained governed by the IOSDs (e.g. Judo and Football-5-aside by IBSA).

¹¹

https://www.paralympic.org/sites/default/files/document/131210143320016_WEB_IPC_13_SP_General%2B131210_3.pdf

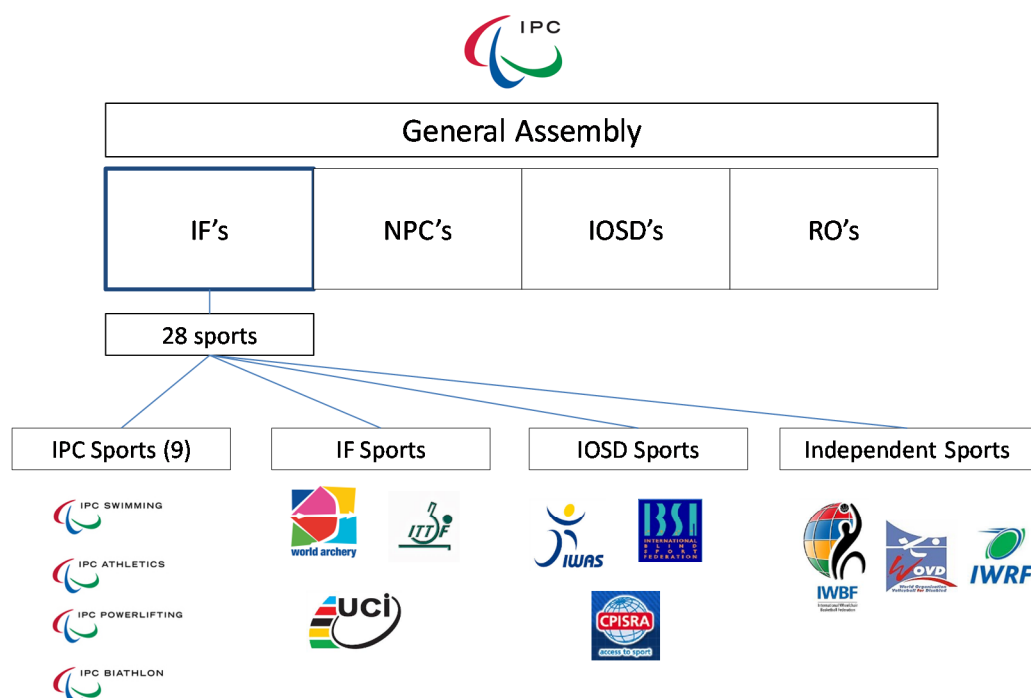


Figure 3 Four types of International Sports Federations

The IPC also drafted the “IPC Classification Code and International standards”. The Code wished to provide a framework for classification policies and procedures that were common to all sports. Negotiations took place to find a balance between a Code specific enough to obtain harmonization on classification issues where required and general enough to allow flexibility for its implementation according needs of the different IPC Sports. The Code was first published in 2007 and revised in 2014. The Code is complemented by the International Standards, notably to identify what an eligible impairment is in Para-sports. In other words, each para-sport has to clearly define for “which impairments they provide sports opportunities”¹². While some sports include athletes of all Eligible Impairments (e.g. athletics,

¹² Athletes with an intellectual impairment, as a recognized impairment group by the IPC, were removed from the Paralympic Games program following the 2000 Sydney Paralympic Games. It indeed emerged that several athletes competed within that group despite not having an intellectual impairment. They made their return during the 2012 London Paralympic Games, in which 120 athletes with an intellectual impairment took part in three sports (Athletics, Swimming and Table-Tennis).

swimming), other sports are limited to one impairment (goalball, boccia) or a selection of impairments (e.g. equestrian, cycling)¹³.

Building upon close relationships weaved with the IOC during the 1990s, the IPC strengthened partnerships with the IOC. Collaboration between IOC and IPC administrations reached a day-to-day level. Both organizations also signed a first Cooperation Agreement in October 2000. This Agreement laid down general principles of relationships between the two organizations, notably that the IPC President would become an IOC member and that partnerships between IOC and IPC Commissions would be extended... On June 2001, a second Agreement detailed the conditions under which the IOC agreed to assist the IPC in the organization of the Paralympic Games, notably by including the obligation for the Olympic Host Cities to stage shortly afterwards the Paralympic Games. This model became known as the “one city model”. A third Agreement regarding the marketing protocol was signed in 2003. Finally, a last agreement – The Partnership Agreement – was concluded in 2012 and aimed to extend relationships between the Paralympic and Olympic Movement on the long term and particularly outside the Games context.

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https://www.paralympic.org/sites/default/files/document/150813211934613_2015_07_07%2BInternational%2BStandard%2Bfor%2BEligible%2BImpairments_%2BFINAL_0.pdf

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3. Intellectual Progression, Research and Theoretical Designs

This chapter introduces our intellectual progression and the research design that entailed to it. We also present the theoretical perspective we chose to strengthen our research approach.

The chapter is composed of two main parts. In the first section, we detail our intellectual progression and how we approach our research topic to narrow a research object. We then explain how and why we propose a multi-level research design. In the second section, we develop in greater details the theoretical anchor of this research. First, we introduce a range of theoretical streams in organization theory. Second, we provide a literature review of the theory that speaks the more comprehensively to our research, namely the institutional theory. Third, we demonstrate why this theory is adequate for our project (based on our intellectual progression and research design) and how we build on the institutional theory to refine our research questions.

By doing so, we aim to demonstrate the intellectual reliability of our research process while answering a direct request from the Guidance Committee. We traced the evolution of our research process and highlight important factors that entail its progress. This chapter has been developed in very close connection to the documents written before and after each of our Guidance Committee, driven by a commitment to transparency.

3.1 Intellectual Progression and Research Design

3.1.1 Intellectual progression

Our research started with intrinsic interests to one particular topic (i.e. the Paralympic Movement) and some pressing issues related to that topic (e.g. why are there fewer sport opportunities for people with an impairment; how and why do Paralympic Sports develop in that particular way...). In other words, this study was “problem-driven” meaning that our work was interested in explaining important events, phenomenon and problems in social world. In contrast, paradigm-driven research “begins with hypotheses deduced from theory intended to be general. [Consequently] events in the world are primarily contexts for testing those hypotheses in paradigm-driven work” (Davis & Marquis, 2005; see also Davis, 2010).

In line with Fink (2013; see also Chelladurai, 2013), we conducted extensive literature reviews to examine how this topic had been previously addressed. Doing so, we aimed to fuel our thinking while remaining open to a variety of research approaches and potential research questions. First, we started with literature in so-called “disability sport studies” and then, extended our survey to other sport-related disciplines (e.g. sport management, sport sociology, sport history...). We also examined some works in “home-disciplines” (e.g. management, sociology...). Second we paid attention to “disability studies” research field which study social construction of disability in society. We traced perceptions and conceptualizations of disability across time and key events and factors that led to the current status of people with an impairment in society.

We do not suggest that we have developed literature reviews in the strict meaning of the term (see for example Short, 2009). Rather we comprehensively examined a large number of studies, coming from a variety of research horizons. We identified new researches and authors in questioning data-bases (Scopus, SPORTDiscus, Google Scholar...) and by juggling from bibliography to bibliography. We did so until we reached a “saturation point”, meaning that no new sensitive information appeared during the course of our readings. This “inductive” and “exploratory” process allowed us to become intimate with our topic and to catch many facets of its complexity. It also highlighted “hot-spots” as well as “shaded areas” of our topic.

In parallel we prepared an historical narrative (Eisenhardt & Bourgeois, 1988) on the development of the Paralympic Movement guided by our research interests. Historical narrative functions “as both a map and a timeline” of the field of interest (Wright, 2009: 862) and directs attention “to turbulent periods that usher in new epochs” (Meyer et al., 2005: 471). By doing so, it provides “preliminary support for new research direction, or lines of inquiry requiring further and more focused empirical investigation” (Wright, 2009: 862). We traced key actors and events to replenished “who did what and when” (Maguire & Hardy, 2009: 153). Our narrative was guided by descriptive books of history of the Paralympic Movement (e.g. Bailey, 2008; De Meyer, 2005) and scholarly analyses written by sport sociologists or sport historiographers (e.g. Brittain, 2010; DePauw & Gavron, 1995; Howe, 2008; Thomas & Smith, 2009). Informed by the disability studies research field, we paid attention to “contextual elements” to avoid anachronism or ex-post rationalization bias.

Finally, we made exploratory interviews with scholars related to disability sport studies and various sport practitioners and athletes. Doing so, we deepened our understanding of some events and important factors related to development of the Paralympic Movement. Importantly, these interviews also permitted to enhance the practical relevance of our study

by staying very close to our field of research (Cuervo-Cazurra, Caliguri, Andersson & Brannen, 2013).

As result of this exploratory phase, we narrowed our **research object** to one important but under-investigated aspect of the Paralympic Movement: the organizational change of the Paralympic sports. We also developed a **first research question: How to understand organizational change among the Paralympic sports over time?** Put differently, we proposed to examine the development of the Paralympic sports under an organizational perspective.

3.1.2 Research design

With regard to literature on organizational change studies, we underlined “research directions” that emerged from this exploratory phase (i.e. intellectual progression). To do so, we continuously kept in mind one question (Doherty, 2013): “what should be done to provide the best explanation of our topic of interest?”

As Gephart (2004) points out, such process require “highly contextualized individual [and we argue, collective] judgments”. It also asks to remain “flexible” regarding unanticipated events (Gephart, 2004). In our case, the main unanticipated event revealed to be the access to our research field and relevant empirical data¹⁴. Our research design was indeed largely influenced by these considerations and it was submitted of multiple waves of change and refinement with regard to data collection. Thanks to multiple backwards and forwards between theory and our research field, we finally developed a set of research directions underlying key aspects of our topic of interest. We also rapidly noted that these research directions entailed at different levels of analysis in organization theory.

In constant dialogue with our PhD Guidance Committee, we went on to propose a **multi-level research design composed of three independent case studies, each of them encompassing a different level of analysis (macro, meso and micro) and focusing on one of the research directions** previously underlined. Table 1 describes the three levels of analysis and underlying research propositions that emerged during the exploratory phase. We also provide samples of studies that influenced our research design’s choice. This does not mean that these studies directly require further research on, or even mention these “research directions” but rather, that they nurtured our own thinking in that particular way.

¹⁴ See chapter 4 for more information

Table 1 Multilevel Research design

Research level	Level of analysis	Research directions	Samples of studies
MACRO Environmental mechanism	Society level	<i>Social construction of disability</i>	Barnes & Mercer, 2010 ; Brittain, 2010 ; Fougeyrollas, 2010 ; Hums et al., 2009 ; Le Clair, 2011 ; Marcellini et al., 2010 ; Peers, 2012
MESO Relational mechanism	Inter-organizational level	<i>entrepreneurship/innovation</i>	Bailey, 2008 ; Fay & Wolff, 2009; Howe, 2008 ; Legg & Steadward, 2011; Ruffié et al., 2014
MICRO Cognitive mechanism	Individual and organizational level	<i>framing/diffusion</i>	Compte, 2010 ; Hums et al., 2003; Le Clair, 2011 ; Marcellini & Lantz, 2014 ; Smith & Thomas, 2009

Our research design was therefore more “inductive” or “theory building-oriented” (Rohlfing, 2012) rather than purely hypothetico-deductive. Importantly such “exploratory” process was in accordance with problem-driven research stream, notably promoted by Davis (2006; 2010) and Davis & Marquis (2005).

The methodological relevance of our multi-level research design was further confirmed by both researches in organization theory (Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008; Wright, 2009; Wright & Zammuto, 2013) and social movement studies (Davis & McAdam, 2000; Davis, McAdam, Scott & Zald, 2005). Drawing on McAdam et al. (2001: 25-26), Campbell (2005) pinpoints three mechanisms that are apt “for making sense of social change processes” and are particularly “relevant to study organizational change”. These three mechanisms echo our three levels of analysis as well as our research directions: an environmental mechanism (“that is, external factors that affect actor’s capacities to engage in change”) which resonates with our macro level, a relational mechanism (that affects “connections among actors and their networks in ways that enable them to cause change”) which is linked with our meso level and finally, a cognitive mechanism (that alters “how actors perceive their identities, interests and possibilities for change”) which echoes our micro level of analysis. Similarly Friedland & Alford (1991) also note that adequate explanation of social process must work at all three levels of analysis (i.e. individual, organizational and societal levels).

As a whole we argue that literature in organization study confirmed the relevance of our research design and the “research directions” that emerged from our exploratory phase.

3.2 Theoretical Design

According to Davis & Marquis (2005), problem-driven works are “theoretically agnostic”. Despite many interpretations of “what a theory is”, the definition of Suddaby (2014: 407) is particularly relevant for our study: a theory is “simply a way of imposing conceptual order on the empirical complexity of the phenomenal world”.

Once our research design established, we looked for “the theoretical perspective that speaks the more comprehensively” (Doherty, 2013) to our research question and research design. To theoretically anchor our research, we first turned our attention to a range of theoretical perspectives in organization theory, and then chose the one that complimented most our research objectives – the institutional theory.

This section is composed of three parts. First, we examine various theories of organization and assessed their strengths and weaknesses. Second, we present in greater depth the institutional theory and its defining features. Third, we describe how we merge this theoretical stream to our research design. In result, we were able to refine our research question, and to develop a set of three independent sub-research questions informed by the institutional theory.

3.2.1 Theory of Organization

Our understanding of a wide range of theoretical perspectives in organizational change studies is necessarily limited and fragmented. But each theoretical stream has its own character (Cropper & Palmer, 2008) notably in terms of level of analysis (e.g. organizational or field levels), analytic inclination (e.g. descriptive or explanatory), theoretical perspective (e.g. economical or behavioral perspective). In other words, each theory offers particular treatment of organizational change.

During the 1970s, organizational theory “brachiated into a set of partially overlapping, partially competing theories of organizations” (Davis & Marquis, 2005; see also Scott & Davis, 2015). In table 2, we briefly outline the research focus and theoretical limitations of seven of them, including the neo-institutional theory.

Table 2 Theoretical paradigms in Organization Theory

Theoretical Paradigm	Description/main focus	Theoretical limitations
Transaction Costs Economics	“focuses on how an organization should organize its boundary-spanning activities so as to minimize the sum of its production and transaction costs” (Barringer & Harrison, 2000: 370)	- Cost-minimizing rationale and financial goals are primary factors to explain organizational behavior (Noteboom, 2000) - change and time as secondary concerns (Cropper & Palmer, 2008)
Resource Dependence	“proposes that organizations seek to create stability in times of environmental uncertainty and, especially, resource scarcity. Organizations do this by managing their interdependencies and resources flows, and by establishing relationships with external players, other organizations and stakeholders to acquire necessary resources” (Cropper & Palmer, 2008)	- pay less attention to why particular resource(s) is/are vital for the organization, how the dependence to particular resource(s) evolve over time and how an organization could otherwise generate the resource(s) of interest - change and time as secondary concerns (Cropper & Palmer, 2008)
Strategic Choice	“focuses on the dynamic process of making strategic choices to effectively position an organization within its environment” (Lewin et al., 2004: 120)	- environmental factors are given less weight in determining an organization change trajectory (Cropper & Palmer, 2008)
Stakeholder Theory	“Organizations are at the center of an interdependent web of stakeholders and have a responsibility to consider the legitimate claims of their stakeholder when making decisions and carrying out business transactions” (Barringer & Harrison, 2000: 370)	- more descriptive than analytic - generally focus on one organization or a limited set of organizations (Freeman, 1984)
Organizational Learning	“aims to explain how individuals and their organizations acquire, process, distribute, integrate and dissipate information associated with the functions of the firm” (Lewin et al.,	- generally focus on one organization or a limited set of organizations - pay less attention to how information is shaped by existing

	2004: 114)	social norms and beliefs
Population Ecology	“explains the adaptation of organization and their forms over time in terms of influential factors rather than as a consequence of individual managerial choices and decision-making” (Cropper & Palmer, 2008)	- necessary to have a clear understanding of the organizational population of concerns before to analyze how this population is influenced by its environment
Institutional theory	“Suggests that institutional environments impose pressures on organizations to appear legitimate and conform to prevailing social norms” (Cropper & Palmer, 2008)	- struggle to explain change in the midst of institutional embeddedness

Based on this brief examination of various theoretical streams in organization theory, the institutional theory quickly appeared as the most promising. Instead of the minutiae of theoretical limitations of other theoretical paradigms, we develop in greater depth the theoretical leverages proposed by the institutional theory. In section three of this chapter we further show why this perspective compliments most our research.

3.2.2 The Institutional Theory

Institutional theory is a “theory that lives” (Dacin, Goodstein & Scott, 2002; see also Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin & Suddaby, 2008) and should be understood as a “big tent” encompassing multiple “related lines of inquiries” (Powell & Bromley, 2013). Institutional theory takes place in the “open-system perspective” in organization theory, meaning scholars widely acknowledge that an organization is influenced by its environment. Institutional theory goes further “by trying to categorize how and why specific parts of the environment influence organizational action” (Washington & Patterson, 2011). Broadly speaking, this theoretical stream asks questions “about how social choices are shaped, mediated and channeled by institutional environment” (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008). A key point is that institution both constrains and enables individual and/or organizational actions (Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Giddens, 1984). As put by Scott (2014: 58):

“Institutions impose restrictions by defining legal, moral, and cultural boundaries, distinguishing between acceptable and unacceptable behavior. But it is equally important to recognize that institutions also support and empower activities and actors. Institutions provide stimulus, guidelines and resources for acting as well as prohibitions and constraints on action”.

This institutional duality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Giddens, 1984) has led to fascinating and ongoing questions about organizations and organizing processes in institutional environment. This also anchors institutional theory in the long-standing debate “structure versus agency” within social sciences. In the former (called structuralist or determinist perspective), environmental factors play a preponderant role in social life and determine individual and organizational behavior and patterns of action. As result, this perspective “focuses not on action, but on the structural properties of the context within which action unfolds” (Battilana & D’Aunno, 2009). The latter (called voluntarist perspective) sees actors “as the basic unit of analysis” (Astley & Van de Ven, 1983) and agency as main source of change in social processes. Agency refers to “an actor’s ability to have some effect on the social world altering the rules, relational ties or distribution of resources” (Scott, 2014). In Giddens’ terms (1984: 14), agency is “to be able to “act otherwise”, [that] means being able to intervene in the world, or to refrain from such interventions, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affairs”. Over time, institutional theory has traveled between these two extremes perspectives consecutively grasping insights from these two research traditions.

3.2.2.1 Institution: Definition(s) and Key Concepts

Obviously, “institution” is the core concept of institutional theory but no consensus has been reached around its definition. Earlier studies in institutional theory (called “old” institutionalism) defined institution as “an organization infused with value” (Selznick, 1957: 17). These studies were interested in how “policies and routines of particular organizations acquired local resonance and self-sustainability” (Powell & Bromley, 2013). In today parlance, an institution is generally conceptualized at “a higher level of analysis” (Caronna, 2004) than the organizations. Works in this vein (known as “new” institutionalism) examined “how the external environment socially constructs organizations, providing the templates for their formal structure and policies” (Powell & Bromley, 2013). As put by Powell & DiMaggio (1991: 8), “the new institutionalism in organization theory and sociology comprises a rejection of rational-actor models [...], a turn towards cognitive and cultural explanations, and an interest in properties of supra-individual units of analysis that cannot be reduced to aggregation or direct consequences of individuals’ attributes or motives”.

But under a shared attentiveness to external environment, scholars differ in their conceptualization of institutional environment. According to Scott (2001: 48), institutions “are composed of cultural-cognitive, normative and regulative elements, that together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life”. In a more voluntarist perspective, Barley & Tolbert (1997: 99) defined institutions as “historical accretions of past practices and understandings that set conditions on action, through the way in which they acquire status of taken-for-granted facts, which in turn, shape future interactions and negotiations”. These definitions reflect various understandings of the central tenets of institutional theory (Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin & Suddaby, 2008) and translate in various theoretical streams into institutional theory.

Nevertheless scholars agree about the analytic relevance of two concepts in institutional theory, namely 1) the organizational field and 2) the institutional logic. Organizational field is a central construct in institutional theory (Scott, 2014; Wooten & Hoffman, 2008) and is located at an intermediate level between the individual and organizational level and the society level. Organizational field is both a concept, enabling to understand “the nature of the environment for a given organization” (Scott, 2014; see also Martin, 2011) as well as a level of analysis, being “instrumental [to study] processes by which socially constructed expectations and practice become disseminated and reproduced” (Greenwood, Suddaby & Hinings, 2002). According to Reay & Hinings (2005) two papers were foundational for theoretical placement of organizational field in institutional theory. First, DiMaggio & Powell

(1983: 148-149) introduced organizational field as “key suppliers, resources and product consumers, regulatory agencies and other organizations that produce similar services or products”. This definition emphasized structural properties of organizational field wherein a discrete list of constituents may be dressed. Drawing on Bourdieu (1984), Scott (1994) subsequently extended this conceptualization and focused on the relationships between field members. Scott (1994: 207-208) argued “the notion of field connotes the existence of a community of organizations that partakes a common meaning system and whose participants interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside of the field”.

The meaning system of an organizational field is currently understood through the second key concept, the institutional logic (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Institutional logic is defined as “the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality” (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999: 804). According to Jackall (1988: 112), an institutional logic “is the way a particular social world works” and represents the content and meaning of an institutional system.

3.2.2.2 An Understanding of Institutional Stability and Isomorphism

Early institutional studies focused on the constraining aspects of institution (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977) and “emphasized ways in which institutions constrained organizational structures and activities” (Battilana, 2006). These studies proposed a key role to legitimacy considerations in actors’ decision making process (Battilana & d’Aunno, 2009; Washington & Patterson, 2011). As expressed by institutionalist scholars, legitimacy reasons opposed economical utility or efficiency arguments developed in rational actor-based theory. Institutional theory suggests that in order to become legitimate, organizations must conform to institutional expectations and rules structures. In other words, organizations are “rewarded for using acceptable structures and practices [within their institutional environment], not [according] the quantity, quality and efficiency of their output” (Battilana & d’Aunno, 2009).

The concept of legitimacy also underlies the master hypothesis of early institutional studies: the hypothesis of institutional isomorphism. DiMaggio & Powell (1983: 149) described isomorphism “as a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions”. Put differently, research on

institutional isomorphism tried to explain the how and why behind convergence of organizational structures and practices within the same environment. The basic argument that supports isomorphism is that organizations are looking for clues in their environment about the ways they have to behave in order to become legitimate. Organizations facing the same environment consequently tend to adopt similar structure and courses of action and appeared more similar over time.

But scholars soon face a theoretical dilemma (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). If institutional environment constrains organizational behavior, how new institutions are created or existing ones transformed? This nagging question enlivened institutional discussions since the late 1980s, and pushed scholars to address issues of institutional change. Scholars progressively acknowledged that organizational field should be seen “not as static but evolving” (Hoffman, 1999: 352). Similarly Greenwood et al. (2002) argued that “institutional processes may, for a time, given a field the appearance of stability” because “differences in interpretation and emphasis may be temporary resolve by socially negotiated consensus. Nevertheless the appearance of stability is probably misleading”. In response new lines of research develop to move beyond stability and isomorphism (Hoffman & Ventresca, 2002) and introduce change and variability in institutional lexicon.

3.2.2.3 Towards an Understanding of Institutional Change

In all, criticisms addressed the over-socialized view of actors (Granovetter, 1985; Hirsch & Lounsbury, 1997; Wooten & Hoffman, 2008) that depicted early institutional studies, in which actors were assumed to passively complying with institutional environment. Scholars explicitly called for the injection of agency into institutional theory (DiMaggio, 1988; Hoffman & Ventresca, 2002; Lawrence, 1999) and highlighted the importance of agency, power and interests in institutional change processes (Leblebici, Salancik, Copay & King, 1991; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996).

In the first instance, institutional studies emphasized exogenous sources of change “smacking into stable institutional arrangements and causing indeterminacy” (Clemens & Cook, 1999: 447). Exogenous “jolts” included regulatory and legal changes (Holm, 1995; Hoffman, 1999), technological disruptions (Barley, 1986) or social challenges (Strang & Meyer, 1993). These external events notably impacted demography at the organizational field level, wherein new players appeared and power relationships were redistributed (Thornton, 2004; Scott, Ruef, Mendel & Caronna, 2000).

More recently, scholars have suggested that institutional change and variation may come from within the field (Schneiberg, 2007; Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008). Consequently more attention was given to “endogenous source of deliberate and motivated change” (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006: 29). Since then, three interconnected research streams have developed to tackle issues of institutional change.

From a more determinist standpoint, some scholars have increasingly viewed institution as comprising multiple institutional logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991) and characterized by institutional tensions or contradictions (Benson, 1977; Seo & Creed, 2002). Such works opened theoretical gaps on the role of competing institutional logics in institutional change processes (Scott, Ruef, Mendel & Caronna, 2000; Lounsbury, 2007; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007). In a voluntarist perspective, other scholars have focused on agency and emphasized the role of individual and/or organizational action in the shaping of institutional environment (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). This stream of work produced the figure of “institutional entrepreneurs” (DiMaggio, 1988; Maguire, Hardy & Lawrence, 2004) and highlighted the “institutional work” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2009) developed by actors to affect institution. Finally, a third research stream is interested with micro-processes by which institutional practices and structures are altered “to fit” a particular context (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). Such works underlined importance of framing and translation processes in institutional change (Benford & Snow, 2000; Campbell, 2005; Hoffman, 2011). These three research streams are further detailed in the remaining of this section.

3.2.2.3.1 Institutional logic

Scholars progressively turned their attention to institutional logics as “forces to institutional change” (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008; see also Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). A large part of these researches found their roots in the studies of Alford & Friedland (1985) and Friedland & Alford (1991) that conceptualized society as an inter-institutional system. According to Friedland & Alford (1991: 252), society comprised “multiple institutions, prescribing a set of distinctive categories, beliefs and motives – called institutional logics – which individuals can use as basis for action”. The concept of institutional logic led progressively to a conceptualization of institutional environment as more “fragmented and contested” (Lounsbury, 2007). Each institutional logic was indeed associated with “a distinctive mode of rationalization” (Scott, 2014) and provided “social actors with vocabularies of motive and self-identity” (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Friedland & Alford (1991: 256) further argued

“institutional contradictions are the bases of the most important political conflicts in our society; it is through these politics that the institutional structure of society is transformed”.

While Friedland & Alford's (1991) work focused on the societal level, the research stream that emerged is broader and it is now argued that “institutional logic may develop at a variety of different levels, for example organizations, markets, industries, inter-organizational networks, geographic communities and organizational fields” (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). According to Scott (2014), the dynamics of change observed at various levels of an institution “can be fruitfully examined by considering the competition and struggle among various categories of actors committed to contrasting institutional logic”.

Empirically, it is widely acknowledged that institutional logics shape practices, organizational forms and rule systems at the organizational field level (Greenwood et al., 2010; Hinings, 2012, Lounsbury, 2007; Thornton, 2004). At the same time, it is recognized that individual and organizational actors have “some hand” in the shifting or change in institutional logic (Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Lounsbury, 2007; Wright & Zammuto, 2013). Recent empirical works have also underlined the fact that organizations can hold two (or more) competing logics at the same time (Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007; Reay & Hinings, 2005; Zilber, 2006).

3.2.2.3.2 Institutional entrepreneurship

The second approach emphasized roles, strategies and practices of institutional actors during processes of institutional change. The theoretical pieces of DiMaggio (1988) and Oliver (1991; 1992) represented “a signal shift in the attention of institutional researchers toward the impact of individual and collective actors on the institutions that regulate the fields in which they operate” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 5). Borrowing in Eisenstadt' (1980) work, DiMaggio (1988) introduced the notion of institutional entrepreneurship into institutional lexicon. According DiMaggio (1988: 14) “new institutions arise when organized actors with sufficient resources (institutional entrepreneurs) see in them an opportunity to realize interests that they have value highly”. Similarly Oliver (1992) examined a set of organizational and environmental factors related to deinstitutionalization of organizational activity and practice, questioning institutional isomorphism and stability.

From these works, scholars started to raise notion of institutional strategy (Lawrence, 1999) and institutional entrepreneurship (Garud, Hardy & Maguire, 2007; Leca, Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2008). According to Lawrence (1999: 162-163), institutional strategy “demands the ability to articulate, sponsor and defend particular practices and organizational forms as legitimate and desirable, rather than the ability to enact already legitimate practices or

leverage existing social rules”. Likewise institutional entrepreneurs were described as actors “who leverage resources to create new institutions or to transform existing ones” (Maguire, Hardy & Lawrence, 2004: 657). But despite many valuable insights, such works “portrayed some actor as powerful, heroic figures able to dramatically shape institutions” (Lawrence et al., 2009) and undermined the fact that all actors, including entrepreneurs, are institutionally embedded.

To depict a more balanced view of institutional entrepreneurship, Powell & DiMaggio (1991: 23-24) proposed to draw from the “practice approach” that emerged since the 1970s. In this vein Lawrence & Suddaby (2006; see also Lawrence et al., 2009) introduced the concept of “institutional work” looking at the concrete practices employed by actors in relation to institutions. Institutional work describes “the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 215). However this “turn to work” did not tend “to adopt a simplistic understanding of constrained agency, but rather, tend to conceptualize agency as embedded and in particular embedded in the very social sets of social-symbolic structures it is aiming to affect” (Phillips & Lawrence, 2012). As Lawrence et al. (2009) indicated, institutional work’ research stream seek “to establish a broader vision of agency in relationship to institutions, one that avoids depicting actors either as “cultural dopes” trapped by institutional arrangements, or a hyper-muscular institutional entrepreneurs”.

Since then, empirical studies have highlighted different types of institutional work involved in institutional creation (e.g. Perkman & Spicer, 2008; Tracey, Phillips & Jarvis, 2011), institutional maintenance (e.g. Dacin, Munir & Tracey, 2010; Márta & Fernández, 2013; Zilber, 2009) and institutional disruption (e.g. Maguire & Hardy, 2009; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010).

3.2.2.3.3 Framing process

In a third stream of research, scholars have highlighted that institutional pressures on organizational and individual actors are “not free from interpretation and filtering processes” (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008). Such concerns introduced notions of sense-making, framing and translation into institutional studies (Hoffman, 2011). It also eased collaboration between institutionalist authors and social movement scholars (Davis, McAdam, Scott & Zald, 2005; Benford & Snow, 2000). Both theoretical streams indeed emphasized that action can be shaped by self-interests, beliefs or cognitive understandings. On the one hand institutional studies have highlighted a logic of appropriateness, “where proposed change are likely to be catch – or even be recognized as viable possibilities in the first place – even if they are

consistent with local customs, habits, schemas and routines” (Campbell, 2005). On the other hand social movement theory underlined that in order to be successful, activists and protest movements have to “frame” issues and problems “in ways that resonate with ideologies, identities and cultural understandings of supporters and others who might be drawn for their cause” (Campbell, 2005). According to Benford & Snow (2000: 615), framing processes are composed of three interdependent core tasks: “diagnostic framing” that refers to the identification of sources of causality, blame and/or responsibility, “prognostic framing” which involves “the articulation of a proposed solution” and finally, “motivational framing” that provides rationales for engaging in action. In turn, frames are defined as “metaphors, symbols and cognitive cues that cast issues in a particular light and suggest possible ways to respond to these issues” (Campbell, 2005).

These works on framing also question the two-stage model of diffusion in institutional theory, whereby “early adopters are driven by technical consideration and later adopters imitate each other in a contagion-like process that is decoupled from rational calculation” (Hinings, 2012). Instead of diffusing through a field, organizational practices became viewed as framed and translated from the field level to organizational level (Barley, 2006; Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Wright & Zammuto, 2013; Zilber, 2006). Translation is “the process by which practices that travel from one site to another are modified and implemented by adopters in different ways so that they will blend into and fit the local social and institutional context” (Campbell, 2005). To sum up, this stream of works (i.e. framing and translation) aimed to analyze micro-processes that allow organizational practices, beliefs and structures “to take hold and become entrenched within an organizational field” (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008).

3.2.3 Theoretical Design

Alison Doherty (2013), an influential scholar in sport management, recently described its theorizing efforts as a four-step process:

“In sport management, like any academic discipline, we borrow, adapt, extend and, to some extent, generate new theory”.

Following Doherty’s (2013) four-step process, we describe how we build upon the institutional theory to 1) refine our research question and 2) to propose three independent sub-research questions in line with our research design. By doing so, we aim to reflect how and why institutional theory provides a rich theoretical framework to investigate our research question.

3.2.3.1 To Borrow Theory

To borrow theory is “to import coherent and fully formed ideas that explain a phenomenon (or phenomena) in [sport management] from outside the field discipline” (Doherty, 2013; see also Oswick, Fleming & Hamlon, 2011: 319). Institutional theory has become the dominant theoretical approach in organization studies (Oswick et al., 2011) as well as in sport management (Washington & Patterson, 2011). In turn, this theoretical orientation is sometimes presented as a “default choice” because of its loose application to a very wide range of inquiry.

In contrast we argue that institutional theory is adequate for our research for mainly three reasons. First, institutional theorists have developed rich conceptual apparatus to document organizational change phenomena¹⁵. Moreover, the original argument behind institutional theory (i.e. that social practices are shaped by institutional environment) resonates particularly well with our exploratory phase. We indeed underline the importance of social, political and economic construction of disability in our society, as examined in the “disability studies” research field (Barnes & Mercer, 2010; Fougereyrollas, 2010). The social model of disability, as theorized since the 1980s, indeed considers impairment as one of the many facets of the disabling process. Put differently, the social of model of disability considers disability as a by-product of institutionalized, deeply rooted social practices towards people with an impairment. In that way institutional theory allows precisely taking into account the social norms, beliefs and practices associated to disability over time

¹⁵ See point 3.2.2 of this chapter

Second, institutional theory recognizes fundamental multi-level nature of institutional process and thus, aligns our multi-level research design. Moreover, the institutional theory distinguishes by taking organizational field “as the relevant level of analysis and remaining agnostic about whether it is composed of organizations, individuals or other combinations of actors” (Davis & Marquis, 2005). In other words, organizational field enables viewing actors in context (Scott, 2014) without prejudging about whom they are and what they do. Being longitudinal, our study indeed aims to trace organizational change over time. This suggests that dominant organization(s) may change, that power relationships between organizations be redistributed etc. By focusing at the field level, the institutional theory allows to analyze a whole set of organizations and how they act, relate and change over time.

Third, our exploratory phase also underlines the importance of addressing our research question through a historical perspective. We argue that institutional theory is devoted to processual and historical analysis (Cropper & Palmer, 2008; Greenwood et al., 2008; Scott, 2014). The very definition of institution as “the historical accretions of past practices and understandings that set conditions on action” (Barley & Tolbert, 1997: 99) invites scholars to “look backwards” and to disentangle generative mechanisms of change and “the particular [historical] circumstances or contingencies” behind these mechanisms (Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2006: 866).

To sum up, we argue that institutional theory resonates and compliments well with our exploratory phase and research design as well as provides a strong conceptual apparatus to study change in organization.

3.2.3.2 To Adapt Theory

To adapt theory “typically involves streamlining and/or modifying the original theory in order to fit the problems or conceptual tasks [of interest]” (Oswick et al., 2011: 328). In addition Doherty (2013: 9) argues that “the broader the theory, the more “re-contextualization” or “retrofitting” (Suddaby et al., 2011: 237) or “domesticating” (Oswick et al., 2011: 328) needs to be done when importing into the context of sport for research purposes”.

At the opposite we argue that the large theoretical scopes of institutional theory adequately compliments our multi-level research design without scarifying the “original nuance” (Oswick et al., 2011) or “original meaning” (Doherty, 2013) of this theory.

Based on our exploratory phase and our review of institutional theory, we propose to examine the research directions previously underlined (see table 1) with the help of the various theoretical streams that institutional theory offers (see table 3).

Table 3 Theoretical designs

Research level	Level of analysis	Research direction	Institutional theoretical stream
MACRO Environmental mechanism	Society level	Social construction of disability	Institutional logic <i>e.g. Friedland & Alford, 1991 ; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008 ; Wright & Zammuto, 2013</i>
MESO Relational mechanism	Inter-organizational level	entrepreneurship/innovation	Institutional work <i>e.g. DiMaggio, 1988, Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2009; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010</i>
MICRO Cognitive mechanism	Individual and organizational level	framing/diffusion	Framing and translation <i>e.g. Benford & Snow, 2000 ; Campbell, 2005 ; Hoffman, 2013</i>

The macro level of analysis focuses on the social construction of disability. We propose to analyze this research direction through the theoretical notion of institutional logic (Friedland & Alford, 1991). An institutional logic is defined as the “socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, beliefs and rules” (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008) by which actors provide meaning to their social reality. By analyzing change in institutional logic within the Paralympic Movement, we aim to investigate how institutionalized understandings of sport for people with an impairment has evolved and influenced organizational change processes over time.

The meso level of analysis is interested with the notion of entrepreneurship. The institutional theory provides rich theoretical leverages to investigate this notion, in particular through the theoretical notion of “institutional work”. Institutional work is defined as “the purposive action

of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions” (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). We therefore aim to analyze how actors developed institutional work – in terms of concrete and purposive strategies and actions – to influence sport movement for people with an impairment over time.

The micro level of analysis is concerned by the cultural and ideological influences that have framed the issues related to sport participation of people with an impairment. Through the theoretical notion of framing, we propose to analyze “struggles over the production of mobilizing and countermobilizing ideas and meaning” (Benford & Snow, 2000) related to these issues. In other words we propose to analyze the discursive battles over the interpretation of the issues of sport participation and the “nature of solutions” (Hoffman, 2013) that were designed over time.

3.2.3.3 To Extend Theory

Doherty (2013) proposes that problems associated with borrowing a theory from a research field to one another can be addressed by engaging in “conceptual blending” (see also Oswick et al., 2011: 328). The intent of conceptual blending is “for the theory to be more relevant to the focal context by merging the borrowed theory and its concepts with concepts that are particularly relevant if not unique to the focal context” (Doherty, 2013: 9).

Similarly many institutional scholars pinpoint the importance to have “an appropriate historical and cultural lens” (Greenwood et al., 2010: 15) to study institutional change. In line with the exploratory phase, the present study incorporates insights from the disability studies research field. By doing so, we intend not to be divorced from larger socio-historical context in which processes of interest took place.

3.2.3.4 To Generate Theory

As a whole, this research pathway coupled with our theoretical anchor allows us to refine our research question in: **How to explain institutional change among the Paralympic sports over time?**

In parallel we engage in an intensive dialogue between our research design and the literature on institutional change. As result, we develop three independent sub-research questions that make contributions to the borrowed theory while answering our research question (fig. 4). As each level of analysis is independent from each other, proper literature reviews that led us to these sub-research questions are detailed in each case-study.

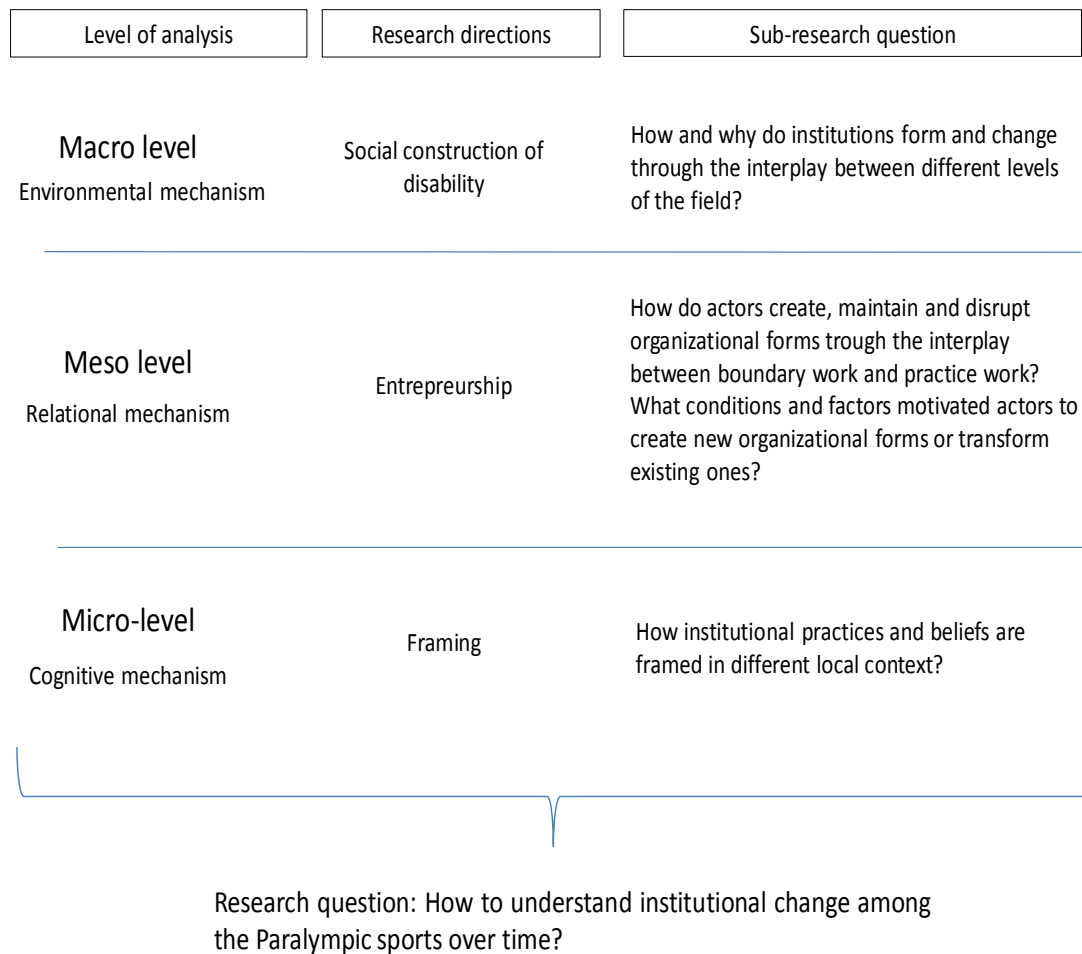


Figure 4 Theoretical design and research questions

During the Guidance Committee n°4 (i.e February 2015), it was unanimously decided not to address the third level of analysis (i.e. micro-level) due to the “time-consuming nature” of this research (i.e. multi-level research) and the complex access to the relevant empirical data¹⁶. Nevertheless this level of analysis is considered as part of the global construction of this PhD research. It is why we judged important to describe it as well in this chapter.

As a whole, we firmly believe this research model enables us to generate new theory (or to add conceptual order) on the process of institutional change within the Paralympic sports over time.

¹⁶ See chapter 4 for more information

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4. Methodological Chapter

In the following chapter, we detail the methodological anchor of this research. First, we define our methodological choice – i.e. case-study research – and underline its research implications. Second, we introduce one particular method in case-study research, the process tracing method. Finally, we describe the type of empirical data we use in this study – i.e. archival records - and how we collected them.

4.1 Case Study Research

There are many definitions of case study-research in the literature that ensue from different understandings and approaches in the qualitative research paradigm (see for example King, Keohane & Verba (1994), Gerring (2007), George & Benett (2005) and Goertz & Mahoney (2012) for different interpretations of the qualitative research paradigm).

Yin (2009) defines case-study research as “an in-depth investigation of (contemporary) phenomenon in a real-life context, particularly equipped to how and why questions”. Rohlifing (2012) defines case-study “as the empirical analysis of small sample of a bounded phenomenon that are instances of a population of similar phenomenon”. Lastly, Blatter & Haverland (2012) argue that case study-research is “a non-experimental research approach that differs from large-N studies in the following ways: 1) small number of cases; 2) a large number of empirical observation per case; 3) a huge diversity of empirical observation for each case and 4) an intensive reflection on the relationships between concrete empirical observations and abstract theoretical concepts”.

We do not intend to stock our research in one “particular box”, definition or “school of thought”. But we aim to underline key features of our methodological choice (i.e case-study research) and particularly, how we drawn causal inferences from our case.

Case-study research is a within-case method of analysis, in contrast to cross-case analysis. In within-case method of analysis, one “must locate key observations from within their individual cases” to assess causal inference (Goertz & Mahoney, 2012). This can be achieved by focusing on key events and processes that take place within each individual case. Campbell’s (1975) article on “degrees of freedom and the case study” regularly justifies within-case inferential logic. Campbell (1975) indeed argues that even if within-case analysis is based on one or a limited number of cases, the number of observations within each case

is large. This large number of observations in turn allows causal inferences in within-case method of analysis. In contrast, cross-case (comparative) studies analyze “patterns of variation in the scores of the dependent variables with the variation in the scores of the independent variables across cases” (Blatter & Haverland, 2012).

4.2 Process Tracing

As for case-study research, process tracing is defined in many ways in literature (Blatter & Haverland, 2012; Rohlfing, 2012; George & McKeown, 1985) and encompasses different research goals (Beach & Pederson, 2013).

According to Blatter & Haverland (2012) process tracing “is particularly suited to answer “why” and “how” questions because it focuses on the causal conditions, configurations and mechanisms which make a specific outcome possible”. Process tracing method is then “Y-centered”, meaning that the study looks at the many and complex causes leading to a particular outcome “Y”, and not so much at the effect of an independent variable “X” on that particular outcome. In consequence, process tracing research starts with an interest in a particular “Y”, and then backwards to the causes “Xs”. This approach supports pro-typical research questions such “how explain occurrence of Y”, “how was this Y possible” rather than “does this “X” matters”.

Numerous studies reclaim from processual analysis without justifying ontological and epistemological foundations of this research approach. Below, we show why process tracing is a valuable method of research, how it fits to our research purpose and how to gain inferential leverage from our cases thanks to this method.

Hall (2003: 399) argued that “the value of a method will depend on its congruence with causal structures [ontology] in the world” and further underlined the theoretical relevance of “timing”, “context” and “interaction effect”. He notes:

“comparative politics [and we argue, more globally research in social sciences] has moved away from ontologies that assume causal variables with strong, consistent, and independent effects across space and time toward ones that acknowledge more extensive endogeneity and the ubiquity of complex interaction effects. Many scholars now see the world in terms that do not conform to the assumptions required if standard regression methods are to provide valid tests of causal contentions. [...] Scholars are positing interaction effects too complex to model fully in regressions. Some argue that the impact of causal variables is so context dependent that is meaningless to assume unit homogeneity and that multi-causality is so important that

it does not make sense to focus causal analysis on the identification of individual independent variables” (Hall, 2003: 387 ; see also Davis, 2010: 700).

According to Blatter & Haverland (2012; see also Beach & Pederson, 2013), Hall’s (2003) description of the social world resonates with the “configurational thinking” (Ragin, 2008; Rihoux and Ragin, 2009) based on Boolean logic and set-theory. Configurational thinking induces three underlying elements:

- Social outcomes are the result of a combination of causal factors
- They are divergent pathways to similar outcomes (Equifinality)
- The effect of the same causal factor can be different in different contexts and combinations (Causal heterogeneity)

In keeping with configurational thinking, scholars interested in processual analysis share the assumption that a plurality of factors interacts and combines to create an outcome. Importantly, the process tracing methods is “a technique of drawing causal inference [that] takes advantage of the fact that causality plays out in time and space” (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). Empirical information therefore contributes to causal inference “on the basis of temporal order, spatiotemporal density and analytical depth” (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). In a mechanistic definition of causality, Beach and Pederson (2013) also add the importance of productive contiguity in processual analysis. This means that no analytical gaps take place between the set-ups of “Xs” to the termination condition of “Y”.

Collier, Brady & Seawright (2010) discussed the kind of empirical material used “to gain leverage for causal inference in qualitative vs quantitative research” (Goertz & Mahoney, 2012). Collier et al. (2010) distinguished Data Set Observations (DSOs) from Causal Process Observations (CPOs), the latter supporting processual analysis. Data Set Observations are “standardized observations that are comparable across cases” (Rohlfing, 2012). DSOs are the “scores for a given case on all measured variables” (Goertz & Mahoney, 2012) and are particularly amenable to quantitative analysis. In contrast, Causal Process Observations are “specific pieces of information gathered from within-case that allow researchers to assess whether a given causal factors exerts the causal role assigned to it by a hypothesis or a theory” (Goertz & Mahoney, 2012). CPOs are not comparable across or within a case but “when put together, they deliver a full picture of the phenomenon of interest” (Rohlfing, 2012).

As its label indicates, a Causal Process Observation (CPO) is an empirical observation, not evidence. CPO becomes evidence only after assessment for accuracy or interpretation

“using cross-specific contextual knowledge” (Rohlfing, 2012). The evaluation process can be summarized as $O + k \Rightarrow e$, where “O” is an observation, “k” is the case-specific knowledge and, “e” the resulting evidence produced by the evaluative process (Beach & Pederson, 2013). Once assessed, CPO is termed evidence and can be “used to make inference to update our confidence in the presence of a hypothesized causal mechanism” (Rohlfing, 2012).

The process tracing method requires that a large panel of factors is taken into account and “that the development of these factors over time is documented as completely as possible” (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). Consequently, archival materials can be a valuable source of empirical data for process tracing (see for example Wright, 2009; Wright & Zammuto, 2013).

4.3 Archival and Secondary Data Sources

This research is based on archival records. According to Welsch (2000), a study based on archival materials can be described as “an archeological process, in that it involves the discovery and interpretation of fragmentary evidence”. This section is twofold. First, we detail the advantages of using archival data in compare to other sources of data (e.g. interviews, questionnaires ...). We also describe why archival records particularly suit the purpose of this study. Second, we present our collection of archives and the use we made of them. To do so, we run the Welch’s (2000) five-step archeological process in order to contextualize our archival research process.

4.3.1 Why archival research?

Methodological literature frequently distinguishes primary-data sources from secondary-data sources. Primary data are “data that have been collected for the purpose of the research at hand” (Calantone & Vickery, 2010: 3). Typical methods for collecting primary data are case interviews, survey/questionnaire, direct observation or participation (Yin, 1994). In contrast, secondary data have been collected by others, and exist for some other reasons than research implications (e.g. for sentimental value). The reasoning is that original data collection design (e.g. by an historian, an archivist or a passionate) was “entirely independent of any consideration of the purpose of the study” (Calantone & Vickery, 2010: 3). In this sense, archival records are best example of secondary-data sources (Harris, 2001). Archives are defined as “documents made or received and accumulated by a person or organization in the course of the conduct of affairs and preserved because of their continuing value” (Ellis, 1993: 2). In turn archival data are “the original and historical record of activity of many sorts”

(Calantone & Vickery, 2010: 3). Thanks to their temporal and processual dimensions, archival data can enrich theory and are particularly suited to explaining process of change and evolution, notably in organizational change studies (see for example Bryman, 1989). In other words, archival data allow to empirically documenting longitudinal and processual research as we undertook in this research.

According to Welch (2000), archival data also provide three advantages over primary-data sources which are important in the framework of this study. First, data collected in archival records are more detailed and comprehensive (see also Foster, 1994). Archival materials are generated at the same time as the events being studied and provide evidence of what was done at that time, by whom and for what reason(s) (Harris, 2001). Moreover, archival data “can be more objective than even primary survey data because it is free from contamination by respondent perceptions and/or memories of the phenomenon of interest” (Calantone & Vickery, 2010: 3).

Second, archival research is unobtrusive and non-reactive (Welch, 2000). The unobtrusive access that they represent reduces the “social desirability response bias” (Harris, 2001) that could occur during interviews. Archives also undermine reluctance that some interviewees could have facing explicit sensitive or ethical questions. Guba & Lincoln (1988: 264-265) similarly described situations that may distort interviewees’ responses: the “Guinea-pig” effect (“the sensitivity of people who know they are being measured”), the “role selection” effect (“determination of the respondent of what role he should play in responding to the measurement”) and the “response sets” effect (“tendencies to respond in particular ways”). Drawing on Layder (1993), Welch (2000) adds the “ego protection” which represents “the tendency of interviewees to report retrospectively on their experiences in a way which rationalizes their decisions and presents their actions in the most favorable light possible”.

The third advantage of archival records is that they are less contingent to external disturbances. Interviews and/or questionnaires can be affected by many external factors that undermine data collection (e.g. interruptions by phone calls, interviewees’ stress during a long day work...). In turn archives allow an iterative research process, in which the researcher “may, in the course of a project, return to a particular collection on several occasions to reassess the material” (Welch, 2000).

4.3.2 The collect and use of archival data

If archival data may have many advantages for processual research and particularly suit our research endeavor, the collection and use of these data can face many problems. This

section presents the methods by which the data have been gathered and aims to contextualize our archival materials and research process. In other words, this section devotes to “make the invisible work of historical research visible” (L’Eplattenier, 2009). To do so, we develop the Welch’s (2000) “five-step archeological process” for the collection and use of archival data in case study research. According to Welch (2000), archival research involves five chronological steps (see table 4):

Table 4 Five-step archeological process (adapted from Welch, 2000)

Discover	“Establishing the existence and whereabouts of a collection”
Access	informal or formal attempt to secure access to individual and organizational documentation
Assessment	“Evaluation of the quality of the archival source and its relevance to the study being conducted”
Sifting	“Sorting the archival material into some meaningful and systematic order to assist analysis of the data”
Cross-checking	“Verifying the data collected from archival sources”

4.3.2.1 Discovery

At the start of our research, we knew some key organizational and individual actors involved in the process we wish to study as well as some of the relationships they developed over time. Our whole field’s knowledge came from scientific literature and historical books on disability sports and from the exploratory interviews. As the research project moved forwards (in terms of research design, theoretical and methodological frameworks), we targeted few organizations and individuals that may be able to help us. Organizational websites were visited and contacts with relevant actors rapidly taken. But, at that time, we had no idea if archival records were available and affordable.

4.3.2.2 Access

Once we had identified relevant organizations and individuals to pursue our research objective, we officially applied to gain access to organizational archives and documentation. As Welch (2000) interestingly points out, the “availability of archival records can make or break a study”. This has clearly been the case for our study and the research applications we made all along the research projects were highly time-consuming.

We officially applied to one of the key organization to our study – the International Paralympic Committee (Bonn, Germany) - in July 2013, that is less than nine months after the start of the research. Informal contacts were previously taken with representatives of this

organization in order to ease the process and sharpen our application. This application was refused without explanation in September 2013. Meetings with representatives of the IPC Scientific Committee were scheduled to support our application (October 2013). Following these meetings, we refined our research project several times. In total we made three official applications to the International Paralympic Committee (July 2013, November 2013 and January 2015) but each of them was denied. The rationale behind the multiple refusals was never known (see fig. 5). After multiple relaunches, we officially stopped struggling for an answer from the IPC in May 2015 (almost two years after our first application).

Dear Mr. Gerard,

It was a pleasure meeting you in Bonn in October.

Similar to the previous topic of your research, the IPC is not in a position to release meeting minutes and reports on this subject, other than those documents available in the public domain.

Consequently, the IPC is not able to positively advice on your project.

I appreciate your understanding to this position, which in no means is a value judgment of your project, nor a decline by the IPC of the value of inclusion and the importance of further study on this subject.

Kind regards

Figure 5 Second IPC refusal (on December 8th 2015)

In parallel we contacted many other relevant organizations and individuals. Each of our application was preceded with informal contacts and subjected to multiple relaunches. We may summarize these processes in three scenarios: 1) our applications were refused or unaddressed; 2) organizations and individuals were willing to help us but had no proper archives with regard to our study; 3) few organizations and individuals gave us access to relevant archival records.

One another key organization – the International Olympic Committee (Lausanne, Switzerland) - granted our research application in May 2014 and was keen to share its documentation. Thanks to personal connections of our PhD advisor, embargo was also lifted on the more recent and sensitive documents. External factors complicated our collection of archival data in this organization: 1) a flooding has made some documents unavailable during few months (notably for the period 1992-1994); 2) a large part of the relevant documentation was being archived at the moment of the study. This process of archiving was

delayed two times and ended in September of 2015. Finally, we collected archival records from the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in November 2015.

We also gathered archival records in the personal resources of individual actors. Many individuals linked with our research were contacted, in various locations in Europe. Thanks to a key meeting in Augustus 2015, access was granted to a very large amount of archives in a very well state of preservation. This meeting represented a turning point in our research collection. In a snowballing effect, new persons' names gradually appeared in the archival materials. These actors were also contacted with more or less success in the last months of 2015.

Thanks to the professional links of our PhD advisor, the President of the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) agreed to meet us in December 2015. He accepted to share with us recent documentation, which later revealed of primary importance. After almost three years of archives' research, in many European countries, we definitively completed the data collection following this meeting on December 14th 2015.

Numerous documents were gathered, some of them being accessible to research for the first time. As a whole, more than 2700 pages of archives were collected including 224 pieces of archives under embargo for a total of 528 pages. Archives displayed from 1949 to 2015. This collection included press articles, press releases, minutes of meetings, official reports and statements, proceedings and official correspondences. Private correspondences between leading executives (including between the very first executives) was made available, allowing deep intimacy with the field under study.

4.3.2.3 Assessment

Scott (1990) suggests four criteria to evaluate archival records and documentary evidence: authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. Below, we analyze the archival records we collected with regards to these four criteria. By doing so, we aim to provide a broad but clear picture of the archival records that nurtured our research.

Authenticity and credibility refers to the conformity of the document authorship and the targeted audience. All our pieces of archives were original and in a very good state of preservation. The archives were both in English and French (and very few of them in Dutch). It is important to note that the documents format changed over time. Hand-writing notes, short memos and personal letters between early representatives have been gradually replaced by official reports and minutes in an electronic format. The former were generally addressed to a small audience, and easily allow tracing authorships, chains of events and

relationships (even friendships) between individuals. The latter generally focused on a larger audience and represented official statements of one organization or individual regarding a particular topic. We nevertheless gathered more personal correspondence between executives all along the time period under study.

The third criterion questions the representativeness of the archival records with regard to the process being investigated. An archival collection is rarely complete (Welch, 2000). Nevertheless we judge our set of archival data reliable for the research for mainly three reasons. Firstly, no chronological gap was identified within our data. Secondly, archives came from many sources and were mutually reinforcing. Front-line actors were contacted and provided very high-quality documents. Thirdly, embargo was lifted on the more recent and sensitive documents, and shed new lights on underexplored events. As a whole, we believe we gathered a very rare collection of archives providing a rich and detailed account of the evolution of the field from which to draw robust conclusion.

We can add two elements. First, principal source of archival records may change according to the period of time of concern. Second, our documentation related to the earlier period (~ from 1940 to 1960) may be qualified as “Belgium-centered”. This is due to the fact that archives mainly come from personal resources of former Belgian representatives. We assume that this does not represent a major problem as Belgium was among the leading nations within sport movement at that time, and that Belgian representatives were involved in several executives’ boards all along the period of time under study.

In line with previous archives-based research, we used our own understanding to make sense of the documents’ meaning. In a “hermeneutic process” (Welch, 2000) we learned about the people, structure and activities that generated the document and how it resonates with other documents and the evolution of the field under study. We analyzed the content of a document with regard to its contextual and temporal dimensions, which is particularly appropriate “for studying beliefs, organizations, attitudes and human relations” (Woodrum, 1984: 1 cited by Harris, 2001)

4.3.2.4 Sifting

We sorted our archival records chronologically, from 1949 to 2015. We also grouped together documents related to a particular event/phenomenon (e.g. organization of a particular competition, documents related to one particular seminar...), in order to directly access to the whole story of concern. We also systematically indexed each document

according the month and year of its production, its author(s), its recipient(s) and briefly reported its subject/content¹⁷ (See appendix I: Archival Sifting).

4.3.2.5 Cross-checking

Archival records are not “neutral” documentation (Welch, 2000). Minutes of meetings frequently result from strategic negotiations between the involved actors and various stakeholders. To avoid interpretation bias, we corroborate our findings across documents coming from different sources. Doing so, we were able to study our field from the perspectives of different actors, some of them with contradictory views on particular subjects. Our processual and longitudinal research design also allow us to trace particular topics or problems from their inceptions to their solving and/or cessation (sometimes, occurring during more than 30 years). This allows us to trace the course of actions and field’s evolution during the period of interest, and to understand how things develop. The fact that a salient topic was solved in one particular way or, for example, was not treated during the next General Assembly/meetings is also highlighting in many respects.

Methodologically we were looking for “smoking-gun” observations. In line with Blatter & Haverland (2012), we use this term for observations “that present a central piece of evidence within a cluster of observations, which together provide a high-level of certainty for a causal inference. A smoking-gun observation is connected to other observations, and together, the full cluster of observation can be used inductively to make strong causal chains”. In line with previous section of this methodological chapter (i.e. process tracing method), a smoking-gun observation receives its analytical strength (and become evidence) by its close temporal and spatial connections and by its productive continuity to other empirical observations.

¹⁷ The column at the far right of the table (Column “E”) mentions the archival records which are officially under embargo

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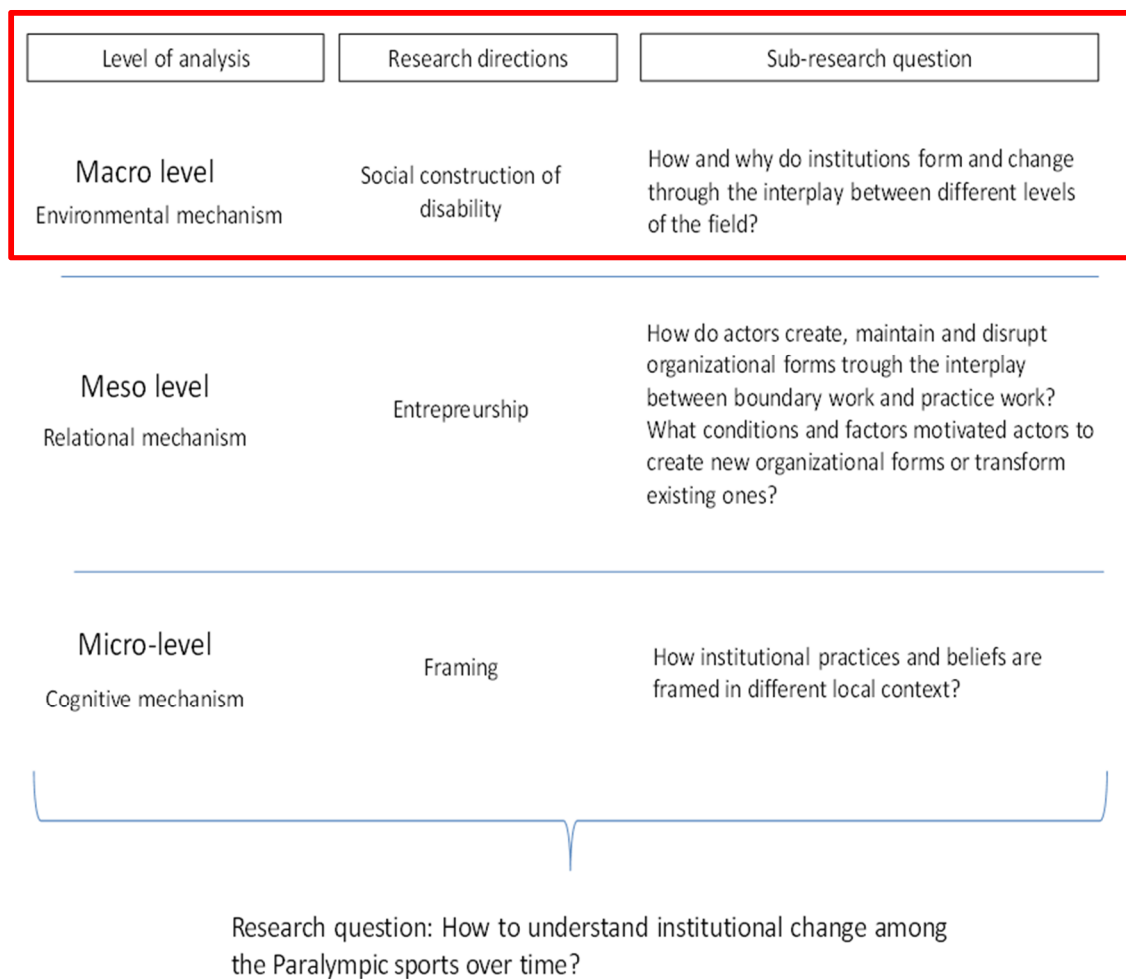
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Part II : Empirical Findings

PAPER 1: MACRO LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

MULTI-LEVEL ANALYSIS OF INSTITUTIONAL FORMATION AND CHANGE: THE CASE OF THE PARALYMPIC MOVEMENT



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5. Multi-Level Analysis of Institutional Formation and Change: The Case of the Paralympic Movement

5.1 Introduction

Institution “both enables and constrains” human actions (Barley, 1986; Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Giddens, 1984). Such duality in our social world led to fascinating and persistent research question. How best capture the inherent complexity to our social structure? Recent scholarships in institutional studies propose two starting points. First, we should move “toward a mechanism-based theorizing about change” (Davis & Marquis, 2005: 335). It implies to turn attention to processes and mechanisms of change rather than on the outcome – “to organizing rather than organizations” (Davis, 2006; Hoffman & Ventresca, 2002; Scott & Davis, 2007). Second, we should develop theoretical model catching recursive influences between structure and agency. The fundamental multilevel nature of institution required to study not only the “how and why” of institutional maintenance and change but also at which level of analysis. Scholars conceptually acknowledged that institution is a nested system of society, field, organizational and individual levels (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Scott, 2014; Wright, 2009). Empirical studies have shown connections between society and field (Thornton, 2002; Zilber, 2006) and between field and agents (Gammelsaeter, 2010; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Lounsbury, 2001; O’Brien & Slack, 2003; Nite, Singer & Cunningham, 2013; Reay & Hinings, 2005; Skirstad & Chelladurai, 2011; Stenling, 2014). But, with few exceptions (Purdy & Gray, 2009; Wright, 2009), rarely interplay between society, field and organizations have been studied. Building on Wright & Zammuto (2013), this paper brings both realms of research and proposes a multi-level, mechanism-based analysis of institutional change. Specifically the research question is: How and why do institutions form and change through the interplay of multi-level mechanisms? We answer the question with a processual analysis of particular empirical context, the international governing bodies of sport for people with an impairment.

Sport movement for people with an impairment underwent profound change especially the last 30 years (Bailey, 2008; Brittain, 2010; Legg & Steadward, 2011). Its origin can be traced back to the Stoke Mandeville Hospital (Aylesbury, GB) when the neurosurgeon Ludwig Guttmann first developed sport activities for veterans of the World War II. Sport classification systems of athletes were important constitutive elements of the field (Howe, 2008). As DePauw (1997: 420) pointed out “our understanding of the body, our attitudes towards the body... is important because how we view the body and how we view the sport impact how

we view disability and individual with disabilities". In other words, sport classification systems are defining features for both what sport is and who athletes with an impairment are. Early sport classification systems were based on medical diagnosis and evaluation of impairments. Athletes were grouped in same classes according the medical etiology and/or severity of impairments. Later athletes were classified according their functional abilities in one specific sport or disciplines. These changes in sport classification systems resulted from multi-level institutional change processes in which field logic shifted from rehabilitation-sport logic to sport-logic.

Process analysis allows researchers to trace change pathways that lead to a particular phenomenon "Y" (Beach & Pederson, 2012; Blatter & Haverland, 2012; George & Bennett, 2005, Rohlfsing, 2012). If one considers institutional change as the phenomenon Y of interest, then process analysis is best suited to highlight the many factors and mechanisms related to institutional change. Underpinning process analysis approach is the assumption that all social processes are historically and culturally anchored (Hall, 2003; Rioux, 2011; Tilly, 1975). This tie up to Greenwood et al. (2010: 15) theoretical call to recognize "the importance of appropriate historical and cultural lens" in institutional change studies. Previous analysis of institutional processes at the organizational field level tended to be divorced from larger socio-historical context in which such processes took place. The present study incorporated insights from the disability studies research field. This is justified because how society conceptualizes and perceives disability impacts social attitudes and practices towards people with an impairment. Disability studies progressively constituted in opposition to rehabilitation sciences (Albrecht, Ravaud & Stiker, 2001) and focus on the many barriers encounters by people with an impairment that prevent their full participation in society. Disability is seen as social, economic and political product in which impairment is only one of the many facets in the disabling process (Barnes & Mercer, 2010; Fougereyrollas, 2010; Oliver, 1996; Stiker, 1999; Watson, Roulstone & Thomas, 2013). Because of the socially constructed aspect of disability, the term people with an impairment (whether physical, sensorial or intellectual) is used in the study. In addition to be the official terminology of the Paralympic Movement, this first-person terminology aims to avoid negative connotations and bias related to the word "disability" in society.

Our analysis significantly contributes to both institutional literature and sport management literature. The study 1) highlights how field logic shifted in moment of alignment between progression at the societal, field and organizational and individual levels; 2) exemplifies institutional change triggered by logic shifting on a continuum between two ideal-types and; 3) offers new points of departure to consider agency and hybridized logic.

5.2 Theoretical Framework

Organizational field is a central construct in institutional theory (DiMaggio, 1988) as well as an appropriate level to studying institutional change processes (Dacin, Goodstein & Scott, 2002; Davis, McAdam & Scott & Zald, 2005; Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). Located between the societal level and the organizational level, organizational fields are “sets of organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute an area of institutional life” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983: 148-149). As concept, organizational field allows scholar to catch “both the normative contextual pressures that maintain stability as well as dynamics that precipitate change” among organizations (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996). As level of analysis, organizational field “provide greater specificity to understanding and theorizing about how, why and which organization respond in particular way to institutional expectations” (Greenwood & Meyer, 2008: 261).

Precursors in institutional studies recognized fundamental multi-level nature of institutional process. Gidden’s (1979; 1984) structuration theory views institution as “both a product of and a constrain on human action” (Barley & Tolbert, 1997). Such theory allows to explain institutional maintenance and change by examining the interplay between individual agency and institutional constrains (Scott, 2014). However most institutional studies focused on the constraining aspect of institution.

Early institutionalists were interested in how institutional environment, and the process of institutionalization, constrained the rationality of organizations (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). But such views render change paradoxical (Seo & Creed, 2002). As Holm (1995: 398) pointed out: “How can actors change institutions if their actions, interest and rationality are all conditioned by the very institution they wish to change”? Criticisms became vocal to redress over-socialized view and determinism that depict previous institutional research. In response new line of research developed to move beyond stability as master hypothesis (Hoffman & Ventresca, 2002) and introduce change and variability in institutional lexicon.

Scholars turned their attention to institutional logics as “forces to institutional change” (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008). According to Friedland & Alford (1991: 252), society is comprised of multiple institutions, prescribing a set of distinctive categories, beliefs and motives – called institutional logics – which individuals can use as basis for action”. Contending logics spread varying organizing principles on which actors can build upon, bringing power and agency back to institutional studies. Institutional logic then provides a link “between individual agency and cognition and socially constructed institutional practices and

rules structures” (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). In a more recent stream of institutional research, scholars also highlighted importance of discursive activities coming from society “that produces the social categories and norms that shape the understandings and behaviors of actors” (Philips, Lawrence & Hardy, 2004). As a whole, such conceptualization of institutional processes implies that organizational field is part of nested system of levels. According to Wright (2009: 859), “individuals are nested within organization, which are nested within organization field which are nested within society”. Studying change in organizational field then require to analyze dynamic between multiples levels. But much work needs to be done to theoretically connect the individual, organizational field and society levels in institutional change processes. Part of this work is “to identify mechanisms of social change that apply broadly to different realms of society” (Campbell, 2004).

5.2.1 Multi-level, mechanism-based institutional change

Recently Wright & Zammuto (2013) have developed a multi-level, mechanism-based theoretical framework to study institutional change catching recursive influences between society-level discourses, field logic and organizational and individual actions. The theoretical framework provides vertical lens of analysis to study institutional change (Schneider, 2006) and encompasses the interplay between top-down and bottom-up pressures at various levels. Table 5 sum up different mechanisms involve in multi-level institutional change processes.

Society-level discourses and field-level logics. Institutional processes ask actors to share a common definition of reality, which is itself constituted through “contingent linguistic processes” enacted by actors (Philips et al., 2004). Institutions are produced in part by discursive activity, connecting the societal and field levels via the institutional logic. Thornton & Ocasio (2008) define institutional logic as “socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, beliefs and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organizing time and space and provide meaning to their social reality”.

According to Philips et al. (2004: 645), discourses that “are supported by broader discourses and are not highly contested are more likely to produce institutions”. Inversely contending discourses in society weaken institutional logic and create, in Campbell (2004) terms, a Political Opportunity Structure (POS). Nurtured by confused institutional logic, POS shape actors capacities to engage in change “by creating grievances or incentives for them to seek change” (Campbell, 2004). Contending discourse, through POS, create stimulus for specific discursive activity called *theorization*. Theorization is “development and specification of

abstract category and the elaboration of cause and effects” (Greenwood et al., 2002). In others words, this mechanism emerges from the necessity to actors to justify why an institutional logic and the underlying practices should be maintain or change.

Field-level logics, rules and scripts. Field-logic is conveyed by various types of carriers in organizational field (Jepperson, 1991: 50; Scott, 2014: 95). Rules are important carriers of field logic (Barley & Tolbert, 1997) by consecrating actors, appropriate behaviors and interactions and distinctive forms of actions. Our interpretation of rules is closed to Clemens (1997: 32) notion of repertoire which refers to “the set of distinctive forms of actions employed by or know to members of a particular groups or society”. Such repertoire provides “templates, scripts, recipes or model for social interaction” (Clemens, 1997: 49). Empirically, change in rules is an observable clue for an institutional change process, characterized by a shift in institutional logic at the field level (Wright & Zammuto, 2013).

Rules, as carriers of a particular logic, are encoded into scripts. *Scripts encoding* involves “an individual internalizing rules and interpretations of behavior appropriate for particular setting” (Barley & Tolbert, 1997). Scripts, that encode rules as carriers of a particular logic, then mediate flows between the field level and the level of action. Barley (1986: 83) defined scripts as “the behavioral grammars that inform a setting’s everyday action”. Such behavioral grammars include roles for generic category of actors and plots connecting typified acts, interactions and/or events (Barley, 1986).

When principal actors of the study are organizations, scripts play out institutional logic at the inter-organizational level (Barley & Tolbert, 1997). If organizations enacted scripted behaviors by playing their roles with typified acts, their actions encourage reciprocal scripted behavior from others field participants. Over time, such patterns of reciprocal scripted behavior reinforce field-logic. Following Barley & Tolbert (1997), Wright & Zammuto (2013: 310) argue that “*institutionalization* occurs at the intermediary level between field and organization through the mechanism of encoding rules, as carriers of logics, into scripts”.

Organizational level. Institutional constrains do not preclude agency and scripted behaviors can be reinterpreted “more or less conscientiously” (Barley & Tolbert, 1997) by “knowledgeable and reflexive agents” (Scott, 2014). Actors can translate scripts into action by interpreting and reinterpreting the abstract logics they encode (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996). *Translation* emphasizes “the work of actors in that [scripts] reformulation and the way in which they create new meanings” (Hinings, 2011).

Such work can be extraordinarily strategic and actions can be shaped by individuals and organizations with various objectives. According Campbell (2004), *translation mechanism*

may involve actors “struggling in pursuit to their self-interest, or trying to adapt new practices to already existing normative assumptions or still trying to maintain their cognitive identity”. Over time, actors’ *revision* of scripts at the organizational level may lead to *script displacement* and the *institutionalization* of new rules at the field level.

Table 5 Summary of processual mechanisms (adapted from Wright & Zammuto, 2013)

Summary of processual mechanisms			
Processual mechanism	Description	Conceptual linkages	Levels
Theorization	The rendering of societal ideologies into field-level logics by specifying problems and justifying solutions	Discourse → Logic	Societal → Field
Encoding	The creation of scripts as observable recurrent activities and patterns of interactions that conform rules that carry logics	Logic → Rules → Scripts	Field
Translating	The interpretation and reinterpretation of scripts, which encode rules as carriers of logics, through human/organizational form	Script → Action	Field → Organization
Revision	Patterns of behaviour and interactions that deviate from institutional expectations and create new scripts	Action → Script	Organizational → Field
Institutionalization	The formalization of a new rule to reflect a change in the field logic and scripts for action	Script → Logic → Rules	Field

5.3 Methods

5.3.1 Data Collection

Due to fragmented development of sport movement for athletes with an impairment, relevant documents were scattered in various sport organizations, some of them disappearing. Archives were gathered via two interrelated channels. On one hand, official research applications were addressed to pertinent sport organizations to gain access to archives. Despite various refusals, the authors had access to archives in several sport organizations. Authors also succeed to lift embargo on recent and sensitive documents. On the other hand, authors activated personal connections to reach potentially relevant actors and materials. Numerous documents were consulted, some of them being accessible to research for the first time. As result, 652 different documents were collected for a total number of pages of 2703, including 224 pieces under embargo for a total of 528 pages. Archives started from 1949 and were both in English and French (the mother language of the two authors). This collection included press articles, press release, minutes of meetings, official reports and statements, proceedings and official correspondence. Private correspondence between leading sport executives (including between the very first executives) was made available, allowing deep intimacy with the field under study. Quotes from original documents are identified with numerical exponents detailed in appendix.

5.3.2 Data Analysis

In line with other institutional studies (e.g. Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Wright, 2009; Zietsma & Lawrence), the data analysis is composed of multiple analytical steps. Firstly, we established a chronology of key events related to institutional formation and change. The chronology of key events was based on historical books dedicated to sport for people with an impairment, peer-reviewed scientific articles and exploratory interviews with various practitioners. In result, four stages were distinguished: field formation from 1940 to 1960 in which a first sport classification system was developed (stage 1) and three subsequent stages in which classification sport systems known significant and observable transformations. The three subsequent stages displayed respectively from 1961-1981 (stage 2), 1982-1988 (stage 3) and 1989 to date (stage 4).

It is important to note that the different stages were contiguous, with some overlap and had distinctive and cumulative consequences for the status of the field. This means that the

change from one stage to the next does not render the former stage obsolete. It also implies that some particular issues can be specific to one stage while others can be salient during several stages.

Secondly, a comprehensive examination of the documents was carrying out for each stage. Guided by our theoretical framework, relevant quotes were chronologically assembled in an electronic file. Each data segment (quotes from documents, press releases, correspondences...) was coded according to its sources and preserved the original wording. In parallel, authors compiled key events or breakthroughs in the transformation of disability perception in society which led to the current status of people with an impairment in society. Quotes coming from archival records and insights from disability studies constitute the data bank of the study.

Thirdly, in-depth analysis of the first stage was performed¹⁸. In keeping with Wright & Zammuto (2013), text segments were hand-coded according to 1) What? (Logic, rule, script or action); 2) where? (societal, field or organizational level); 3) when? (What point in time) and 4) who? (Which organizational actors). Hand-coding was preferred to qualitative analysis softwares (e.g. Nvivo or Atlas-TI), the analysis being an incremental process requiring multiple backward steps and progressive refinements. In that way hand-coding allowed a more flexible and creative analytic process. Reading iteratively between data, levels and mechanisms, key constituents in the field formation emerged as well as their connections. Patterns of organizational actions converged in a script assigning a particular types of sport activity (plots) to a particular type of sportsmen and –women with an impairment (roles). A first institutional logic called rehabilitation sport-logic developed at the field level, carried by a particular sport classification system.

Fourthly, data analysis moved on the remaining three stages. Identical procedure was separately repeated for each of the three stages. Authors traced 1) discursive activities pertaining to field maintenance or change (theorization) and 2) chains of organizational actions interpreting or reinterpreting the field logic (translation) and how both mechanisms converged to consecrate new rules (institutionalization). Fifthly, authors cycled across mechanisms, levels and stages to model interplay between organizational, field and societal levels in the process of institutional formation and change.

¹⁸ See Appendix II for examples of the coding process related to institutional formation and change stages

5.4 Multilevel Institutional Change Processes

5.4.1 Stage 1: Institutionalization of the Paralympic Movement (1944 – 1960)

Early 20th, newspapers reported participation of people with physical and sensorial impairments in sport competitions. One of the first was the one-legged gymnast George Eyser who won six Olympic Medals at the 1904 Saint-Louis Olympic Games (USA). While affected by “devastating tragedy”¹, these sportsmen and sportswomen were extensively introduced in newspapers as “source of inspiration to crippled and physically handicapped children”². But as a whole, sport for people with an impairment remained largely marginal until the mid-20th century and only pursued by few individuals.

At the societal level, the individual model of disability was securely entrenched in society. The individual model focuses on bodily abnormality and “how this causes functional limitation or disability” (Barnes & Mercer, 2010). According to Davis (1997), one must acknowledge the importance of norms in the disabling process. Concepts such as normality or normalcy appeared by the mid-19th in English language. These words have roots in the field of biomedical statistics. Statisticians³ indeed started to describe human populations as objects that can be normed. The rationale was that “one the principal acts of civilization is to compress more and more the limits within which the different elements relative to man oscillate (Adolphe Quetelet [1796-1874] cited in Porter, 1986). Such reasoning implies the majority of the population should be part of the norm and falls under a bell-shaped curve. It also secured strict definition of how the human body should be. Consequently the impaired human bodies were cured to reach a “normal” functional level. Vast rehabilitation programs were implemented in which people with an impairment had to fight their “abnormality” to match the norm. Medical profession became the “cognitive authority” (Brittain, 2010) of the rehabilitation process by colonizing more and more impaired bodies (Barnes & Mercer, 2010), from diagnosis to treatment and professional resettlement⁴. Rehabilitation urged even more in industrialized societies when productive forces diminished following the World Wars.

At the organizational level, sport was introduced as part of the rehabilitation programs for spinally injured veterans. In 1944 the British government appointed the neurosurgeon Ludwig Guttmann director of the Spinal Injuries Centre at the Stoke Mandeville Hospital (Aylesbury, GB). “Purposeful movements” (Bailey, 2008) and active cure were at the core of the rehabilitation therapy developed by Guttmann⁵. Wheelchair sports were soon practiced by Stoke Mandeville patients. From recreation sport competitions took place between various

spinal units from Great-Brittain⁶. In 1948, the 1st National Stoke Mandeville Games (SMG) brought together 16 ex-service men and women in an archery tournament. Described as a “good omen” by Guttman, the 1st National Stoke Mandeville Games coincided with the opening day of the 1948 London Olympic Games. Doing so, Guttman aimed to connect with the symbolism of the Olympic Games and, on the long term, to devised the Stoke Mandeville Games as “the disabled men and women’s equivalent of the Olympic Games” (Bailey, 2008). The Stoke Mandeville Games were hold annually and became international in 1952 when a team from the Netherlands participated. Number of participants at Stoke Mandeville Games rapidly rose from 16 in 1948 to 360 in 1959⁷.

The aim of these Games was to prove that “men and women, in spite of suffering handicaps of such magnitude as complete paralysis of the lower part of the body, could compete in organized sport”⁸. In the language of script, sportsmen and sportswomen were *spinally injured patients (roles) playing rehabilitation sport practices (plots)*. Trainings and competitions were “a most essential part in the physical rehabilitation of the patients”⁹ realized under “protection of medical officers and nurses”¹⁰. Sport interest was assessed by physicians according its therapeutic value. Rehabilitation programs consisted of “an initial period of medical treatment and passive movements, followed by specially adapted exercises for the upper extremities of the body”¹¹. Archery was then the ideal as “it develops just those muscles of the upper limbs, shoulders and trunk on which the paraplegic’s well-balanced upright position depends”¹².

Interplay between individual model of disability at the societal level and production of scripted practices at the organizational level pushed formation of a new field around a rehabilitation-sport logic. Guttman’s rehabilitation method spread internationally across spinal units¹³ and laid down foundation of the international disability sport movement¹⁴. National and international competitions were soon organized in various countries under the patronage of Stoke Mandeville¹⁵. During the 1950s formal governance system was introduced by Guttman and international leading physicians. In 1957 the 1st *meeting of experts on sports for the disabled* took place in Paris. The main agenda was the standardization of sports rules due to national and international growth of disability sport movement. Rules for able-bodied sports were the templates with minimal adaptation if required (Bailey, 2008). In 1959 Guttman became 1st President of the International Stoke Mandeville Federation (ISMGF). The ISMGF was the international governing body of sports for spinally injured people. A number of satellite associations were established helping in the “great struggle for rehabilitation”¹⁶ undertaken at Stoke Mandeville. From 1955 onwards a scientific meeting dealing with paraplegia was held in conjunction with the Stoke Mandeville Games. For

Guttmann it was “of great importance that medical progress goes hand in hand with progress in [the] sports movement”¹⁷.

Competitors were consecrated through pre-classification rules sustaining the rehabilitation-sport logic. The pre-classification rules were operated by medical diagnosis as exclusive prerogative of physicians. Participants were classified according impairment severity. In table-tennis for example, participants were divided into three classes according the injury level: “1) cervical cord injuries, 2) high thoracic cord injuries and 3) lower cord injuries”¹⁸. Emerging governance structures and pre-classification rules secured the international movement of sport for the disabled, in parallel to the “Olympic” able-bodied international sport movement. In 1960 the 9th International Stoke Mandeville Games, known as the 1st Paralympic Games, gathered 400 athletes in Rome (Italy). They were the first Games outside Great-Brittain hosted in the same city as the Olympic Games. Guttmann sought to stamp these Games with “the Olympic Seal, so consecrating therapeutic role of sport in paraplegics’ rehabilitation”¹⁹.

5.4.2 Stage 2: Consecrating the medical classification rules (1960 – 1981)

The 1960s saw broad-based activism about human rights. Violations of those rights were increasingly exposed and condemned by national and international authorities. The 1970s were marked by the application of those human rights to the particular population of people with an impairment via various international treaties (Fougeyrollas, 2010). The United Nations published the *1971 UN Declaration on the rights of mentally retarded persons* and the *1975 UN Declaration on the rights of disabled people*. In 1978 the *UNESCO Charter of Physical Education and Sport* stated that every person was entitled to participate in sport, including people with an impairment. These texts were non-mandatory but attested increasing international awareness of disability in society.

In parallel health care policies were shattered by chronicity phenomenon. Thanks to medical progress, people with an impairment lived longer with healthier live than before. Consequently national authorities had to develop models assessing causal links between injuries, trauma and activity limitations to sustain welfare system (Fougeyrollas, 2010). During the 1970s the World Health Organization (WHO) developed the International Classification of Impairments, Disabilities and Handicaps (ICIDH, 1980)²⁰ to assess consequences of injuries or diseases whatever the origins. The ICIDH described disability as a three-fold model: “1) *impairment: any loss or abnormality of psychological, physiological or anatomical structure or function*; 2) *Disability: any restriction or lack (resulting from an*

impairment) of ability to perform an activity in the manner or within the range considered normal for an human being and 3) Handicap: a disadvantage for a given individual, resulting from an impairment or a disability that limits or prevents the fulfilment of a role that is normal (depending on age, sex, social and cultural factors) for an individual". ICIDH was the first international classification to take social disadvantage related to disability into account. However ICIDH still focused on the abnormality of the individual's impairment and how this caused disability. The "burden" (Barnes & Mercer, 2010) of disability was still carried by people with an impairment. Oliver (1996) summarized: "the assumption is, in health terms, that disability is pathology and, in welfare terms, that disability is a social problem... To have a disability is to have something wrong with you". In other words, the individual model of disability remained dominant in society.

5.4.2.1 Translating and scripting at the organizational level

Therapeutic value²¹ of sport for people with an impairment was widely accepted by the 1960s. The "most capable pioneer"²² Guttman has endowed worldwide medical professionals with unbeatable²³ and unquestionable²⁴ technics for paraplegia treatment. Part of these technics it was "a proven fact that sport can be of immense therapeutic value"²⁵. That role of sport was best served by the Stoke Mandeville Games and other sport competitions. But increasing social concerns towards people with an impairment pressured the international disability sport movement.

Tension between organizing principles of the field and growing social awareness of disability emerged. Organizational actors translated the field logic in four ways to match institutional tension. First, International Organisations of Sports for the disabled (IOSDs) were created to meet needs of various "groups" of people with an impairment. Previously the whole international disability sport movement exclusively focused on people with a spinal injury. Newly-established IOSDs were structured according disability and not with regard to the sport as usually in mainstream "Olympic" sport. The International Sports Organisation for the Disabled (ISOD) was founded in 1963 and developed opportunities for blinds, amputees and Les Autres²⁶. Guttman became the 1st ISOD President besides the ISMGF Presidency. In 1968 the Cerebral-Palsied – International Recreation and Sports Association²⁷ addressed sport for people with Cerebral Palsy. Whereupon ISOD, the International Blind Sport Association (IBSA) took place in 1981²⁸ dedicated to visually impaired People. These four IOSDs (ISMGF, ISOD, CP-ISRA, IBSA) controlled the international disability sport movement, joined in 1986 by the Comité International des Sports des Sourds (CISS) and the International Sports Federations for People with a mental handicap (INAS-FMH). Each

IOSDs developed its own rules book²⁹ and controlled its Games and sports championships “on technical and medical levels”³⁰.

Single-IOSD international competitions were soon organized worldwide. The International Stoke Mandeville Games, controlled by ISMGF, remained the pinnacle of the international disability sport movement. These Games took place “every year in the last week of July for three consecutive years at Stoke Mandeville Sportsground; and every fourth year, if possible, in the country where the Olympic are held”³¹. Games occurring during the Olympic year were progressively called Paralympic Games. Participation in those Games rose substantially from ~400 competitors in 1960 to ~1900 competitors in 1980. ISMGF World Zones³² for competitions were created in 1974 to control world-wide expansion. ISOD organized its 1st World Games for multi-disabled in 1976 gathering amputated, paralyzed³³ and blind athletes from 22 countries³⁴. Complementary to single-IOSD competition, multi-IOSD international competitions took place since the 1970s. The 1976 Torontolympiad (Toronto, Canada) was jointly organized by ISOD and ISMGF. This competition gathered participants with visual impairments, amputation and paraplegia (whatever the etiology of the spinal injury). CP-ISRA athletes first competed in the 1980 Arnhem Paralympic Games.

Second, national organizations of sport for people with an impairment were established in various countries (such as Great-Brittain, Belgium, France, Austria, Yugoslavia, Italy or Finland³⁵). These national organizations were mainly multi-sports and multi-impairments³⁶. They called “all the handicapped, including non-paraplegics”³⁷ to practice sports under their aegis. Multi-disability championships and competitions were soon developed by national organizations. In 1963, Germany organized “the biggest ever” multi-disability sport competition in which “3000 blind, amputated and paralyzed competitors”³⁸ participated. In 1964 Japan co-organized both the Japanese National Games and the 14th International Stoke Mandeville Games (ISMG). Those Games are informative for understanding prevailing governance system. The organizers explained: “[During the ISMG] paraplegics in wheelchair from all over the world will be competing. In the Japanese National Games, paraplegics as well as other kind of physical handicap will take part”³⁹. With IOSDs, the international sport movement was single-disability focused while national structures mainly multi-disability oriented.

Third, single-sport competitions were initiated during the 1970s. “Standard of sport performance”⁴⁰ was progressively enhanced with competitions amongst specialized sport teams. Corollary sport rules were refined and applied by qualified international referees⁴¹. “International commission for coaches”⁴² took place for some sports. Call to set up specific sport-commissions advising IOSDs became vocal. These sports-commissions aimed to be

qualifying in what concerns sport and sport-regulation and composed of sport-minded persons⁴³. Splintered voices also appeared within some IOSD's executives committees. But such initiatives were strictly controlled by IOSDs to avoid "chaotic situation" and preserve "the unity of [the] sports movement"⁴⁴. Guttmann's aim was to "protect"^{45,46} the already established International Stoke Mandeville Games^{47,48} from "sabotaging attitudes"⁴⁹ and "jealousy"⁵⁰. Guttmann wrote in 1970 that "the leaders of the international sports movement for the paralyzed, which we have developed to such an excellent status, have now to keep their eyes open not to allow that this splendid sports movement be rivalled and watered down by certain ambitious people in certain countries"⁵¹.

Fourth, medical sport classification was developed. By the 1960s, "the problem of classification"⁵² gained attention of leading sport officers. The aim, as Guttmann stated, was "fairness between participants in the same class"⁵³. Based on medical diagnosis, competitors were classified according the severity of the impairments and the sports⁵⁴ of concerns. Seminars were organized to "touch upon the physician's understanding of sports as a therapeutic medium [and] highlighting the physician's need to understand details of various sports so that they could then apply the process of classification in a more meaningful manner"⁵⁵. Impairments were increasingly medically detailed to bring similar level of impairments in the same class. The number of classes strongly rose. By the end of 1970s, more than 30 classes for physical impairments were developed in athletics or swimming.

Over time, previous script was altered by the combined influences of 1) the establishment of IOSDs, 2) the multi-disability competitions, 3) the sports and disciplines structuration and 4) the medical classification. If the *plots* remained similar, the *role* was modified. Organizational actions were supported by the following script displacement: *disabled patients doing rehabilitation sport practices*. Not only spinally injured people earned to compete, but also "the other handicapped"⁵⁶ (*roles*). However, it was necessary to maintain "strict medical supervision on the sport discipline practiced and the intensity level they deserved"⁵⁷ (*plots*) to protect athletes' health. Doing so, medical profession remained at the forefront of the international sport movement for people with an impairment.

5.4.2.2 Theorizing and shifting institutional logic

Script displacement at the organizational level created bottom-up pressures for institutional change. Theorization of disability perception at the societal level developed top-down pressures.

Growing social awareness of disability eroded individual model of disability. Tragedies such as the “Softeneron affair” waked up social consciousness and confirmed “the absolute necessity to bring every possible assistance”⁵⁸ to people with an impairment. Governments “should take care of those unfortunate” for whom “sport could be a healing action”⁵⁹. Sportsmen with an impairment decried “barriers that few-educated people to the disability question raised between the 100% and the disabled”⁶⁰. Figure such Bob Hall mainstreamed the image of sportsmen and –women with an impairment in public space. Bob Hall indeed was the first wheelchair person to entered marathon distance (Boston Marathon, USA) in 1975 while such race distances were strongly disapproved by physicians for medical reasons. Bob hall succeeded marathon in 2:58 hours on its daily 55-pounds wheelchair. This achievement was perceived as “a breakthrough in man’s limits” and attested “what a wheelchair athlete was capable of”⁶¹ in society.

But individual model of disability still remained monopolistic. The International Classification of Impairments, Disabilities and Handicaps (ICIDH, 1980) was deeply entrenched in welfare policies. ICIDH sustained strong causal link in the definition of what disability is. Disability was caused by an impairment that prevents the fulfilment of a “normal” role for a given individual. People with an impairment were still view as class or category (Brittain, 2010) different from the other human being, in society as well as in sport. The function of sport “in enhancing the social rehabilitation of the physically handicapped in their physical, mental, social and vocational rehabilitation”⁶² was the only socially-recognized purpose of sport. The International Olympic Committee’s Basic Book of Sports Medicine (1978) attested the dominant view of sport solely for rehabilitation purpose. The author, P.N. Sperryn was a leading sport medicine physician. He (1978) stated: “it is sad that some of the protagonists of sports movement for the disabled have exaggerated the “normality” of the disabled sportsman without allowing for the natural anatomical limitations imposed by disability or for the necessary addition of the stress and disappointment of sports failure to the pre-existing burden of the severely disabled person. Rather than break the spirit of a disabled person who simply cannot compete adequately, it may be that recreational pursuits are often preferable. This should not, however, exclude the use of sports in the rehabilitation program”. According to Mason (2012), “rather than impugning the individual author here, this should be taken as evidence of commonly held opinions, in both the medical field and the society at large, about people with disabilities and their potential”. Similarly the chief redactor of “Le Ligueur”, a Belgian newspaper, regretted that competitions for people with an impairment “took place in public”⁶³. He developed “sport-show must be understood in the light of beauty and gracefulness movement. Worth to recognize that such competitions between paraplegics

do not meet those conditions and that some images induce discomfort that admiration cannot fully temperate”.

Such theorization coming down from the societal level aligned with the script displacement occurring at the organizational level. Physicians developed intense discursive practices to defend leadership on the international sport movement for people with an impairment. Whole governance system was reflected in medical terms. Of prime importance was physicians “must preserve absolute medical control excluding any interference”⁶⁴. “Consent by the medical committee”⁶⁵ was needed to initiate new sport. One accepted, people with an impairment “could then devote to a sport adapted to their impairment, under severe medical control”⁶⁶. “Papa Guttmann” as he was called by some ex-stroke Mandeville patients and other sport executives retained control on sportsmen and –women aims. Sport recreation and “pure amateurism”⁶⁷ would best helped “in their physical, psychological and social rehabilitation through the means of sport”⁶⁸. Likewise integration in regular able-bodied clubs was promoted for “psychological reasons”⁶⁹.

The outcome of alignment between societal, field and organizational pressures induced a shift in logic where boundary between rehabilitation-sport logic and sport-logic was less clear. But rehabilitation-sport logic remained largely prevalent, carried by the medical sport classification which consecrated competitors. Medical sport classification was the cornerstone of whole international sport movement for people with an impairment. Each IOSDs developed specific rules and classifications designed by “a panel of experienced doctors”⁷⁰. Multi-disability sport competitions were juxtaposition of single-IOSDs programs where competitors from different IOSDs did not compete against each other. In conclusion, the medically understanding of impaired bodies sustained medical sport classification, which in turn strengthened a disability-based sports movement.

5.4.3 Stage 3: integrating sport classification (1981 – 1988)

Engaged during the 1970s, global social awareness of people with an impairment carried on during the 1980s. The United Nations declared the 1981 International Year of Disabled Persons and 1983-1992, the UN Decade of Disabled Persons. Such UN initiative confirmed international responsiveness towards people with an impairment as well as attested change in governmental syntax. Official projects were not anymore “for the disabled” but “of the disabled persons”. Such language refinements emphasized the persons first not the disability. Rights of people with an impairment were also included in various official statements such UN Declaration on the rights of Child, UN Declaration against Torture or UNESCO Nils-Ivar Sundberg Declaration. In the sport sector, the UN General Assembly

passed in 1982 resolution n°137 that stated: "The importance of sports for disabled persons is becoming increasingly recognised. Member states should therefore encourage all forms of sports activities of disabled persons, inter alia, through the provision of adequate facilities and the proper organization of these activities".

Disability rights movement of people with an impairment also emerged by the end of the 1970s (Fougeyrollas, 2010). Several organizations were created such the Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) in Great-Brittain, the Independent Living Movement (ILM) in the USA and eventually Disabled Peoples International (DPIs). Such organizations were led by disabled activists promoting self-determination. The aim was to cast off from "a system dominated by condescension and patronage in one hand and inferiority and deference in the other" (Hunt et al., 1996).

The individual model of disability was questioned at large. Key tenets of the individual model were numbered notably in philosophical and practical terms. Firstly, ICIDH definition of disability was conceptualized according a deviation from a normal biological functioning. But as Barnes & Mercer (2010) pointed out: "Does normal refers to an ideal standard or the average of a population characteristics"? Consequences of this conceptual question may indeed be considerable for social welfare policies. Secondly, the environment was presented as neutral what downplayed potential policy reforms. In 1976 the UPIAS published its manifesto "Fundamental principles of disability". Causation in disability was radically reinterpreted. Disability was defined as "the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organization which takes no or little account of People who have physical impairments and then excluded them from participation in the mainstream of social activities" (UPIAS, 1976). Such lecture in the causation of disability converged into the social model of disability, as opposed to the individual model of disability. According to Barnes & Mercer (2010), "in its broadest sense, the social model of disability is about nothing more complicated than a clear focus on the economic, environmental and cultural barriers encountered by people who are viewed by others as having some form of impairment – whether physical, mental or intellectual".

5.4.3.1 Translating and scripting at the organizational level

At the end of the 1970s, idea emerged about "linking all the existing and potential International Sports Organisations for individuals with disabilities (IOSDs), [while] at the same time recognizing their complete autonomy as the international governing body for their disability"⁷¹. On March 11th 1982, the International Coordinating Committee (ICC) of World Sports Organisations for the Disabled was settled down by ISOD, ISMGF, IBSA and CP-

ISRA. A Declaration of Authority was published in January 1983, formalizing ICC- *modus operandi*. The ICC was composed of IOSDs representatives and was in charge of coordinating administratively⁷² multi-IOSDs international competitions, such as the Paralympic Games. Acting under ICC umbrella, IOSDs remained fully-autonomous for what concerns their respective “disability-groups”. The rationale behind ICC was two-fold. First, ICC managed increasing number of competitions while preserving the prevalent rehabilitation-sport logic. With autonomous IOSDs acting in ICC, the international sports movement for people with an impairment remained structured according disability. Second, ICC was purposed to deal with international “able-bodied” sports movements.

By the 1980s, ICC representatives indeed worked to develop partnerships with the “able-bodied” sports movement particularly with the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Before ICC, contacts with the IOC were sporadic⁷³ and limited⁷⁴. The 1st official meeting between ICC and IOC took place in February 1983. IOC was keen to provide financial and logistic assistance on condition that IOC only dealt with one single organization of sports for people with an impairment. Notwithstanding reluctance in the Olympic Family, relationships between ICC and IOC became formalized over time thanks to the “magnificent attitude”⁷⁵ of IOC President Samaranch towards sport for people with an impairment. It was further agreed “to work out a long term plan together with the ICC, with the aim of including some disabled sports events in the IOC Olympic program”. Demonstration events of sports for people with an impairment first took place during the 1984 Winter Olympic Games (Sarajevo, Bosnia) and the 1984 Summer Olympic Games (Los Angeles, USA). Demonstration events never had Olympic full Medal Status but allowed sports for People with an impairment “to witness the television”⁷⁶.

But concerns quickly appeared with the way ICC was developing⁷⁷. Organizational actors translated preceding script in three ways. Firstly, IOSD-structuration of sport for people with an impairment was contested notably by national representatives. Call to support “national membership and direct influences [of the nations] in the ICC”⁷⁸ became increasingly vocal. Moreover multiple IOSDs were “major financial problems”⁷⁹ for nations and did not fit “national ways of handling sports”⁸⁰ for people with an impairment. The 1984 Paralympic Games were catalyst for contestation. ICC members planned to split the 1984 Paralympic Games into two competition sites: ISOD, IBSA and CP-ISRA organized multi-IOSDs Games in New-York (USA) while ISMGF convened to set up its own Games in Champaign (USA). But the ISMGF Games collapsed due to mismanagement. This episode gave rise to a deep institutional crisis about ISMGF policies, and more globally, about the whole structuration of the international sport movement. Such failure⁸¹ was perceived as deserving the Games and “their recognition by the IOC”⁸² and “demonstrated the weakness”⁸³ of the IOSDs.

“Unacceptable and undemocratic”⁸⁴ way of functioning of the IOSDs was exposed, in particular by ISMGF members. For further development leading national sports organizations believed “that one single international federation for sports for the disabled must be created”⁸⁵. According the nations, it was just a matter of overcoming “the identity barriers and setting up a sufficient controlling body for the Paralympics and joint championships”⁸⁶. Such single international federation should accept national representation and be “sports-oriented rather than based on disability”.

Secondly, medical sport classification was questioned. Classification for each separate disability groups resulted “in too many parallel events and too many classes, as well as too few participants in too many events”⁸⁷. Distinctiveness of sport performance was “diluted with the establishment of multiple copies”⁸⁸ of the same event. For the 1988 Seoul Paralympic Games, more than 744 events took place for more than 2230 medals. As Dr. Harald Natvig pointed out, many an athlete in Seoul won “his medal in the classification hall, not in the sports arena”⁸⁹. Proponents of change further argued that there was “no need to separate participants in the same event by disability as long as they are classified according to functions, subjected the same rules, and used the same type of equipment”⁹⁰. They added that “opportunities to match relative skills”⁹¹ must be developed and that sports must be organized “on the basis of function as opposed to diagnosis”⁹². Forms of integrated classification were experienced aiming to group athletes with equivalent functionalities in fewer classes. Among them Birgitta Blomqvist, member of both the ISOD and ISMGF swimming committees, developed the so-called Functional Classification System for Swimming which “analyzed the motor functional requirements of the four strokes”⁹³. The examination was “in two parts, and focuses not on an athlete’s disability but on the function that are present. A medical examination was followed by a water-test, and the results recombined”⁹⁴. Number of classes in swimming was drastically reduced from more than 30 to 10 classes⁹⁵ and tested in international trials. To meet the concerns of swimming delegates, Blomqvist explained that “while everybody can participate, the difference (i.e. with the old classification system) is that everybody cannot get a medal. Training and talent must be rewarded”⁹⁶.

Thirdly, sportsmen and – women with an impairment became strong vehicle of change. First, wheelchair athletes started to look at the functionality and design of wheelchairs. In the United States, early rules for wheelchairs sports were framed in reference to the “Universal Standard Adult model wheelchair manufactured by Everest & Jennings”⁹⁷, the US largest manufacturer of wheelchair. The Everest & Jennings wheelchair was designed for daily-use and weighted between 45 to 55 pounds. Until the end of the 1970s, wheelchairs had slightly modifications⁹⁸ controlled by reluctant sport governing bodies. But wheelchair athletes

became convinced that “the written regulation tended to be unfriendly to the spirit of athletic”⁹⁹. A system of trials and errors took place to maximize wheelchair performance. Wheelchair modifications frequently resulted in the disqualification of the wheelchair athletes. Progressively sports rules were adapted under athletes and coaches pressures, mostly during the 1980s. Second, level of fitness of athletes improved with the intensification of sport competitions. Athletes with an impairment had to become specialized in one sport disciplines to get medal. Furthermore, top wheelchair athletes had to train 100 miles a week, 40 weeks a year to be competitive. Sport performance level exponentially rose. In 1983, seven wheelchairs athletes raced the Boston Marathon in less than 2 hours – about an 1 hour in less than Bob Hall 8 years earlier. Seminars for coaches as well as scientific conferences¹⁰⁰ dedicated to training for people with an impairment were also progressively developed.

New patterns of organizational behaviors caused script displacement, in which both the plots and the roles were altered. Organizational practices were progressively guided by the script *disabled athletes (roles) doing sport practices (plots)*. Medical discourses lost influences in the international sports movement for people with an impairment. Pioneers¹⁰¹ of the international sport movement for people with an impairment stepped aside and a new generation became involved. Sports programs ceased to be strictly assessed on therapeutic criteria. “Collaboration between therapist and sport instructors”¹⁰² became valued with an emphasis “on abilities and not disabilities”¹⁰³. *Sport practices* became esteemed for themselves, not only as mean for rehabilitation (*plots*). Therapeutic nature of sport implied low intensity and then low sport performance. With change in the plots, sportsmen and – women became athletes looking to perform in sport. Longer races and more intense sport disciplines were progressively acknowledged. As example, races above 200m were accepted for people with tetraplegia since 1981, and marathon distance became officially recognized by ISMGF in 1985. New sports were developed such tennis, volley, winter skiing or the “Murderball” which became later wheelchair rugby. But structuration of the international sports movement for people with an impairment remained based on disability. Disability was the *raison d’être*¹⁰⁴ and the justification of the international sports movement. As the ISOD President argued in 1988, “what do a paraplegic and a deaf person or an amputee and a mentally handicapped person have in common in sporting practice, except the name of the Sport”¹⁰⁵ ? Athlete’s identity¹⁰⁶ was consequently strongly defined according its impairment and its “specific problems”¹⁰⁷ which needed to be “protect [...] from the performance capabilities of others with differing capabilities”¹⁰⁸. In other words disability remained first, athletes second (*roles*) in field members’ behavioral grammar.

5.4.3.2 Theorizing and shifting institutional logic

Coupled with bottom-up pressures at the organizational level, actors theorized evolving perception of disability at the societal level. As introduced above, the social model of disability reversed causality in the disability production: disability was produced by a mismatch between individual's capacities and environmental situation. A medically understanding of disability was not anymore monopolistic and answers to disability were looked for within broader environment. Such reasoning impacted the international sports movement for people with an impairment which questioned its roles in the global sports movement.

By the end of the 1980s, the philosophy and purpose of sport movement for people with an impairment received considerable attention. Some representatives theorized that "it is when the ordinary sports programs, suited for able-bodied, not can provide the opportunities for participation by the disabled person, that the responsibilities of the sports movement starts"¹⁰⁹. There was "no reason to exclude the person with a disability from a sport as long as the presence of disability does not violate the rules"¹¹⁰. Ultimately sport programs for people with an impairment "should be included as natural part"¹¹¹ of the able-bodied sports programs while maintaining a classification system. Such classification system of disabled athletes should be "a continuation of the sports system in one class for able-bodied and a sufficient number of classes for persons with lower functional ability than the able-bodied"¹¹².

Sportsmen and sportswomen contributed to the openness of the international sport movement for people with an impairment. In 1981, two wheelchair athletes Gill Murray and Phil Carpenter achieved the first crossing of the continental United States. Few years after Bob Hall, Linda Down became the first cerebral-palsied athletes to achieve the 1983 New-York Marathon. This 11 hours accomplishment was extensively detailed in a full-length article in the commercial magazine *Runners World*¹¹³. The Canadian wheelchair athlete Rick Hansen wheeled "25 000 miles around the world in an historic, first ever World Tour that carried a symbolic Torch of inspirations to 6 continents, 34 countries and 60 cities with metropolitan populations totaling over 200 million people"¹¹⁴. This so-called "Man in Motion World Tour" provided "an awareness of and potential for the disabled person"¹¹⁵. In so doing people with an impairment pointed out they were not "an abstraction [and] that it would be too easy to bring them all in a category, based on statistical and conceptual grounds"¹¹⁶.

The outcome of evolution at societal, field and organizational levels induced a shift in the institutional logic. Ingredients from the sport-logic were introduced in a weakened rehabilitation-sport logic. Past practices done "more for the sake of disability than for the

sake of competitive sports ideology”¹¹⁷ felled into disuse. “Protectionism of the power structure”¹¹⁸ was contested. Proponents of change called “for a greater investment in the development of sports on an international basis”¹¹⁹. This shift in logic was carried through field by the emerging integrated classification. Athletes with equivalent functionality in one sport had progressively the opportunity to compete against each other at the international level whatever the medically diagnosed impairment. Sport competitions gradually took the forefront, eroding rehabilitation-sport logic. But scripted organizational practices led to divergent and sometimes contradictory organizational behavior. Dialectical nature of scripted organizational actions induced frailty of the institutional logic, in which agents were torn by weak and divergent organizing principles (i.e. rehabilitation-sport logic and sport logic).

5.4.4 Stage 4: Functional Sport Classification (1989 – to date)

Ongoing reconsideration of the International Classification of Impairments, Disability and Handicaps (ICIDH, 1980) led the World Health Organization (WHO) to plan its revision. As result, the International classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF) was endorsed by WHO members in 2001. According ICF, disability is the outcome of a “complex relationship between an individual’s health’s condition and personal factors and the external factors that represents the circumstances in which the individual lives” (WHO, 2001). ICF emphasis on external factors was further strengthened by international initiatives supporting rights for people with an impairment. The 1983-1992 UN Decade for Disabled Persons resulted in the drafting of the 1993 UN Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities. This document stated 22 rules for attain equalization of opportunities for people with an impairment. Early 2000s, UN members states worked on a new convention dedicated to people with an impairment’s rights. As result, the UN Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities was ratified in 2006. For the first time, this UN Convention was a legally binding instrument and people with an impairment rights were brought back onto governmental agendas as the 21st century dawned. Article 30.5 of the UN Convention is dedicated to sport and promoted either specifically-designed or inclusive sport activities along “able-bodied peers” for all people with an impairment.

5.4.4.1 Translating and scripting at the organizational level and shifting field logic

Dialectical nature of scripted organizational actions at the organizational level and confusing organizing principles at the field level pushed ICC representatives to set up a “Seminar on the Future and Structure of Sport for the disabled” on March 1987. By doing so,

organizational actors had “the opportunity to say which sports programme and classification principles and organizational structure”¹²⁰ they wanted. Guiding voting was proclaimed for changing the ICC Structure, recognizing both national representation and the existing IOSDs. An Ad’Hoc Committee was put in place to draft a new constitution. Athletes were part of the process, as members of the Ad’Hoc Committee feeling “obligation to give guidance to those who speak and decide in our name”¹²¹. Writing of the draft constitution was a long and conflictual process between those wishing to preserve status quo and the proponents of change. IOSDs argued about “weighty factors that cannot be overcome, such as the history, particular interests and personality of the IOSDs”¹²² as well as the fear to lose “all authority”¹²³. In IOSD’s mind, confederation of IOSDs enjoying “a certain amount of independence and autonomy”¹²⁴ would best “protect the rights”¹²⁵ of the athletes. In turn, proponents of change called for a new supreme administrative body at the international level, unifying sport movement for people with an impairment and “as [being] the only way to become mature partner to sport movement for able-bodied athletes”¹²⁶. A compromise¹²⁷ was reached in front of such oppositional views.

The International Paralympic Committee (IPC) was funded by the 6 IOSDs and 31 nations on September 1989. The IPC was recognized as the supreme governing body of the Paralympic Movement. Key constitutional objectives were decided, among them “to organize of all Paralympic Games and multi-disabled world and regional Games, to liaise with the IOC and the International Sports Federations and to be responsible for the integration of sports for the disabled into the able-bodied world”¹²⁸. A new logo was featured in a “configuration of three tear-drops; symbol for the three handicaps united in IPC: locomotor, sensorial and mental handicaps; also symbol for the unity, comradeship and the harmony among all disabled”¹²⁹. Although “many misunderstandings and many frustrations on the roads”¹³⁰, it was “extremely important [to] maintain and strengthen the relationships between the IPC and the IOSDs”¹³¹. An agreement resulted, stating “very clearly that every IOSDs would represent and bear responsibility for its particular disability on a world level”¹³².

The International Paralympic Committee (IPC) developed among many stakeholders and tried to harmonize governance of some multi-disability sports. IPC Sport Assemblies Executive Committees (IPC SAEs) were created to strengthen the IPC Sports. IPC SAEs were commissioned “to marry together the different rules of the IOSDs into a comprehensive package including all relevant disabilities”¹³³. IOSDs kept the right to be active in each IPC SAEs with respect to their respective disability. In 1993, twelve sports were officially recognized IPC Sports “meaning that IPC has the responsibility to organize World Championships for them”¹³⁴. Harmonization in IPC sports governance also aimed to secure the implementation of the Functional Classification system for those sports. For organizing

the Paralympic Games and multi-disability World Championships, IPC needed to coordinate classification within a sport among different disabilities and among different sports. Classification soon became “responsibility of sports”¹³⁵ and was “strictly speaking no longer a Sport Science and Medical Committee matter”¹³⁶. Researches were undertaken to assess “uniqueness and comparability of the unique handicaps”¹³⁷ in order to develop functional classification for each IPC Sports. Such research asked “close cooperation between physicians, physiotherapists, coaches and experimented athletes”¹³⁸. IPC SAECs determined the most adequate functional classification for their respective IPC Sports, combining classes if no significant difference in the performance were noted between classes.

Push towards functional classification and high-level sport was strongly supported by Paralympic Games Organizing Committees. The 1992 Barcelona organizing Committee asserted “to apply the same rigid standards of excellence to IPC Sports as the IOC does to its sports”¹³⁹. Such calls matched IPC’s aim to “enhance the quality and credibility of Paralympic Games”¹⁴⁰. The Paralympic Games had to become “comprehensive, attractive and spectacular”¹⁴¹ and the showcase of the Paralympic Movement. Revisions of the Paralympic Games programs were undertaken with decreased number of discipline and events, limited number of athletes as well as deletion of events which gathered too few athletes¹⁴². Limits of participants per sports as opposed to limits per country were introduced in 1995 with the consequence that every individual had “to qualify for Paralympic Games”¹⁴³.

Increasing connections with the International Olympic Committee (IOC) were nurtured by the IPC “in order to further negotiations for integration as well as to secure their recognition and support”¹⁴⁴. Close cooperation was developed between both organizations over time. IOC provided extensive financial^{145,146,147} and logistical¹⁴⁸ help and was keen to promote demonstration events¹⁴⁹ of sports for people with an impairment in the Olympic program. IOC also encouraged “the cities hosting both summer and winter Olympic Games to stage the Paralympics shortly afterwards”¹⁵⁰ and offered “assistance in encouraging International Sport Federations to include events for the disabled in their own championships”¹⁵¹. International Sport Federations (IFs) “reacted differently”¹⁵². By the 1990s, some IFs started “to organize their sport for able-bodied and disabled alike”¹⁵³ while some others were reluctant to such process. Development towards mainstreaming caused “grave apprehensions”¹⁵⁴ to some IPC representatives but such trends was in line with IPC global objectives towards integration in the able-bodied sport movement. During the 1990s, a scenario¹⁵⁵ developed among IPC members to strengthen closer cooperation between IOC and IPC. Such partnership would be enhanced with preservation of exhibition Paralympic events in the Olympic Program as well as formalized agreement in which host cities of the Olympic Games (OG) would be contractually obliged to celebrate Paralympic Games, few weeks after the OG.

Such formal agreements between IOC and IPC were signed early 2000s¹⁵⁶. Following Recommendations 15 of the 2000 IOC reform Commission, “clear rules concerning the link between the Olympic Games and the Paralympic Games”¹⁵⁷ were set through Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). In October 2000, the IPC and IOC signed a cooperation agreement outlining some general principals and financial contribution from the IOC to the IPC. On June 2001, a second agreement detailed the “conditions under which the IOC agreed to assist the IPC in securing and protecting the organization of the Paralympic Games, effectively including the obligation to organize the Paralympic Games in the IOC Host City Contract with the OCOG”¹⁵⁸. A third Memorandum of Understanding was concluded in 2003 regarding marketing protocol between both organisations.

Despite remarkable development in sport matter, the IPC “failed politically”¹⁵⁹ and “a comprehensive institutional framework”¹⁶⁰ was still missing. The Paralympic Movement was composed of different international governing bodies in the form of either IOSDs, or federations per sports or sub-committees per sport¹⁶¹. In 1995, 73 different governing bodies were active in 31 sports¹⁶². Interference between IPC and IOSDs were numerous, particularly for the organization of multi-disability competitions¹⁶³. So-called multi-disability competitions were part of the IPC mandate, but IOSDs did not accept being “compelled to surrender that right and privilege to a third party”¹⁶⁴. Facing such confusion, the 1995 IPC Congress in Tokyo “raised concerns and issues relating to the Paralympic Movement and the future position and role of the IPC”¹⁶⁵. Of concern was notably “the inappropriate legal rules in the IPC [which] did not give certain Paralympic Sports the headroom and breathing space in order to further their development”¹⁶⁶. Governance, roles and responsibilities of the IPC were extensively discussed “to finally banish the rehabilitation syndrome from high performance Paralympic competition at world and zonal level”¹⁶⁷. The 2001 IPC Strategic Planning Congress concluded with “an unprecedented call for change in the direction and structure of the IPC”¹⁶⁸. Starting from a compromise in 1989, IPC reached consensus¹⁶⁹ to fundamentally review its strategy early 2000s. The major output of the IPC strategic review was “that IPC’s core activity is the Paralympic Games only and the governance of the IPC Sports should not, in the future, be part of IPC’s primary focus”¹⁷⁰. This meant that IPC endorsed “the right to any IPC Sport Championship to become independent from the IPC without prejudging which organizational model it adopts (whether it be the inclusion within an Olympic International Federation or the creation of an independent Federation for athletes with a disability, etc.)”¹⁷¹. According current strategy of IPC, sport interest is then best served by independent International Federations per sport, having space to establish what “the best model is for their sport”¹⁷² enhancing opportunities for para-athletes in the global sport movement.

Over time, translation of previous unclear script led to final script displacement in which the *role* changed and the *plot* was refined. Under IPC, disabled athletes became *Para-athletes* consecrated by sport-centered functional classification (*role*). Classification had been “both a philosophical and a technical issue at the same time”¹⁷³ in sport for people with an impairment. The idea that function in sport precedes impairment’s medical evaluation and that athletes with equivalent functionality could fairly compete together took a long time to come. Functional sport classification group para-athletes into sport classes “according to how much their impairment affects fundamental activities in each specific sport or discipline”¹⁷⁴. Performance and sport achievement became central, and disability identity dimmed. The new IPC motto *Mind-Body-Spirit* echoed this transition in which no mention of disability is made. The *plot* was refined to elite sport. From various disability sport organizations, IPC became a sports-centered organization in which each independent sport had to develop clear strategies to enhance high-level sport opportunities for athletes with an impairment (*plot*), whatever the impairment of concern.

The outcome of alignment between societal, field and organizational pressures induced a shift in logic in which sport-logic emerged as main organizing principles. Such shift was carried by the functional classification system, as new defining feature of sport for athletes with an impairment. With respect to medical classification system the functional one redrawn boundaries between athletes with an impairment. From various disability-based “groups” of athletes, athletes’ functionality in one sport or discipline become the main criteria for classification. Once equivalent classes of functionality have been established, para-athletes whatever the medically-diagnosed impairment were allowed to compete together. The functional classification system, as carrier of sport-logic, also questions the boundary between athletes with an impairment and athletes without an impairment. The line between so-called Olympic and Paralympic Athletes has indeed been blurred since functionality in sport became the first locus to identify an athlete. A new issue emerged as sport-logic took the forefront in the sport movement for people with an impairment: “when a disability can really be considered a large enough handicap in competition within the programs for able-bodied”¹⁷⁵? In other words, such question highlights the notion of minimum impairment to be considered as para-athletes. As functional classification is a prerogative of sports, criteria of eligibility have been individually set up by each sport. Consequently, boundary between para-athletes and “able-bodied” athletes is conceptually organized according this notion of minimum impairment, which could vary according each sport.

5.5 Discussion

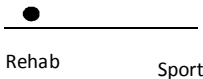
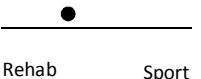
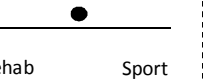
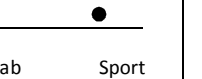
Multi-level research has been presented as a promising avenue in institutional change studies (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008; Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012; Wright, 2009). With this paper, we contribute to this research stream by examining the interplay between mechanisms at the societal, field and organizational and individual levels during institutional formation and change processes. Empirically, we present our findings on the institutional formation and change of sport movement for people with an impairment as a four-stage process in figure 6.

We consider that our findings make multiple contributions to both institutional theory and sport management literature (Washington & Patterson, 2011). First, the study shows how field logic is shaped by top-down pressures coming from society as well as bottom-up pressures coming from the organizational level. To our knowledge few institutional change studies have focused on more than two analytic levels, either showing interplay between society and field levels (Thornton, 2002; Zilber, 2006) or between field and organizational levels (O'Brien & Slack, 2003; Reay & Hinings, 2005; Stenling, 2014). Through our study, we also confirm and refine theoretical framework developed by Wright & Zammuto (2013) and show its ongoing relevance in a different empirical setting.

Second, our study proposes an “endogenous” analyze of institutional change (Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008). Previous sport-related studies prompted explanation of change in logics as a consequence of changes in other dimensions in the field (O'Brien & Slack, 2003; Cousens & Slack, 2005). For example O'Brien & Slack (2003: 443), in their analyzes of changes in the field of English Rugby, suggested that “a shift in the field's dominant logic prompted, and indeed, was prompted by, widespread change in other components; communities of actors, exchange of process, forms of capital and regulatory structures”. In contrast, our study examined the mechanisms, and their interplays at various levels, that influenced the shift in field logic. We also show how field logic shifted in moment of alignment between progression at the societal, field and organizational levels. At the societal level, conceptualization of disability moved from an individual model of disability in stage 1 and 2 to a social model of disability in stage 3 and 4. This move progressively acknowledged the implication of environmental factors in the disabling process. At the field level, logic gradually moved from a rehabilitation sport-logic to a sport-logic resulting from both top-down and bottom-up pressures over time. Shift in logic was carried by sport classification systems, evolving from a medical disability-centered sport classification in stage 1 and 2 to a sport-

centered classification in the late stage 3 and stage 4. At the organizational level, scripts were displaced by organizational actors' translation and revision (table 6).

Table 6 Alignment between societal, field and individual level

	1940 – 1960	1961 – 1981	1982 - 1988	1989 – to date
Societal discourses	Individual model of disability	Individual model of disability	Social model of disability	Social model of disability
Institutional Logic				
Rules	Pre-classification system	Medical class. system	Integrated class. system	Functional class. system
Scripts	Spinally-injured patients doing rehab. sport practices	Disabled patients doing rehab. sport practices	Disabled athletes doing sport practices	Para-athletes doing elite sport practices
Org. actions	- Introduction of sport in rehabilitation programs	- Establishment of IOSDs - Multi-disability competitions - Sports Structuration - Medical Classification	- Political campaigning - Integrated classification - Athletes transgressions	- New org.form - Functional classif. - Sport relationships

Third, we propose an empirical study that “directs the gaze of the research to broader societal influences” (Thornton et al., 2012: 146, see also Skirstad & Chelladurai, 2011). By integrating insights from the disability studies (Barnes & Mercer, 2010; Fougeyrollas, 2010), we show how the gradual shift between the individual and medical model of disability to the social model of disability impacted changes at the field level. Such shift was indeed theorized by various actors during stage 3 who intensively questioned the philosophy of sport for people with an impairment with regard to the broader social environment. We also argue that such shift ease the development of the integrated classification system. With the emergence of social model of disability, production of disability in society as well as in sport was gradually reversed. In other words, a medically understanding of “disabled body” was

progressively replaced by an assessment of the adequacy between the impaired body and a particular environment and/or a particular sport or sport disciplines.

Fourth, our study makes visible micro-level processes of institutional change wherein organizational and individual actors are “active participants in the interpretative work” (Stenling, 2014) of the scripted behavioral grammar at the field level. We also shows that unclear or contradictory organizational script (e.g. in stage 3) weakened institutional logic which, in turn, nurtured even more institutional incertitude at the organizational level. In line with Wright & Zammuto (2013), the study also indicates that dialectical scripted organizational behaviors were solved by actors who replaced the problematic element of the script (which could be either the role or the plots) while preserving the unproblematic one. During stage 2 for example, organizational actors resolved institutional dilemma by replacing the role with something more representative of organizational expectations (i.e from spinally-injured patients to disabled patients) but conserved the plots which was still in accordance with institutional values and organizing principles (i.e rehabilitation sport practices).

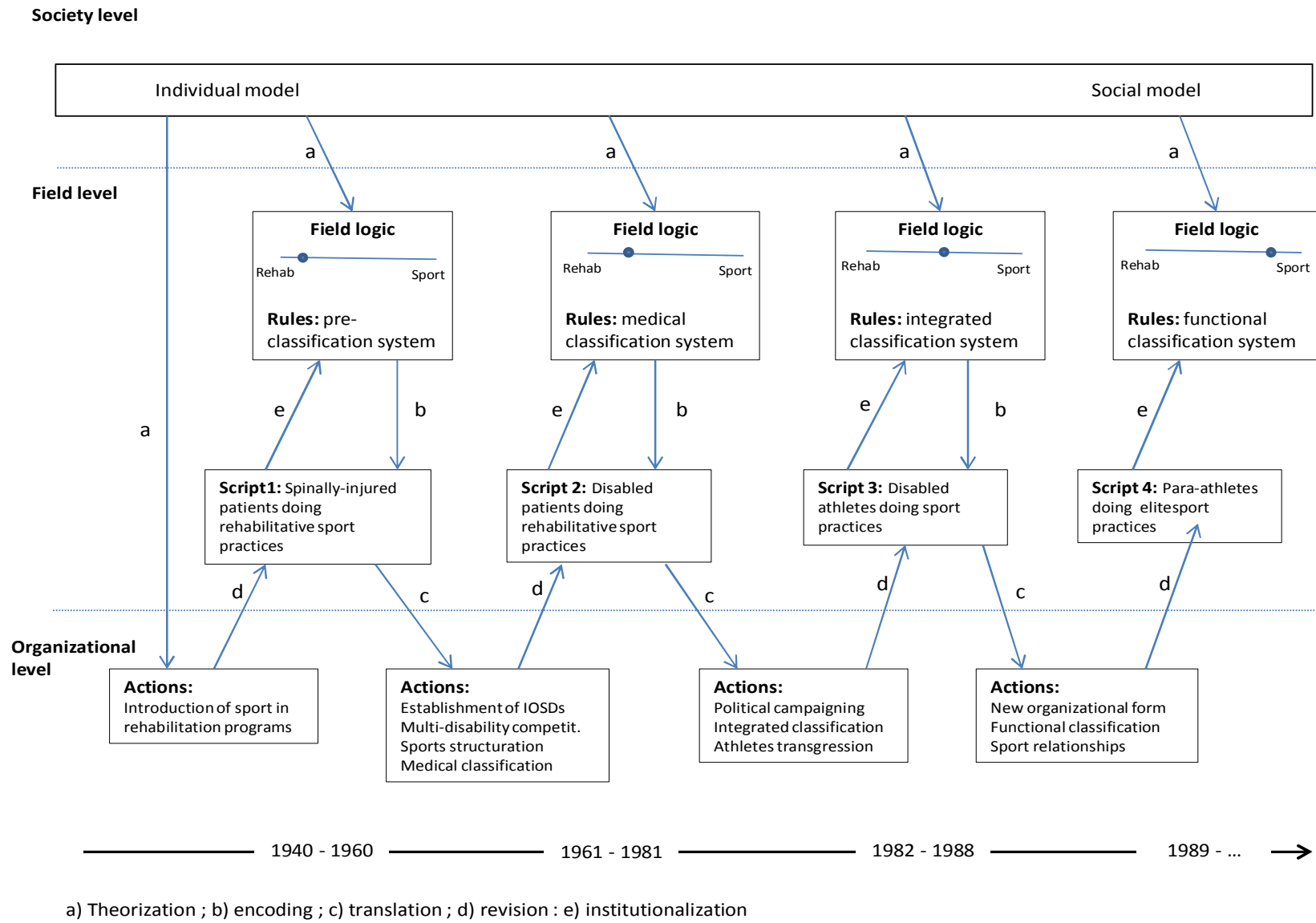
Five, institutional logics are frequently described as discrete units in institutional theory (Friedland & Alford, 1991) as well as in sport-related studies (Nite et al., 2013). For example, Gammelsaeter (2010) developed a typology of seven discrete institutional logics that combine to influence governance of “commercialized” sports clubs in Europe. In contrast our study exemplified institutional change triggered by shifting logic which evolves on a continuum between two ideal-types. Even field logic progressively moved from rehabilitation-sport logic to sport-logic, organizing principles of both logics were simultaneously present at the field level and served as basis for action for organizational and individuals actors. Such conceptualization has important implications for understanding of sport for people with an impairment. It sheds new lights on the very conflictual nature of relationships between organizational and individual actors within sport movement for people with an impairment over time. Guided by differing organizing principles, organizational actors did not share common definition of institutional reality and then they could not answer to institutional expectations in similar ways. Stage 3 of the study is indicative. Organizational actors were intensively torn between rehabilitation-sport logic and sport-logic, carried by an emergent and criticized sport classification (e.g. integrated classification). Confusing logic was encoded via script in which the role (disabled athletes) was contradictory and the plots evolving to sport practices in opposition to rehabilitation practices. Such script resulted and was supported by dialectical relationships between actors at the organizational level. On one side, organizational actors promoted sport for rehabilitation purpose and defended status quo. On the other side, challengers empowered sport-logic and increasingly called for institutional change.

Our results also underline the importance to adopt processual and longitudinal methodology to study institutional logic's dynamics at the field level (Wright, 2009). Without an evolutionary perspective, the shift towards sport-logic in stage 4 would simply appear as a process in which one "new" and "external" discrete institutional logic progressively contaminated the field and undermined the original sport-rehabilitation logic.

Figure 6 Four-stage model of institutional formation and change of sport movement for people with an

impairment

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Our research also opens doors for future research. We describe three of them. Firstly, we argue that a promising avenue to complement multi-level research studies of institutional change lies in the Network Location Theory. The Network Location Theory distinguishes actors located at the center of the field or at its periphery. Actor's location in the field does not refer to geographical terms, but rather "reflect location with respect to central value system and its embodiment in rules and authority" (Wright & Zammuto, 2013). Actors in periphery are described as more likely to bring change, by being less aware of institutional expectations and disadvantaged by prevailing institutional arrangements (Leblebici et al., 1991; North, 1990; Zilber, 2002). Central actors, in contrast, are generally more embedded within their institutional context (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Studies also highlighted roles of actors whose position bridge multiple organizational fields (Rao, Morill & Zald, 2000). By adding a horizontal lens, we could explore how different groups of actors, at various locations in the field, influence multi-level institutional change processes. This could shed new light on the actions and reactions of various groups of actors and provided "analytical space" to examine actors struggling in multi-level institutional change processes.

Secondly the study offers fresh start to consider agency and hybridized logic at the organizational field level (Lounsbury, 2007; Thornton & Ocasio, 2012). Findings highlighted how field logic progressively shifted through the interplay of both discursive activities at the societal level as well as organizational actions reinterpreting field logic. However this led to several unanswered theoretical questions. For example, how do organizational actors cope with contradictory organizing principle in their day-to-day work and especially, how do organizational actors work to influence field logic and the organizing principle at the field level? These theoretical questions require a broader vision of agency and institutional change and would be concerned with the practical action through which actors transform institution over time. A promising avenue for such research lies in the institutional work stream that focus on intentional actions enacted by institutional entrepreneurs to create, maintain and destabilize institution (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006 ; Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca, 2009).

Thirdly and lastly, future research on institutional logics' change could examine if similar multi-level mechanisms are at play in different empirical settings. In sport-related setting, we believe that the field of "trail running" could be interesting for such purpose. At the origin, trail-running developed an "amateur logic" defending a return to nature. It was also close to "outdoor-spirit" that characterized discipline in the marge of structured sport movement. But, in recent years, we observe the progressive introduction of an "economic logic" in trail-running like in many others segments of sports industry. We then argue that this field

represents a potentially interesting empirical setting to confirm or infirm, as well as extend the main findings of this paper.

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¹ Newspaper article wrote by Dr. Guttmann "Olympic Games for the disabled" in World Sports, October 1952.

² Newspaper article "Miracle men of sports" in World Sports, May 1949. This article presents several athletes with sensorial or physical impairments who, despite medical contraindication became top athletes in their sport disciplines. To mention a few, Manfred Loos, one-legged German highly jumper cleared 5ft. 10ins (1, 78m); Hans Redl, Austrian arm-amputated took part in the 1947 Wimbledon Tennis lawn tournament or Ron Brown, one-armed road racing cyclist competing with adapted bicycles.

³ The French statistician Adolphe Quetelet (1796-1874) contributed to embed norms compliance as social imperative by theorizing *l'homme moyen physique* and *l'homme moyen moral*. This theoretical man was the average of all attributes for a population in a given country. The Quetelet's belief was "all things will occur in conformity with the mean results obtained for a society" (Quetelet, 1835 cited in Porter, 1986). That reasoning implies that the majority of the population should be part of the norm and falls under a bell-shaped curved. In this sense, the average became a new kind of ideal in society (Davis, 1997). Applied to human body, an impairment became a deviance for the norm. Quetelet's work was further continued by Sir Francis Galton (1822-1911) among others, who divided the bell-shaped curve into quartiles to show the superiority of specific traits (such as high tall, high intelligence, high fertility...).

⁴ Treatments were provided by medical staff (physicians, nurses...) in specialized institutions, cut off from the social world. According to Scully, institutionalized population raised from 3 to 30/10.000 during the 19th century.

⁵ During the first half of the 20th, the treatment of spinally injured people was mainly composed of passive movements, massages and bed rests. Life expectancy was about three months due to the many medical complications following the injury (urinary infection ...).

⁶ At the beginning teams of competitors were composed according to the various Spinal units engaged in the competitions. After 1958, teams were structured nationally.

⁷ According to Brittain (2010), one new sport was add to Stoke Mandeville Games programs every years, bringing to 11 sports practiced in 1959: Archery, Netball (later replaced by Basketball), Javelin, Snooker, Table Tennis, Swimming, Dartchery, Fencing, Shot Putt, Throwing the club, pentathlon.

⁸ Newspaper article wrote by Dr. Guttmann "Olympic Games for the Disabled" in World Sports, October 1952.

⁹ Newspaper article wrote by Dr. Guttmann "Olympic Games for the Disabled" in World Sports, October 1952.

¹⁰ Belgian newspaper *Le Peuple*, August 5th 1954

¹¹ Dr. Albert Tricot interview's transcript for the I.R.N Broadcast, September 6th 1954

¹² Newspaper article wrote by Dr. Guttmann "Olympic Games for the Disabled" in World Sports, October 1952.

¹³ Dr. Pierre Houssa and Mrs. Vassal interview's transcript for the I.R.N. Broadcast, August 8th 1955

¹⁴ There were evident national disparities. Domination of the medical sector was minored in some countries by autonomous federation led by veterans of the World Wars. For a detailed explanation of the French case, please consult Ruffié, S. and S. Ferez (2013). *Corps, sport, handicaps*, Téraèdre.

¹⁵ For example, the 1st *Jeux Internationaux de Bruxelles* are organised by the Centre de Traumatologie et de Réadaptation from the *Hôpital Universitaire Brugman* in 1958

¹⁶ Program of the 6th Annual and Second International Inter-Spinal Unit Sports Festival, August 8th 1953

¹⁷ Official Program of the 14th International Stoke Mandeville Games for the Paralyzed, July 20-24th 1964

¹⁸ Newspaper article wrote by Dr. Guttmann "Olympic Games for the Disabled" in World Sports, October 1952.

¹⁹ Press release by the Fédération Sportive Belge des Handicapés, September 12th 1958.

²⁰ The ICDH was three-fold model: "1) *impairment*: any loss or abnormality of psychological, physiological or anatomical structure or function; 2) *Disability*: any restriction or lack (resulting from an impairment) of ability to perform an activity in the manner or within the range considered normal for an human being and 3) *Handicap*: a disadvantage for a given individual, resulting from an impairment or a disability that limits or prevents the fulfilment of a role that is normal (depending on age, sex, social and cultural factors) for an individual".

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- ²¹ Memorandum of the 1961 Scientific Congress in Stoke Mandeville Hospital, July 24th 1961.
- ²² Speech made on the July 24th 1963 by Dr. Victor Boin, President of the Fédération Sportive Belge des Handicapés for the opening of the XX Stoke Mandeville Games
- ²³ Quote from a letter from the Fédération Sportive Belge des Handicapés to the Belgian Ambassador in London (GB), May 27th 1963
- ²⁴ Dr. Albert Tricot, "L'influence des Activités Sportives dans le traitement des traumatisés" in Revue des Séminaires Belges de réadaptation, Vol. 8 N°4, May 1966
- ²⁵ "The value of Sport for the severely physically handicapped" by Dr. L. Guttmann, Hexagon Roche Vol.2 N°3, 1974
- ²⁶ The category Les Autres address the athletes with an impairment not cope by the other IOSDs.
- ²⁷ The Cerebral Palsy-International Sport and Recreation Association (CP-ISRA) spin off from the International Cerebral-Palsy Society in 1978. CP-ISRA then became the international governing body of sport for People with a Cerebral Palsy.
- ²⁸ International sport for People with a visual impairment was first organized by the International Sports Organisation for the Disabled (ISOD)
- ²⁹ The International Stoke Mandeville Games Federation (ISMGF) published its official handbook of rules in 1961.
- ³⁰ Quote from a letter from the Fédération Sportive Belge des Handicapés to the Belgian Ambassador in London (GB), May 27th 1963
- ³¹ "Development of sport for the spinal paralysed" by L. Guttmann in Hexagon Roche, Vol.3 N°3, 1975)
- ³² Quote from a letter from Dr. Ludwig Guttmann to Dr. Albert Tricot, September 22th 1974
- ³³ Non-ISMGF paralyzed participants. Competitors with Paraplegia were members of either ISMGF or either ISOD according paraplegia etiology. Guttmann explained in 1975 that "for instance, polios, also victims of a spinal affliction, have an advantage in the swimming events because their sensibility is intact (In Hexagon Roche, Vol.3 N°3, 1975)
- ³⁴ Official program of the 1st World Games for multi-disabled of the International Sports Organisation for the Disabled (ISOD) In Stoke Mandeville (Great-Brittain), September 15-21st 1974
- ³⁵ Press article in Les Sports, September 17th 1963
- ³⁶ National disparities were evident. In 1963 the Belgian Federations number 90 members including 85 spinally injured People. Germany numbered 3500 competitors in 708 clubs.
- ³⁷ Press release by the Fédération Sportive Belge des Handicapés (FSBH), October 1961
- ³⁸ Press article La Dernière Heure, September 17th 1963
- ³⁹ Official program of the Tokyo Games for the Physically Handicapped, 1964
- ⁴⁰ Quote from a letter from Sir L. Guttmann to Bob Delaruelle, April 24th 1973
- ⁴¹ Quote from a letter from Sir L. Guttmann to André Raes, November 1st 1974
- ⁴² Quote from a letter from André Raes to Albert Tricot, May 16th 1973
- ⁴³ Quote from a letter from André Raes to the ISMGF Secreatry, June 6th 1973
- ⁴⁴ Quote from a letter from Sir L. Guttmann to Albert Tricot, November 6th 1974
- ⁴⁵ Quote from a letter from Albert Tricot to André Raes, February 18th 1972
- ⁴⁶ Quote from a letter from Albert Tricot to Gershon Huberman, December 19th 1972
- ⁴⁷ Quote from a letter from Sir L. Guttmann to Albert Tricot, February 10th 1972
- ⁴⁸ Quote from a letter from Sir L. Guttmann to Albert Tricot, December 4th 1974
- ⁴⁹ Quote from a letter from L. Guttmann to Albert Tricot, August 5th 1970
- ⁵⁰ Quote from a letter from Sir L. Guttmann to Albert Tricot, February 10th 1972
- ⁵¹ Quote from a letter from Sir L. Guttmann to Albert Tricot, August 5th 1970
- ⁵² Quote from a letter from Albert Tricot to L. Guttmann, March 25th 1969
- ⁵³ "Development of sport for the spinal paralyzed" by L. Guttmann in Hexagon Roche, Vol.3 N°3, 1975
- ⁵⁴ 'Development of sport for the spinal paralyzed" by L. Guttmann in Hexagon Roche, Vol.3 N°3, 1975
- ⁵⁵ Informative seminar about "classification and evaluation of the wheelchair athlete », March 9th 1973

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- ⁵⁶ Official program of the 12th International Stoke Mandeville Games for the paralyzed, July 24-27th 1963
- ⁵⁷ "L'influence des Activités Physiques sportives dans le traitement des traumatisés" by Albert Tricot in Revue des Séminaire Belge de réadaptation, Vol.8 n°4, May 1966
- ⁵⁸ Letter to the newspaper editor "Les Sports", April 24th 1964
- ⁵⁹ Newspaper article in La Dernière Heure, September 17th 1963
- ⁶⁰ Quote from a letter to the chief redactor of "Le Ligueur" following an article published in the same journal on November 20th 1964
- ⁶¹ Sports N' Spokes, July/August 1977
- ⁶² Official program of the Tokyo Games for the Physically handicapped, 1964
- ⁶³ Newspaper article in Le Ligueur, November 20th 1964
- ⁶⁴ "L'influence des Activités Sportives dans le traitement des traumatisés" in Revue des Séminaires belges de réadaptation, Vol. 8 N°4, May 1966
- ⁶⁵ "L'influence des Activités Sportives dans le traitement des traumatisés" in Revue des Séminaires belges de réadaptation, Vol. 8 N°4, May 1966
- ⁶⁶ Press release by the Fédération Sportive Belge des Handicapés, October 1961
- ⁶⁷ Press release from the Fédération Sportive Belge des Handicapés General Assembly on May 8, 1968
- ⁶⁸ "Reflections in the 1976 Toronto Olympiad for the physically disabled by Sir L. Guttamnn, Paraplegia n°14, 1976
- ⁶⁹ "L'influence des Activités Sportives dans le traitement des traumatisés" in Revue des Séminaires belges de réadaptation, Vol. 8 N°4, May 1966
- ⁷⁰ 'Development of sport for the spinal paralyzed" by L. Guttman in Hexagon Roche, Vol.3 N°3, 1975
- ⁷¹ Memorandum about "the Future of ISOD" by J. Scruton, July 20th 1979
- ⁷² Sports'N Spokes, March/April 1984
- ⁷³ 1956 Fearnley Cup
- ⁷⁴ Voir Mason (2005)
- ⁷⁵ Quote from a letter from G. Cabezas to ISOD members , December 15th 1983
- ⁷⁶ Quote from a letter from G. Cabezas to ISOD members, December 15th 1983.
- ⁷⁷ Quote from a letter from R. Jackson, former ISMGF President, September 7th 1984
- ⁷⁸ Quote from a letter from Carlsson to ISMGF members, December 15th 1983
- ⁷⁹ Position paper for the conference on ISOD Future, by the Swedish Sports Organisations for the Disabled, April 1985
- ⁸⁰ Position paper by the ISOD on the Principles for International Bodies for sports competitions programmes, ICC Seminar, March 13-14th, 1987
- ⁸¹ Quote from a letter from V. Seagrove to ISMGF members, December 15th 1983
- ⁸² Quote from a letter from A. Tricot to H. Poole, February 24th 1984
- ⁸³ Quote from a letter from A. Auburger to ISMGF President, February 29th 1984
- ⁸⁴ Quote from a letter from Carlsson to ISMGF members, December 15th 1983
- ⁸⁵ Position paper submitted to the conference on ISOD Future by the Swedish Sports Organization for the Disabled, April 1985
- ⁸⁶ Position paper by the ISOD on the Principles for International Bodies for sports competitions programmes, ICC Seminar, March 13-14th 1987
- ⁸⁷ Position paper by the ISOD on the Principles for International Bodies for sports competitions programmes, ICC Seminar, March 13-14th 1987
- ⁸⁸ Sports'N Spoke, March/April 1984
- ⁸⁹ ICC Newsletter 87/1, April 1987
- ⁹⁰ Sports'N Spokes, March-April 1984
- ⁹¹ Sports'N Spoke, March/April 1984
- ⁹² 'The physically disabled in Sports - Tracing the influence of two tracks of a common movement, Sports'N Spoke, March/April, 1987

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- ⁹³ Simplified guide for classification, swimming locomotor disabilities Gothenburg 1986 in September 18th 1985
- ⁹⁴ ICC Newsletter 87/1, April 1987
- ⁹⁵ it was found that the functional requirements for backstroke, butterfly and crawl are similar enough to justify a joint classification for these strokes: Classes S1 – S10. The functional requirements for breaststroke are significantly different, which from a classification point of view means that many swimmers will belong to one S-class (back, butterfly, crawl) while they very well might belong to another class in breaststroke: classes SB1 – SB10” (Simplified guide for classification, swimming, locomotor disabilities Gothenburg 1986, September 18th, 1985
- ⁹⁶ Report from meeting on the functional classification swimming locomotor disabilities, August 15th 1986
- ⁹⁷ Sports’N Spokes, March-April 1984
- ⁹⁸ Variation in wheelchair sport adaptation varies according to the sport. Wheelchair Basketball players modified their wheelchair since the 1950s.
- ⁹⁹ Sports’N Spokes, May-june 1984
- ¹⁰⁰ Scientific Congress “Colloque Handicaps physiques et entraînement sportif”, Free University of Brussels, March 5th 1983
- ¹⁰¹ Sir L. Guttmann died in 1980
- ¹⁰² Memorandum of the UNESCO International Symposium ‘La pratique des sports par les handicapés physiques et mentaux (Groupe francophone)’, November 22-27th, 1982
- ¹⁰³ Memorandum of the UNESCO International Symposium ‘La pratique des sports par les handicapés physiques et mentaux (Groupe francophone)’, November 22-27th, 1982
- ¹⁰⁴ Sports’N Spoke, March/April 1984
- ¹⁰⁵ President’s Column in ISOD Circular 2/88, August 1988
- ¹⁰⁶ Memorandum, October 24th 1980, The position of the NWAA on holding the Games for the disabled in 1984
- ¹⁰⁷ Report from meeting on the functional classification swimming, locomotor disabilities, August 15th 1986
- ¹⁰⁸ Sports’N Spokes, March/April 1984
- ¹⁰⁹ Position paper submitted to the conference on ISOD Future by the Swedish Sports Organization for the Disabled, April 1985
- ¹¹⁰ Sports’N Spoke, March/April 1984
- ¹¹¹ Position paper by the ISOD on the Principles for International Bodies for Sports competitions programmes, ICC Seminar March 13-14th 1987
- ¹¹² Position paper submitted to the conference on ISOD Future by the Swedish Sports Organisation for the Disabled, April 1985
- ¹¹³ Chronology of events in the history of sports for the disabled athletes in the 1984 Olympic Scientific Congress Proceedings Volume 9
- ¹¹⁴ Press brochure Man in Motion World Tour, 1985-1986
- ¹¹⁵ Press Release by the Federation Sportive Belge des Handicapés, July 22th 1985
- ¹¹⁶ Gabrielle Lefebvre « Nous ne sommes pas une abstraction », January 13th 1981
- ¹¹⁷ Position paper submitted to the conference on ISOD Future by the Swedish Sports Organization for the Disabled, April 1985
- ¹¹⁸ Position paper submitted to the conference on ISOD Future by the Swedish Sports Organisation for the Disabled, April 1985
- ¹¹⁹ Sports’N Spokes, March-April 1984
- ¹²⁰ Position paper by the ISOD on the Principles for International Bodies for sports competitions programmes, ICC Seminar, March 13-14th, 1987
- ¹²¹ Quote from a letter from the Athlete’s representatives in the Ad’Hoc Committee to the Paralympic Athletes, October 1988
- ¹²² President’s Column in ISOD Circular 2/88, August 1988

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- ¹²³ Quote from a letter to ISMGF President to ISMGF Mmembers about the ad'Hoc Committee Constitution, April 4th 1989
- ¹²⁴ President's Column in ISOD Circular 2/88, August 1988
- ¹²⁵ Quote from a letter from CP-ISRA president to CP-ISRA members about the Ad-Hoc Committee Constitution, March 20th 1989
- ¹²⁶ Quote from a letter from the Ad'hoc Committee to the national and international organisations for the disabled, March 1st 1989
- ¹²⁷ Quote from a letter from the Ad'hoc Committee to the national and international organisations for the disabled, April 24th 1989
- ¹²⁸ The IOC and the Paralympics by A. Napier, IOC Public Relations Director. March 18th 1994
- ¹²⁹ Quote from a letter from the IPC Management Committee to the IPC Members, June 3rd 1992
- ¹³⁰ Technical officer report for the 1993 IPC GA, September 1993
- ¹³¹ President report for the 1993 IPC GA, September 1993
- ¹³² Minutes of the meeting between ICC, IPC and IOC, January 29th, 1991
- ¹³³ Technical Officer report for the 1993 IPC GA, September 1993
- ¹³⁴ Technical Officer report for the 1993 IPC GA, September 1993
- ¹³⁵ IPC Newsletter Vol. 1 N°1, Spring 1990
- ¹³⁶ Sport Science and Medical Committee report for the 1993 IPC GA, September 1993
- ¹³⁷ IPC Newsletter Vol. 1 N°1, Spring 1990
- ¹³⁸ Para-contact magazine, November 1989
- ¹³⁹ IPC Newsletter Vol. 1 N°1, Spring 1990
- ¹⁴⁰ Technical Officer report for the 1995 GA, November 1995
- ¹⁴¹ Vision for the future by André Raes, June 3-4th 1995
- ¹⁴² Meeting between the IOC and IPC, August 16th 1993
- ¹⁴³ Technical Officer's report for the 1995 IPC GA, November 1995
- ¹⁴⁴ IPC Newsletter Vol. 1 N°1, Spring 1990
- ¹⁴⁵ Quote from a letter from A. Auberger to G. Felli, February 23th 1993
- ¹⁴⁶ Quote from a letter from G. Felli to A. Auberger, March 7th 1996
- ¹⁴⁷ Meeting between IPC and IOC, December 13th 1996
- ¹⁴⁸ Quote from a letter from Steadward to Samaranch, November 28th 1994
- ¹⁴⁹ Meeting between the IOC and IPC, August 16th 1993
- ¹⁵⁰ The IOC and the Paralympics by A. Napier, IOC Public Relations Director, March 18th 1994
- ¹⁵¹ Minutes of the meeting between ICC, IPC and IOC (IOC Report), January 29th 1991
- ¹⁵² Minutes of the meeting between ICC, IPC and IOC (IPC Report), January 29th 1991
- ¹⁵³ Position paper by Hans Lindström, November 9th 1996. Such sports were the International Orienting Federation, the International Yacht Racing Union (Sailing Federation), the International Racquetball Federation and the International Waterskiing Federation.
- ¹⁵⁴ Position paper by Hans Lindström, November 9th 1996.
- ¹⁵⁵ Memorandum by Pere Miro (IOC) about 1993 Vista Congress, June 3rd 1993
- ¹⁵⁶ Following Recommendations 15 of the IOC 2000 Commission, "clear rules concerning the link between the Olympic Games and the Paralympic Games"¹⁵⁶ were set through Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). In October 2000, the IPC and IOC signed a cooperation agreement outlining some general principals and financial contribution from the IOC to the IPC. On June 2001, a second agreement detailed the "conditions under which the IOC agreed to assist the IPC in securing and protecting the organization of the Paralympic Games, effectively including the obligation to organize the Paralympic Games in the IOC Host City Contract with the OCOG"¹⁵⁶. A third Memorandum of Understanding was concluded in 2003 regarding marketing protocol between both organisations.
- ¹⁵⁷ Report by the IOC 2000 Commission to the 110th IOC Session, December 11-12th 1999
- ¹⁵⁸ Quote from a letter from the IPC to the NPC, August 12th 2003

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- ¹⁵⁹ 'Vision for the future' by A. Raes, June 3-4th 1995
- ¹⁶⁰ Paper 'IPC and IOSDs: A marriage of convenience' by C. Sugny for the 1995 IPC Congress, November 1995
- ¹⁶¹ Proceedings of the 99' Vista conference, H. Lindström 'The (dis-)organised chaos of sports for persons with disabilities', 1999
- ¹⁶² 'Present structure of international sports for athletes with a disability' by H. Lindström for the 1995 IPC Congress
- ¹⁶³ In March 1998, IOSDs signed the "IOSD Agreement in principal" where they reaffirmed their role within the IPC "for the development of competition programmes and world championships in their respective disabilities and where possible to have collective competitions".
- ¹⁶⁴ Paper by ISOD & ISMWSF presidents for the 1995 IPC Congress
- ¹⁶⁵ 1995 IPC Task Force, July 9th 1996
- ¹⁶⁶ Position paper by Phil Craven (IWBF President) for the 1995 IPC Congress
- ¹⁶⁷ Position paper by Phil Craven (IWBF President) for the 1995 IPC Congress
- ¹⁶⁸ Quote from a letter from Phil Craven to IPC Membership, June 18th 2003
- ¹⁶⁹ T. Sainsbury, VP British Paralympic Association for 2001 IPC Strategic Planning (Theme III: Structure), April 25-30th 2001
- ¹⁷⁰ IPC Strategic Review Diagnosis by McKinsey & Company, March 2003
- ¹⁷¹ IPC Strategic Review Diagnosis by McKinsey & Company, March 2003
- ¹⁷² Minutes of the 9th IPC GA, December 7-8th 2001
- ¹⁷³ The view point of the Medical Committee by M. Riding (IPC Medical officer)
- ¹⁷⁴ IPC Athlete Classification Code, November 2015
- ¹⁷⁵ Position paper submitted to the conference on ISOD Future by the Swedish Sports Organization for the Disabled, April 1985

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PAPER 2: MESO LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

INSTITUTIONAL WORK AND NEW ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS: THE CASE OF THE PARALYMPIC MOVEMENT

Level of analysis	Research directions	Sub-research question
Macro level Environmental mechanism	Social construction of disability	How and why do institutions form and change through the interplay between different levels of the field?
Meso level Relational mechanism	Entrepreneurship	How do actors create, maintain and disrupt organizational forms through the interplay between boundary work and practice work? What conditions and factors motivated actors to create new organizational forms or transform existing ones?
Micro-level Cognitive mechanism	Framing	How institutional practices and beliefs are framed in different local context?

Research question: How to understand institutional change among the Paralympic sports over time?

A version of this paper has been submitted to the special issue “Blurring sector boundaries and New Organizational Forms” in the **Journal of Sport Management**. For more information about the special issue, please consult: <http://journals.humankinetics.com/jsm-extras/jsm-extras/call-for-papers-for-the-special-issue-bsp-blurring-sector-boundaries-amp-new-organizational-forms>

6. Institutional Work and New Organizational Forms: The Case of the Paralympic Movement

6.1 Introduction

Scholars suggest that new organizational forms have resounding institutional implications (DiMaggio, 1988; Ingram, 1998; Perkmann & Spicer, 2007; Rao & Singh, 2001; Tracey, Phillips & Jarvis, 2011). Looking at the hospitality industry in the United States, Ingram (1998: 262) asserted that “significant institutional change is championed by new organizational forms and resisted by existing organizations”. In this vein, DiMaggio (1991) found that a new form of art museum was instrumental to foster institutional change surrounding museums while Rao & Singh (2001) studied the coevolution of institutional systems and organizational forms in the early Automobile and Biotechnology industries. Likewise change in organizational forms has also drawn the attention of scholars in sport management. For example, Slack & Hinings (1994) examined changes in National Sport Organizations (NSOs) in Canada. They found that institutional pressures from Sport Canada increased isomorphism among NSOs, and led them to adopt a more professional bureaucratic structure. Drawing on institutional theory, Washington & Ventresca (2008) similarly examined strategies developed by NCAA to dominate governance structure of US amateur Basket-ball.

The study of new organizational forms is not without difficulty. Organizational forms may evolve over decades and are often “assembled from the component of existing forms and/or emerge through transitional arrangements, making it difficult to distinguish new form from ancestors” (Tracey et al., 2010). Moreover there is no agreement on the definition of organizational form. According to Rao & Singh (2001: 244), new forms are “the novel recombination of core organizational features involving goals, authority relations (including organizational structure and governance elements), technologies and clients markets”. Neo-institutionalist authors, whom we refer to as institutionalists, defined organizational forms as “an archetypal configuration of structures and practices given coherence by underlying values regarded as appropriate within an institutional context” (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006).

Despite their significance in organizational change studies, and the intellectual challenges that they represents, very few studies have explored how new organizational forms are created or existing ones transformed. Previous works have gradually examined the roles and

practices of the actors in such processes. Stinchcombe (1965), for example, asserted that the creation of new organizational forms “is pre-eminently a political phenomenon”. Similarly Rao, Morrill & Zald (2000) suggested that creation of new organizational forms “entails an institutional project, wherein institutional entrepreneurs actively define, justify and push the theory and values underpinning new organizational forms”. Examining roles granted to agency within institutional change literature, Lawrence & Suddaby (2006: 215) conceptualized institutional work as “the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions”. This stream of institutional research offers fresh avenues for study of institutional entrepreneurship (Leca, Battilana & Boxenbaum, 2008) as well as for the study of new organizational forms (Tracey et al., 2011).

Institutional literature recently highlighted reciprocal relationships between boundary and practice (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010), and how these relationships impacted organizational forms at the organizational field level (Rao et al., 2000). In this paper, we define boundary as the distinction between groups and people (Lamont & Molnár, 2002, 2007; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010) and practice as set of shared and legitimated organizational routines (Whittington, 2006). We suggest that one important but unexplored way that organizational forms are created or transformed is through the interplay between two particular types of institutional work: 1) boundary work – actors’ efforts to establish, expand and reinforce or undermine boundary and 2) practice work – actors’ efforts to affect practices that are legitimated within the organizational field.

We therefore conceptualized organizational field as “a co-evolutionary system” (Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Giddens, 1984; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996) in which boundaries, practices and organizational forms exist in recursive relationships “significantly affected by heterogeneous boundary work and practice work of interested actors” (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). Our aim in this paper is two-fold. First, we aim to understand how do actors create, maintain and disrupt organizational forms through the interplay between boundary work and practice work. In other words, we wish to unpack how boundary work and practice work affect each other and how they together affect organizational forms at the field level. Second, we aim to highlight the conditions and factors that motivate actors to create new organizational forms or transform existing ones.

We answer these research questions by a processual analysis of a particular empirical context, the international governing bodies of sports for people with an impairment. Specifically, we trace change in organizational forms within the international sport movement for people with an impairment and examine underlying patterns of boundary work and

practice work. We also look at the factors and conditions to motivate actors to create, maintain or disrupt organizational form.

The paper is composed of four parts. In the following section (1), we develop a comprehensive analysis of the literature related to institutional entrepreneurship and creation of new organizational forms. By doing so, we provide the theoretical pathway that nurtured our research and how we develop the following study. The second part (2) is dedicated to the methodological aspect of the analysis. We describe both the way we collect the data and our analytic process. The third part (3) is devoted to the empirical analysis. The fourth and final part (4) discusses key contributions of the paper for both the institutional theory and sport management literature. We also provide new perspectives for future researches.

6.2 Theoretical Pathway

This section provides a comprehensive understanding of the literature dedicated to institutional entrepreneurship and the creation of new organizational forms. We analyze how scholars have dealt with these issues in order to build our analysis upon the strengths and weaknesses of current literature. By doing so, we wish to justify our theoretical choices and orientation.

During the 1970s institutional theorists were interested in how institutional environment constrained organizational rationality at the organizational field level (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Institutions were viewed as “taken-for-granted rules, norms and routines” fostering isomorphism among organizations, both in terms of organizational structure and practice (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). DiMaggio & Powell (1983: 149) described isomorphism “as a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions”. The idea behind isomorphism is that organizations search clues in environment in order to guide their behavior and to enhance their legitimacy in a particular context. Organizations facing the same environment consequently tend to adopt similar structure and courses of action and appear more similar over time. But scholars soon faced a theoretical dilemma. If institutional environment constrains organizational behavior, how new institutions are created or existing ones transformed? Since the 1980s theoretical focus consequently moved to address issues of institutional change. Criticisms became vocal to redress over-socialized view and determinism that depicted early institutional research (Hirsch & Lounsbury, 1997). Scholars explicitly called for the injection of agency into institutional theory (DiMaggio, 1988; Hoffman & Ventresca, 2002; Lawrence, 1999) and highlighted the importance of agency, power and

interests in institutional change (Leblebici, Salancik, Copay & King, 1991; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996).

However these attempts seemed to gainsay one of the central assertions of institutional theory – that actors and their interests are themselves institutionally shaped (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Wooten & Hoffman, 2008). As Holm (1995: 398) pointed out “How can actors change institutions if their actions, interest and rationality are all conditioned by the very institution they wish to change”? This theoretical paradox, known as “the paradox of embedded agency” is one of the central issues in institutional theory since the last 25 years (Clemens & Cook, 1999; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2009; Seo & Creed, 2002; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010).

6.2.1 The paradox of embedded agency

Scholars developed theoretical and methodological frameworks to investigate “how institutions affect, and are [simultaneously] affected by actions” (Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Giddens, 1984). In result several studies emphasized the interdependence of institutions and actions (Barley, 1986; Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996) and acknowledged that institution did not totally preclude agency (Oliver, 1991; Scott, 2014). Despite many insights at both theoretical and empirical levels, this vein of institutional studies raised important unresolved theoretical questions. One of them is when and how and why do actors decide to revise institutionalized organizational behavior? (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010)

Benson’ (1977) dialectical perspective represents an interesting starting point to engage the paradox of embedded agency. According to Benson (1977: 3), social world “is in a continuous state of becoming – social arrangements which seem fixed and permanent are temporary, arbitrary patterns and any observable social pattern is regarded as one among many possibilities”. Benson (1977: 3) further argued that dialectical analysis of complex social phenomenon has to be guided by four principles: social construction, totality, contradiction and praxis. These four principles are interdependent and mutually constitutive of the social life. First, social construction highlights social processes by which actors gradually built sets of institutional arrangements. Social arrangements are shaped by actors’ power and interests and continually produced and reproduced through actors’ interactions. Second, totality refers to multiple interconnections between institutional arrangements. In a dialectical perspective, any social order is viewed “not as an isolated, abstract phenomenon but, rather, as part of a larger whole composed of multiple, interpenetrating social structures operating at multiple levels and multiple sectors” (Seo & Creed, 2002: 225). Third, ongoing

social construction produces “contradictions, inconsistencies and incompatibilities” (Benson, 1977: 4) both among and within established social orders. Such contradictions generate “tensions and conflicts within and across social systems, which may, under some circumstances, shape consciousness and action to change the present order (Seo & Creed, 2002: 225). Fourth, praxis is “the free and creative reconstruction of social arrangements on the basis of reasoned analysis of both the limits and the potential of present social forms” (Benson, 1977: 5). In sum, praxis is a particular type of collective human action embedded in a historical system.

Benson’s (1997) dialectical perspective offers an interesting conceptual apparatus to study institutional change and brings many insights with regard to the paradox of embedded agency. An institutional system can be understood as temporary social arrangements, continuously build and rebuild through human interactions (social construction). However, any social arrangement is entirely anew or isolated (Clemens, 1997). Ongoing construction of social arrangements lead to multiple conflictual or incompatible institutional systems (totality). Incompatibilities both within and between institutions generate tensions, ruptures and inconsistencies (contradictions). Accumulation of contradictions over time reshapes the consciousness of social actors who can, in some circumstances, work to transform present social order (praxis).

This dialectical perspective provides two essential insights to understand change in the midst of institutional embeddedness. First it highlights the critical role of human praxis to explain institutional change. Actors are able, under some circumstances, to transform institutional order while embedded in a more or less complex web of norms, values and beliefs. Second it shows how agents’ consciousness and actions “not only are shaped by the existing institutional arrangements but also are continuously reshaped by the institutions’ inevitable by-products – institutional contradictions (Seo & Creed, 2002: 225-226). Such conceptualization of human praxis echoes a familiar theme in organizational change studies – the partially autonomous social actors (Simon, 1982).

Seo & Creed (2002) extended Benson’ (1977) dialectical approach and identified four sources of institutional contradiction which shape consciousness of embedded actors: 1) legitimacy that undermines functional efficiency, 2) adaptation that undermines adaptability, 3) intra-institutional conformity that creates inter-institutional incompatibilities and 4) isomorphism that conflict with divergent interests. By doing so, Seo & Creed (2002) detailed “circumstances” and conditions under which actors can become agents of change (see table 7).

Table 7 Seo & Creed (2002) four contradictions (from Suddaby & Greenwood, 2006)

Efficiency contradiction	Gaps between the levels of performance arising from conformity to institutional prescriptions and alternative opportunities in the marketplace
Non-adaptability contradiction	Inability of a field to adapt to exogenous jolts because of locked-in patterns of behavior and thought
Interinstitutional incompatibilities	Inconsistencies between values deeply held yet mutually inconsistent
misaligned interests contradiction	Divergence of the interests of those privileged and those disadvantaged by existing logics

According to Seo & Creed (2002) the likelihood of “praxis” increases as contradictions within and across institutional systems develop and permeate actors’ social experiences (fig. 7). In other words, institutional contradictions influence actors, who “move from an unreflective participation in institutional reproduction to imagine critique of the existing social arrangements to practical action for change” (Seo & Creed, 2002: 231).

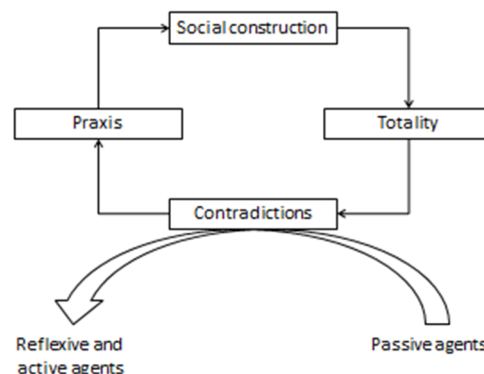


Figure 7 The dialectical perspective (adapted from Seo & Creed, 2002)

6.2.2 Institutional entrepreneurship

Many institutional theorists advanced a similar view of social actors – partially autonomous agents– since they attempted to explain the role of agency in institutional change (Battilana, 2006; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Leca et al., 2008; Seo & Creed, 2002). But theoretical gaps remain: how do social actors, once reflexive and active, concretely transform institution? By tackling such question, scholars tried to identify the locus and processes of institutional change. In the first instance, institutional studies emphasized exogenous sources

of change “smacking into stable institutional arrangements and causing indeterminacy” (Clemens & Cook, 1999: 447). Exogenous “jolts” included regulatory and legal change (Holm, 1995), technological disruption (Barley, 1986) or social challenge (Strang & Meyer, 1993). These events impacted demography at the organizational field level: new players appeared and power relationships were redistributed within the field (Thornton, 2002; Scott, Ruef, Mendel & Caronna, 2000). But less attention was paid to endogenous source of deliberate and motivated change (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006: 29).

Institutional scholars gradually brought insights from two different literatures (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). The first one, the network location theory, looked at the position of actors in the field and distinguished central and peripheral actors. The latter are described as more likely to bring change, being less aware of institutional expectations and disadvantaged by prevailing institutional arrangements (Leblebici et al., 1991; North, 1990; Zilber, 2002). Central actors, in contrast, are generally more embedded within their institutional context (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Studies also highlighted roles of actors whose position bridge multiple organizational fields (Rao, Morill & Zald, 2000).

The second stream of literature emphasized roles and practices of actors during institutional change processes. Borrowing in Eisenstadt’ (1980) work, DiMaggio (1988) introduced the notion of institutional entrepreneurship into institutional lexicon. According to DiMaggio (1988: 14) “new institutions arise when organized actors with sufficient resources (institutional entrepreneurs) see in them an opportunity to realize interests that they have value highly”. Institutional entrepreneurs were also defined as actors “who leverage resources to create new institutions or to transform existing ones” (Maguire, Hardy & Lawrence, 2004: 657). But despite many valuable insights, such works “portrayed some actor as powerful, heroic figures able to dramatically shape institutions” (Lawrence et al., 2009) and undermined the fact that all actors, including entrepreneurs, are institutionally embedded.

To depict a more balanced view of institutional entrepreneurship, Powell & DiMaggio (1991: 23-24) proposed to draw from the practice approach that emerged since the 1970s (see also Phillips & Lawrence, 2012). In this vein Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) introduced the concept of “institutional work” looking at the concrete practices employed by actors in relation to institutions. Institutional work describes “the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 215). As Lawrence et al. (2009) indicated, institutional work’ research stream seek “to establish a broader vision of agency in relationship to institutions, one that avoids

depicting actors either as “cultural dopes” trapped by institutional arrangements, or a hypermuscular institutional entrepreneurs”.

6.2.3 Boundaries, practices and organizational forms

According Zietsma & Lawrence (2010), both of these approaches – network location theory and institutional entrepreneurship’ research stream – provide “partial answers to the paradox of embedded agency and highlight the interplay between important social phenomena”: 1) boundaries – distinction among people and group within and across institution and 2) practices – set of shared and legitimated organizational routines.

Boundaries are a well-known concept in sociology (Pachucki, Pendergrass & Lamont, 2007) and organizational studies (Santos & Eisenhardt, 2005). They refer to established categories of objects, people or activities (Lamont & Molnàrt, 2002). Following Zietsma & Lawrence (2010), we define boundary as the distinction between people and groups. Lamont & Molnàrt (2002: 168) argued that boundaries act as “tools by which individuals and groups struggle over to agree upon definition of reality”. In the study of organizations, a dominant boundary of interest is the organizational field (Washington & Patterson, 2011; Wooten & Hoffmann, 2008). Located between the societal level and the organizational and individual level (Wright, 2009), organizational fields are “sets of organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute an area of institutional life” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983: 148-149). Organizational fields are shaped by institutional logics, defined as “the taken-for-granted, resilient social prescriptions, sometimes encoded in laws, specifying the boundaries of a field, its rules of memberships, and the role identities and appropriate organizational forms of its constituent communities” (Thornton, 2004; Thornton & Ocasio, 2002; 2008). Lamont & Molnàrt (2002: 168) further argued that such boundaries among group and people could provide “unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and non-material) and social opportunities”. Such consequences make boundaries “the objects of strategic interests for actors motivated either to maintain or to disrupt systems of privilege (Ziestma & Lawrence, 2010).

In turn, practices’ definition is closed from Clemens (1997: 32) notion of repertoire which refers to “the set of distinctive forms of actions employed by or know to members of a particular groups or society”. Such repertoire provides “templates, scripts, recipes or model for social interaction” within a group of actors (Clemens, 1997: 49). Practices are not simply “what people do, but [refer] to the socially legitimate routines in any given community” (Phillips & Lawrence, 2012: 227). As such, practice belongs to “social groups rather than individuals: groups define the correctness of a practice and provide ways for member to learn from them” (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010).

Several studies have shown the interdependence between boundaries and practices (Swidler, 2001; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). Boundaries delimit sets of legitimate practices, and recursively, practices sustain particular group boundaries. Social movement scholars (Ingram, 1998; Rao, Morill & Zald, 2000; Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008; McAdam, Carthy & Zald, 1996) went one step further and emphasized reciprocal influences between practice, boundary and organizational forms. Stinchcombe (1965) depicts the creation of new organizational forms as “pre-eminently a political phenomenon” wherein institutional entrepreneurs “actively define, justify and push the theory and values underpinning new organizational forms” (DiMaggio, 1988). In line of the above arguments, Rao et al. (2000) assert that actors “construct boundaries around activities and validate the boundaries such that new category of organizations emerges”. Hence the scope of the organizational form is “representative of the congealed distribution of interests of individuals” (Ingram, 1998) and is the outcome of contending attempts to impose preferred practices and boundaries at the field level (Rao, Morill & Zald, 2000). That is, an organizational form is not limited to its organizational structure (Rao & Singh, 2001) but represents “an archetypal configuration of structures and practices given coherence by underlying values regarded as appropriate within an institutional context” (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; see also Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Tracey et al., 2010).

Not all new forms are equivalent (Rao et al., 2000; Rao & Singh, 1999). A useful starting point to distinguish organizational forms is the distinction between core and peripheral properties of organizational forms. According to Rao et al. (2000), organizational forms constitute “polythetic groupings, in that members of the form share common core characteristics but may differ with peripheral features. Hence, one form or species differs from one another primarily according the core characteristics of the form”. Such case (i.e. variation in the core features of the organizational forms) represents a case of strong organizational speciation (Rao & Singh, 1999). In contrast when organizational forms distinguish only on peripheral features, this represents a case of weak organizational speciation.

6.2.4 Boundary work and Practice work

Relationships between boundaries and practices can stabilize institutional system but can also foster institutional change. Material consequences of boundaries and practices (in terms of distribution of power, access to resources etc.) can worsen conflict among actors both within and across institutions. Consequently relationships between practices and boundaries

and their influences on prevalent organizational forms can motivate actors “to try to affect them through both boundary work and practice work” (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010).

Boundary work refers to actors’ efforts to establish, expand and reinforce or undermine boundaries. According to Ziestma & Lawrence (2010) three forms of boundary work can be identified in relevant literature: 1) establishing boundaries to protect autonomy, prestige and control on resources 2) strategies to manage cross-boundary connections and finally 3) boundary breaching mainly examined in social movement literature. Practice work in turn refers to actors’ efforts to affect practices that are legitimated in the field. As Zietsma & Lawrence (2010: 190) argued, practice work involve “efforts to affect the recognition and acceptance of sets of routines, rather than... simply engaging in those routines”.

To summarize (see fig. 8), we adopt in this study an understanding of organizational field as “a co-evolutionary system” (Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Giddens, 1984; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996) in which boundaries, practices and organizational forms exist in recursive relationships “significantly affected by heterogeneous boundary work and practice work of interested actors” (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). But even if literature mention strong links between boundary, practice and organizational forms, few studies (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010) have investigated how do actors work to create, maintain and disrupt boundary and practice and how such work influence organizational forms at the field level. Similarly, few empirical studies (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006) have explored how actors’ consciousness was modeled by institutional environment. These unique aspects of institutional entrepreneurship and organizational forms led us two consider two research questions. First, how do actors create, maintain and disrupt organizational forms trough the interplay between boundary work and practice work? Our aim is therefore to understand how boundary work and practice work affect each other and how they together affect organizational forms at the field level. Second, what conditions and factors motivate actor to create new organizational forms or transform existing ones?

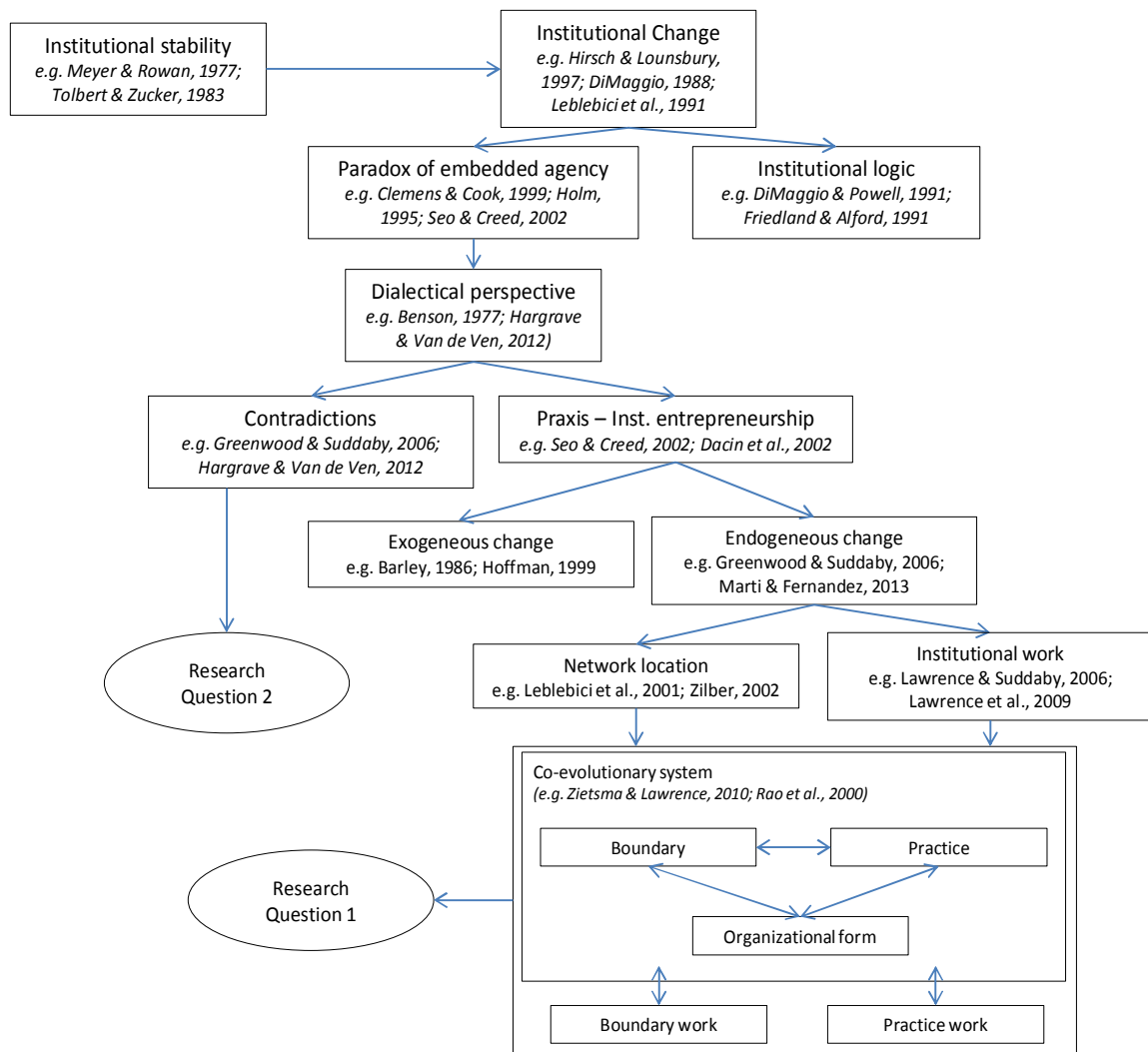


Figure 8 Institutional entrepreneurship and new organization forms

6.3 Methods

6.3.1 Data Collection

Due to fragmented development of sport movement for athletes with an impairment, relevant documents were scattered in various sport organizations. Some of these organizations have disappeared, which complicated even more data collection. Archives were gathered via two interrelated channels. On the one hand, official research applications were addressed to pertinent sport organizations to gain access to archives. Despite various refusals, the authors had access to archives in several sport organizations. Authors also succeeded to lift embargo on recent and sensitive documents. On the other hand, authors activated personal

connections to reach potentially relevant actors and materials. Numerous documents were consulted, some of them being accessible to research for the first time. As a result, a total number of 2703 pages was collected including 224 pieces of archives under embargo for a total of 528 pages. Archives started from 1949 and were both in English and French (the mother language of the two authors). This collection included press articles, press releases, minutes of meetings, official reports and statements, proceedings and official correspondence. Private correspondence between leading sport executives (including between the very first executives) was made available, allowing deep intimacy with the field under study. Together, these multiples sources of information provide a rich and detailed account of the evolution of the field, from which to draw robust conclusion.

6.3.2 Analytic process

Our research design was a type of “naturalistic inquiry” (Garud et al., 2002; Greenwodd & Suddaby, 2006) in which inductive logic was used. Qualitative perspective was justified for two main reasons. First, the sport movement for people with an impairment represents a complex social setting in which causal dynamics behind institutional change were far from apparent. Qualitative inquiry was then considered as appropriate as it acknowledges “extensive endogeneity and the ubiquity of complex interactions effects” in social world explanation (Hall, 2003: 387). Second, the analysis examined changes over a time period of 60 years. Such historical processes are best analysed “through use of inductive techniques by which event sequences are clarified and overlapping causal forces disentangled” (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006).

In line with other institutional change studies (Wright & Zammuto, 2013), the analytic process was composed of multiple steps. First, we established a chronological list of key events, actors and activities to develop an ordered, raw data-bank. Each data segment (quotes from documents, press releases, correspondences...) was coded according to its sources and preserved the original wording. This gave us a broad picture of sport movement for people with an impairment and enabled us to “identify relationships and hypothesize cause-effect sequences” (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010).

Second, we identified core characteristics of institutional system in terms of practice, boundary and organizational form. Analysis at this point was an exercise of latent analysis, in which a researcher interprets the data using what he/she knows about a subject and the context which the data are gathered (Berg, 2004; see also Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006). Through several iterations between the raw data and theory, we identified relevant organizational forms. It rapidly appeared that two organizational forms have been present at

the field level during the period under study. “Core features” of the organizational forms were highlighted, as being disability-based versus sport-based organizational forms. We then turned our attention towards relevant practice and boundary at the field level. In keeping with other studies (Brittain, 2010; Howe, 2008; Legg & Steadward, 2011), classification systems developed over time were “defining core features” of sport movement for people with an impairment, and can be understood as “organizational repertoire”, or “models, recipes” (Clemens, 1997) at the organizational field level. Finally, we looked for “evidence of inclusion and exclusion” (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010) in decision-making process to define field’s boundary (Peers, 2012).

Third we sought for evidence of actors’ work to affect practice and boundary, guided by relevant literature on boundary work and practice work. We compiled a “comprehensive set of boundary work and practice work incidents” (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010) and then linked similar types of boundary and practice work together. To enhance the qualitative rigor of our research process, we applied a variant of the methodology “dite de Gioia” which is a systematic inductive approach to concept development. Concept means “a notion capturing qualities that describe or explain a phenomena of theoretical interest” and that “give sense to organizational worlds” (Gioia et al., 2013). The methodology consists in three successive steps of data aggregation to find out patterns among them and surface concepts. It allows a systematic presentation of both 1st order analysis which use informant-centric terms and 2nd order analysis reflecting researcher-centric themes. This 2nd order analysis highlights emerging themes and suggests concepts that may explain phenomena. The third step investigate whether it is possible to distil the emergent 2nd order themes even further in 2nd order “aggregate dimensions” (Gioia et al., 2013).

Fourth, we sought for evidence of boundary and practice work patterns that co-occurred in time by actors and objectives, and assessed relationships with organizational forms. We found five cycles of interconnected boundary and practice work and changes in organizational forms: 1) institutional creation, 2) institutional maintenance, 3) institutional disruption and innovation, 4) institutional conflict and 5) institutional stabilization. In keeping with Zietsma & Lawrence (2010), we devised “a process map” to link boundary and practice work to their consequences for the boundary, practice and organizational forms at the field level.

Finally, in the fifth stage, we sought evidence within data-bank of triggers that moved the field from one state (e.g. institutional maintenance) to another (e.g. institutional disruption and innovation). We cycled among data and the relevant literature related to institutional contradictions (Seo & Creed, 2002). To do so, we used “generative” questions (Strauss &

Corbin, 1994: 274) as a schema: “why were actors’ groups motivated to change or to preserve status-quo?”; “from where did the change (in boundary, practice and organizational form) come from?”; “what was the role of various actors’ groups in that particular change?” With these questions, we attempt to capture “the justificatory account” (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006) of the different actors engaged in patterns of boundary and practice work.

6.4 Findings

Our first research question asked if there are configurations of boundary work and practice work that support creation, transformation or disruption of organizational forms. In terms of results, we found five cycles with change in organizational forms, underpinned by specific patterns of boundary work and practice work: 1) institutional creation, 2) institutional maintenance, 3) institutional disruption and innovation¹⁹, 4) institutional conflict and 5) institutional stabilization.

These cycles were contiguous, with some overlap and had distinctive and cumulative consequences for the status of boundary, practice and organizational forms. Table 8 provides supportive qualitative evidence for each cycle. Quotations are cross-referenced by number in text and table.

6.4.1 Cycle 1: Institutional creation

For centuries, social attitude towards people with an impairment was basically negative. Disability was perceived as an individual failing and a personal tragedy. People with an impairment were considered as deviant from “normal” human being and relegated outside of the mainstream of society. Furthermore the idea of sport for those “crippled” men and women

¹⁹ To our knowledge, literature on institutional change does not largely address the difference between institutional creation/change and institutional innovation. Hargrave & Van de Ven (2006) provide two elements distinguishing these two processes. First, institutional innovation require “a novel or unprecedented departure from the past” (p. 866) denoting a radical transformation of the institutional system, while institutional change depict a “noticeable difference” in institutional arrangements at two or more points in time on a set of dimensions. Second, Hargrave & Van de Ven (2006: 877) emphasized the dialectical aspect of institutional innovation: “innovation occurs when challengers gain sufficient power to confront and engage incumbents”. Our analysis subsequently revealed that these two elements were only present in cycle 3, why we called it “institutional disruption and innovation” while cycle 1 was labeled “institutional creation”.

was neither widespread nor largely acknowledged. Early 20th century, newspapers reported the occasional involvement of people with a physical or sensorial impairments in sport competitions including the Olympic Games, the Wimbledon Tennis Law Tournament or some sports championships. But with the exception of sport for the Deaf, sport for people with an impairment (whether physical, sensorial or intellectual) was globally unstructured until the mid-20th century. During the 1940s, sport opportunities indeed developed for a particular group of athletes with a physical impairment - those with a spinally-related injury. This cycle of institutional creation occurred through the interplay of practice work and boundary work initiated by few pioneers, mainly involved within the rehabilitation sector. These efforts were consecrated by the establishment of a new organizational form, starting point of the international sport movement for the athletes with an impairment.

At the fall of World War II, sport was experimentally introduced as part of rehabilitation programs for spinally injured veterans and civilians (1.4). In 1944 the British government appointed the neurosurgeon Ludwig Guttmann director of the Spinal Injuries Centre at the Stoke Mandeville Hospital (Aylesbury, GB). Guttmann was a leading physician in the treatment of paraplegia. He soon framed, at the Stoke Mandeville Hospital, a new rehabilitation method based on active therapeutic exercises and adapted sport activities. Guttmann's rehabilitation method spread across spinal units in Great-Brittain and overseas, thanks to medical exchanges with physicians interested in rehabilitation methods. From recreational activities, sport competitions between spinally-injured patients were developed. In 1948 the 1st National Stoke Mandeville Games brought together 16 ex-service men and women in an archery tournament. The Stoke Mandeville Games were hold annually and involved growing number of rehabilitation centers. Number of participants at the Stoke Mandeville Games rose from 16 in 1948 to 360 in 1959, all athletes being spinally injured. Sport competitions were progressively organized in various countries, generally in very close collaboration with Guttmann. By doing so, Guttmann and more broadly the Stoke Mandeville Hospital imposed themselves as the cornerstone of burgeoning international sport movement for people with a spinal injury (1.5). In parallel the Stoke Mandeville Games became the leading showcase of sport movement for people with an impairment. As standard of competitions improved, the problem of fairness between participants with different severity of impairment started to raise questions. Athletes increasingly required a classification system in order to safeguard fair-play on the sports court (1.6). During the 1950s, a new practice – the medical classification system – was framed at the field level to classify competitors according the severity of the spinal injury. Sportsmen and –women with a similar level of spinal injury were gathered in a same class, a higher cord injury inducing a bigger loss of functionality and vice-versa. In wheelchair table-tennis for example, participants were divided

into three classes according to the spinal injury level: 1) cervical cord injuries, 2) high thoracic cord injuries and 3) lower cord injuries. The medical classification system had two main defining features. First, the severity of impairment was diagnosed on medical grounds as an exclusive prerogative of the physicians. Second, the medical classification system only focused on sportsmen and –women with a spinal injury, as it mainly emerged from Guttmann's rehabilitation method developed at the Stoke Mandeville Hospital. In consequence, the medical classification system – as an emerging institutionalized practice at the field level – started to regulate the international sport movement for people with an impairment by defining who was eligible to participate in international sports competitions – in this case, only people with a spinal cord injury – and against whom.

New boundaries were established to secure development of the international sport movement for people with an impairment. The boundary work aimed to legitimate sport for rehabilitation purposes as envisioned by Guttmann at the Stoke Mandeville Hospital. A complex set of strategies were used to deploy this emerging field at the intersection of two mature organizational fields, namely the rehabilitation sector and the sport movement for “able-bodied” athletes. Firstly, connections with the rehabilitation sector were nurtured by discursive activities mixing both medical and sport features. The value of sport, as an integral part of the rehabilitation treatment, was reflected in medical terms. As an example, proponents of sport for people with an impairment invoked a lower patient's mortality thanks to Guttmann's rehabilitation method. Physical and psycho-social benefits of sports were also highlighted aiming to ease professional resettlement of people with a spinal injury. Material connections with the rehabilitation sector were also established. From 1955 onwards, scientific meetings were annually held in parallel to the Stoke Mandeville Games (1.1). This gave the impetus for the establishment of the International Medical Society for Paraplegia based at the Stoke Mandeville Hospital.

Secondly, contacts with the sport movement for able-bodied athletes were fostered in many ways, particularly with the International Olympic Committee (IOC) (1.2). For example, the 1st National Stoke Mandeville Games were scheduled for the opening day of the 1948 London Olympic Games. Similarly the 9th International Stoke Mandeville Games, known today as the 1st Paralympic Games, were organized in the Olympic host city of Rome, just a few weeks after the 1960 Rome Olympic Games. Doing so, Guttmann wished to connect with the symbolism of the Olympic Games and, on the long term, to devise the Stoke Mandeville Games as “the disabled men and women's equivalent of the Olympic Games” (Bailey, 2008). Corollary Guttmann aimed to preserve the autonomy of the Stoke Mandeville Games. A great deal of energy was spent to develop a proper and unique identity to the sport movement of people with a disability, highlighting on many occasions a medically oriented

conception of sport as an essential part in a patient's rehabilitation (1.3). Guttman also sought institutional legitimacy in the broader environment. He wrote many articles in mainstream newspapers branding the medical work accomplished at Stoke Mandeville Hospital. Prominent personalities (coming from the G.B. Royalty, leading U.K. politicians or even famous movie actors) were systematically invited during the Stoke Mandeville Games Opening Ceremonies or awards ceremonies.

The work done to develop sport opportunities for sportsmen and –women with a spinal injury, strengthened by a new institutionalized practice (i.e. medical classification system) helped to establish new field boundary, while field boundary helped to legitimate this new institutional practice and sport for people with a spinal injury. Guttman formed a small group of collaborators, most of them being physicians, which claimed a leadership role within the emerging field – we further called this group the “central actors”. By strictly controlling field membership, Guttman designed a very centralized system of authority, resilient to external influences. Central actors validated practice and boundary such a new organizational form emerged at the international level. In 1959, the International Stoke Mandeville Federation (ISMGF) was created and became the international governing bodies of sport for sportsmen and –women with a spinal injury. Guttman naturally became 1st ISMGF President and will remain until his death in 1980. The ISMGF represented a case of strong organizational speciation and defended the dominant features of the emerging field. On one hand, the ISMGF allowed sport for people with an impairment to progressively come out from hospitals. On the other hand, the fundamental ISMGF objective was to facilitate rehabilitation of people with a spinal injury through medically-oriented sport opportunities. ISMGF controlled the kind of sport opportunities available at the international level, in terms of authorized sport disciplines as well as sport rules (race distances, sport classes etc.). Only addressing sportsmen and –women with a spinal injury, the ISMGF was a disability-based organizational form – in contrast to dominant sport-based organizational form within the Olympic Movement. Other disability groups or etiologies were not concerned by ISMGF. In that way, amputees or blind athletes for example could not qualify for ISMGF competitions.

Table 8 Empirical Evidence

Cycle 1 : Institutional Creation	
Actors : Central actors	
Boundary work : Establishing new boundary	Practice work : Creating new boundary
1.1. "It has been suggested to me by colleagues from various countries that we should take the opportunity, on the occasion of the 1955 Stoke Mandeville Festival for the Paralysed [...] to hold a scientific meeting" (Quote from a letter from Dr L. Guttmann to Dr P. Houssa, dated April 4th 1955) 1.2. "Like the Olympic Games, which were started by a small group of people who believed in sport as a great medium for furthering true sportsmanship and understanding amongst human beings, our Stoke Mandeville Games will, we believe, unite paralysed men and women of different nations to take their rightful place in the field of sport" (Program of The Sixth Annual and Second International Inter-spinal Unit sports Festival, August 8th, 1953) 1.3. "It has always been our ambition to model our International Stoke Mandeville Games on the lines of the Olympic Games, as far as was possible, whilst maintaining their separate entity" (Program of The 1959 Stoke Mandeville Games, July 23-25th 1959)	1.4. "Recognizing the great value of sport, not only as recreational measure, but as a most essential part in the physical rehabilitation of the patients, I (L. Guttmann) included in their physical treatment program from the very beginning" (Olympic Games for the disabled, World Sports, October 1952) 1.5. "In general lines, we follow here at the Brugmann Hospital of Brussels, the treatment established by Dr Guttmann at Stoke Mandeville" (Dr A. Tricot interview for the I.N.R broadcast, September 6th 1954) 1.6. "Regular visitors to our Games are constantly struck by the improvement in the standard of the competitions, from year to year. As in sports for the able-bodied, records get broken and the competitions become more difficult [...]" (Program of The 1959 Stoke Mandeville Games, July 23-25th 1959)

Cycle 2 : Institutional maintenance	
Actors : Central actors	
Boundary work : Maintaining and protecting boundary	Practice work : Strengthening practice
2.1. Everybody knows the famous words of Baron Pierre de Coubertin to the effect : “The most important thing in the Olympic Games is not to win but to take part, just as the most important thing in life is not to triumph but to struggle. We realize the significance of his words especially in the games by the disabled. That the sports have great effectiveness and play an important role in the in the physical and mental as well as social rehabilitation of the disabled is the first and basic notion for us all concerned with the welfare of the disabled persons. It would be most <i>a propo</i> to encourage and promote sports for these persons.” (Program of The Thirteenth International Stoke Mandeville Games for the Paralysed, November 8-12th 1964) 2.2. This historic event (ndlr : The 1960 SMG in Rome) has proved that sports competitions amongst the paralyzed can be conducted under Olympic Games conditions, and the success of this venture has given to both competitors and organizers alike a great encouragement to pursue this idea. Therefore, it is planned that the ISMG for the paralysed shall be held every four years in that country in which the Olympic Games are held, provided the host nation can offer adequate accommodation” (Program of The 1961 International Stoke Mandeville Games, July 26-29th 1961)	2.3. “In the next instructional course we should touch upon the physician’s understanding of sports as a therapeutic medium and the physician’s need to understand details of various sports so that they could then apply the process of classification in a more meaningful manner” (Informative seminar about “classification and evaluation of the wheelchair athlete”, March 9th 1973) 2.4. “Mention may be made here of the first British Commonwealth Paraplegic Games being organized by our Australian friends in Perth, Western Australia, which will also be based on the Stoke Mandeville Games’ Rules” (Program of The Tenth Anniversary of the International Stoke Mandeville Games for the Paralysed, July 25-28th, 1962) 2.5. “In my capacity (Dr L. Guttmann) as President of the International Sports Organization of all Disabled, I have also participated in the recent European Multi-Disabled Games held in St Etienne, France. Here, there were many paraplegics amongst the competitors, which proves that the paralysed are well to the fore international sport for all types of disabled” (Program of The Fifteenth International Stoke Mandeville Games for the Paralysed, July 26-30th 1966)

Cycle 3 : Institutional disruption and innovation	
Actors : Central actors	
Boundary work : Adapting boundary	Practice work : Protecting practice
3A.1. "The physically disabled athlete today is an athlete, not a patient" ('Training and Fitness programs for disabled athletes: Past, Present and Future' By Steadward & Walsh in The 1984 Olympic Scientific Congress Proceedings Volume 9, 1984) 3A.2. "During my participation in the GA of ISOD which took place in Solna, I expressed my confidence in the IOC, and specifically in its President, Mr Juan Antonio Samaranch, as I personally known his feelings and his magnificent attitude towards sports for the disabled, which he expressed in the meeting of the ICC representatives in Lausanne. The offer he made us still stands, and awaits our rubric. The participation of our skiers in Sarajevo, within the Olympic program, will be a reality we shall be able to witness on television" (Quote from a letter from G. Cabezas to ISOD members, December 15th, 1983)	3A.3. "If the ultimate aim in the total sports movement for all disabled is to produce sportsmen who have earned identity as sportsmen, then the proper conditions for that process must be maintained. A blind should have an identity who is blind, a wheelchair athlete as an athlete who performs in a wheelchair, and an amputee athlete as an athlete who has amputation. When all of these athletes are thrown together into the same gigantic competitions for the sake of the convenience involved and the expectation that their rehabilitation will be accelerated, the only predictable outcome is an absolute overload of mentally indigestible information" (Memorandum, October 24th 1980, The position of the NWAA on holding the Games for the Disabled in 1984) 3A.4. "Everybody can compete, but everybody cannot win. Training and talent must be rewarded" (Report from meeting on the functional classification swimming, locomotor disabilities, August 15th, 1986)

Cycle 3 : Institutional disruption and innovation	
Actors : Challengers	
Boundary work : breaching boundary	Practice work : Disrupting practice
3B.1. "ISOD believes, that sometime in the future events for disabled in some sports, with a	3B.3. "This realization that function precedes etiology as a basis for organizing competitions

sufficient number of classes – much fewer than we have today – should be included as a natural part in the World Championships, Olympic and other sports programmes which today are exclusively for able-bodied. Then there will be one class for able-bodied and a sufficient and practical number of classes for disabled in such sports, just as bodyweight classes are accepted in “power-sports”. Specific international sports for the disabled will probably still always be needed” (Position paper by the ISOD on the Principles for International Bodies for sports competitions programmes, ICC Seminar, March 13-14th, 1987) 3B.2. “The question is when disability really can be considered a large enough handicap in competition within the programmes for able-bodied” (Position paper submitted to the conference on ISOD Future by the Swedish Sports Organization for the Disabled, April 1985)	among the disabled has been a long time in coming” (‘The physically disabled in Sports - Tracing the influence of two tracks of a common movement, Sports’N Spoke, March/April, 1987) 3B.4. “As far as SHIF understands, the arguments against combined classifications are of two kinds, visible and invisible. The visible arguments are mainly that it is unfair to combine classes. The invisible arguments are protectionism of the powerstructure of the involved sports federations for disabled” (Position paper submitted to the conference on ISOD Future by the Swedish Sports Organization for the Disabled, April 1985)
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Cycle 4: Institutional Conflict	
Actors : IPC actors	
Boundary work : Shifting boundary	Practice work : creating new practice
4.1. “The Agreement was also discusses with Mr. Samaranch who also congratulated both organizations. He did, however, have some doubts and asked Dr. Steadward for explanations regarding information he had received indicating a concern that IPC would suppress initiatives from the International Federations. Mr Vincenté intervened to inform Mr. Samaranch that all the International Federations had signed this Agreement and that not one had indicated a concern as it was stated very clearly that every	4.4. “The new SAEC-Swimming has been extremely busy. The first item was the rewriting of the Swimming rules. The major change has been to bring the wording more into line with the FINA Rules. This, we believe, will assist in the education of the referees and swimming officials to better understanding and relate far more easily with the disability rulings” (IPC Newsletter, Fall 1993) 4.5. Classification is the prerogative of the sports

International Federation would represent and bear responsibility for its particular disability on a world level. [...] Although glad to hear the explanations, Mr. Samaranch appeared concerned about the future.” (Minutes of the meeting between ICC, IPC and IOC, January 29th, 1991) 4.2. “Mr. Samaranch stressed the fact that we have our own Paralympic after the Olympic Games, TV will not support several events for disabled athletes, and no blind athletes in exhibition events” (Minutes of the meeting between ICC, IPC and IOC, January 29th, 1991) 4.3. The Athletics Assembly also agreed to recommend to IPC to stop negotiating for full medal status at eh OG for any Athletics events for disabled. This means in practice that that Athletics refrain from seeking full recognition of its athletes as Olympians, but wishes to remain on exhibition level” (IPC Newsletter V.8 N°2, Fall 1994)	and I believe we should collectively recognize that there is nothing magical about classification and the rules of classification are part of the technical package of each sport as indeed is written in the Handbook. The push to so-called functional classification and to reduce the number of classes as much as possible, is I believe appropriate. The wish of most athletes is for the very best competition – classification can help achieve that. There is however, a fine balance between too few classes and too many in the individual sports and the Sports Science and Medical Committee is happy to assist any sports in addressing particular problems that may arise with reference to classification” (Sport Science and Medical Committee report for the 1993 IPC GA, September 1993)
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Cycle 5: Institutional stabilization	
Actors : IPC actors	
Boundary work : Bridging boundary	Practice work : Sustaining practice
5.1. “Future activity is currently focused on building a long-lasting partnership with the Olympic Movement and progressing the agreement to the mutual benefit of the IPC and the Paralympic Movement. The next step could be focused on determining what value the Paralympic Movement can contribute to the Olympic Movement” (Priority themes ‘Enhancing	5.2. IWBF stated that it would be vote against the adoption of the vote. IWBF is committed to a fair and transparent classification system but feels this is the responsibility of each respective sport; all that is required is an agreement by the sport ensuring that they have a classification system that meets the standards. IPC Archery stated that a small sport, it would not be able to comply with

the partnership with the Olympic Movement' for the IPC Membership Gathering, October 3-5 th , 2014)	certain aspects of the Code; further negotiation would be needed. The Netherlands stressed the importance of harmonizing the classification rules and of consistently applying the rules and regulations. They expressed their support for a stronger code" (Minutes of the 2007 IPC GA, November 24-25 th , 2007)
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6.4.2 Cycle 2: Institutional maintenance

The 1960s and 1970s were marked by an increasing national and international awareness of disability in society. In parallel sport for people with an impairment progressively came out from anonymity. More importantly, sport opportunities developed at the international level for various disability groups in addition to those for people with a spinal injury. International sport structuration progressively addressed four groups of disability: 1) spinal injury, 2) non-related spinal injury (Amputees and "Les Autres"), 3) visually impaired and 4) cerebral-palsy. Central actors instigated a cycle of institutional maintenance involving strengthening practice and maintaining boundary, while preserving disability-based organizational form.

Central field' members developed similar strategies that of cycle 1 to maintain field boundary at the juncture of rehabilitation sector and sport movement for able-bodied athletes. First, they protected a very centralized system of authority at the international level. Despite growing number of sport organizations, leadership on international sport movement for people with an impairment remained in the hands of few representatives. Moreover, decision-making processes were limited to few people and strongly influenced by a charismatic Guttman. Second, central actors developed rich discursive activities mixing medical and sport undertones to secure boundary (2.1). Whole sport governance system was designed and justified according medical arguments. In order to "protect" athletes' health, consent by the medical authorities was required to initiate a new sport. Likewise medical authorities determined the modalities under which an athlete could "devote" to sport according the etiology and severity of its impairment. Inclusion in regular "able-bodied" sport clubs was encouraged for psychological reasons. Contacts with able-bodied peers were theorized as beneficial for patients' rehabilitation and their return to normal life. Third, material connections with the medical sector were protected. For Guttman, it was of prime importance that the development of sport goes "in hand in hand" with the medical expertise. Until 1976, scientific meetings continued to be annually organized in conjunction with the Stoke Mandeville Games. Finally, connections were nurtured with the Olympic movement

notably by widely using Olympic terminology. For example, they frequently associated the Stoke Mandeville Games to the Olympic Games branding this sports festival as the “Olympic Games for the disabled” or simply the “Olympics”. From 1960 (with few exceptions), they also organized every four years the International Stoke Mandeville Games in the same city or country as the Olympic Games. These International Stoke Mandeville Games, hold during the Olympic year, were progressively named the Paralympic Games. If central actors referred to Olympic symbolism, they also extensively theorized the rehabilitation purpose of the international sport movement for people with an impairment (2.2). According Guttman, the Stoke Mandeville Games differed from the Olympic Games in two points. Firstly, not only champions but also “less skilled athletes” were allowed to take part in the Stoke Mandeville Games. Secondly, the Stoke Mandeville Games did not follow the four-year Olympic cycle but were organized every year. The rationale behind such policies might be found in the rehabilitation purpose of those Games. Through boundary work, central actors retained leadership on sport for people with an impairment and were able to defend the dominant view of sport solely for remedial aim.

In parallel central actors strengthened the medical classification system while expanding its scope to other “groups” of disability. They defended a strict and hegemonic medical definition of disability at the field level. The four groups of eligible participants were partitioned according medically diagnosed disability. Such partitioning led to creation of “medical experts” with unique knowledge for a particular group of disability. Central actors also managed to retain physicians at the center of the classification processes. Seminars to touch upon the physicians’ understanding of sport as a therapeutic medium were organized. Such efforts by central actors were mutually reinforcing: as sole preserve of physicians, classification on medical grounds remained the only widely legitimated practice. In turn, problems in classification could only be solved by particularizing more and more athletes bodies thanks to medical knowledge (2.3). As result, the medical classification system was strengthened and deeply influenced the structuration of the international sport movement for people with an impairment. Representatives of each disability groups (i.e. spinal injury, non-spinally related injury, Cerebral palsy and visual impairment) developed their own medical classification system (2.4). Athletes were increasingly differentiated from one another according a medical evaluation of their impairment. Although grouped in some international competitions, amputee athletes did not compete with paraplegic athletes because of different rules books and medical classification systems. Concomitantly the number of classes increased sharply within a same disability group. By the end of the 1970s, disciplines such swimming or athletics entailed more than 30 classes for only sportsmen and –women with a physical impairment (2.5).

Boundary work and practice work generated a complex international sport movement, structured according a medical definition of disability. Such segmentation was secured through the establishment of various disability-based sport organizations. Several so-called International Organisations of Sport for the Disabled (IOSDs) were created since the 1960s, joining the International Stoke Mandeville Games Federation (ISMGF). The International Sports Organization for the Disabled (ISOD) was founded in 1961 and developed opportunities for blinds, amputees and Les Autres. Guttman became the 1st ISOD President besides the ISMGF Presidency. In 1968 the Cerebral-Palsied – International Recreation and Sports Association addressed sport for people with a cerebral-palsy. Whereupon ISOD, the International Blind Sport Association (IBSA) took place in 1981 dedicated to visually impaired People. These four IOSDs (ISMGF, ISOD, CP-ISRA, IBSA) controlled the international disability sport movement, joined in 1986 by the Comité International des Sports des Sourds (CISS) and the International Sports Federations for People with a mental handicap (INAS-FMH). Each IOSDs controlled its own independent Games on technical and medical levels. IOSDs exemplified a weak organizational speciation as the main feature of the existing disability-based organizational form was preserved: IOSDs were strictly structured according disability and not regarding the sport as usually in the mainstream “Olympic” sport.

Interestingly some peripheral actors started to challenge key defining features of the field at the end of 1960s – we further call this group of actors “the challengers”. Field boundary progressively weakened with an increasing number of field’s members as well as a change in field members’ demography. Physicians and medical experts progressively lost their monopolistic positions. As field boundary blurred, medical discourses became contested and were slowly substituted by sport-oriented discourses. Boundary was also more exposed to public scrutiny, as disability emerged from the margins of society. Various international treaties or charters (e.g. 1975 UN Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Person or 1978 *UNESCO Charter of Physical Education and Sport*) promoted equal access for people with an impairment to society and therefore an equal access to sport and leisure. Public tragedies such the “Softeneron affair” or several lobbying groups (e.g. The Independent Living Movement or The Union of Physically Impaired against Segregation) wakened up public consciousness about disability. In turn porous boundary led challengers to question institutionalized practice. Criticism became vocal to overcome sport categories based on disability. Disrupting initiatives were undertaken by different peripheral actors. For example some actors organized international sport competitions that circumvented IOSDs policies. They also challenged Guttman’s authority by not respecting his decisions and complaints. Athletes with an impairment also contested field structuration. As example, they organized a public protest during the 1972 Stoke Mandeville Games wishing to open the Games to all disability

groups. Denouncing sport rules “against the spirit of athletics”, wheelchair athletes also drastically improved the functionality and the design of the wheelchairs. Attempts to modify sport wheelchairs frequently resulted in the disqualification of the wheelchair athletes. Nevertheless, they gradually removed the wheelchair armrests and push-handles or added smaller hand rings. They also experienced new positions in the wheelchair notably by raising their knees extensively high. All these experimentation resulted in a strong improvement in sport performance. Some initiatives were less direct but deeply affected the field. For example, the US wheelchair athlete Bob Hall succeeded for the first time the 1975 Boston Marathon. Disapproved for medical reasons by the IOSDs, this sport performance was perceived as a “breakthrough” and demonstrated to public opinion and medical authorities what people with an impairment could really achieve. Challengers also asked for greater investment in sport at the international level. Some of them required sports commissions within IOSDs, composed of “sport-minded people” dealing with rules of only one specific sport or discipline. But these disruptive efforts were mainly sporadic and uncoordinated and failed to dismantle institutionalized system. Moreover central actors vigorously counter-blocked these initiatives. They developed new policies ensuring primacy of the Stoke Mandeville Games in the international sport calendar. They also condemned any circumvention to IOSDs rules, decrying “sabotaging attitudes” and “jealousy” of some challengers. They also used their personal influences “to cut down” any contradictory initiatives in the field. In sum, sport for people with an impairment slowly shifted away from purely rehabilitation purpose during the 1970s. Institutionalized practice, boundary and organizational forms became gradually questioned, even if central actors worked to remain in dominant position and to preserve status-quo at the field level.

6.4.3 Cycle 3: Institutional disruption and innovation

During the 1980s, overtly political conflicts arose over boundary demarcating sport for people with an impairment, legitimacy of the medical classification system and the prevalent organizational form within the field. Actors instigated a cycle of institutional disruption and innovation. Two interrelated sets of boundary work and practice work prevailed during cycle 3. Central actors adapted boundary to an evolving environment and protected institutionalized practice and organizational form. At the opposite, challengers aimed to disrupt practice and to breach boundary. They also designed a new organizational form at the field level.

6.4.3.1 The boundary work and practice work of central actors

Central players adapted boundary to various sources of pressures which developed inside the field as well as in the broader environment. This resulted in sometimes ambivalent or contradictory central actors' efforts. On one side, they promoted rehabilitation purpose of sport for people with an impairment. For example the art. 2 of the ISMGF constitution, revised in 1982, still claimed that "the ISMGF recognized the value of sport for the physical and psychological rehabilitation of the paralyzed and other disabled persons, and its importance in the reintegration of the disabled into the community". Doing so, the ISMGF continued to spread a vision of sport for people with an impairment as mainly concern by rehabilitation. On the other side, central actors refocused field boundary to progressively come off from the rehabilitation sector. They paid more attention to broader environment and particularly to leisure sector (3A.1). New theorization of sport for people with an impairment found roots within the field, conceptualizing sport as "an adjunct", or "a complement" to rehabilitation treatment. Similarly "synergy between physicians and sports coaches" became valued. In parallel central actors deepened relationships with the Olympic Movement. They succeeded in drilling Olympic Movement boundary thanks to central actors' longstanding lobbying efforts as well as personal relationships between representatives in both sport movements (3A.2). They also secured substantial financial contribution by the Olympic Movement to support growth of sport movement for people with an impairment. Central actors dealt demonstration events for sportsmen and -women with an impairment during the Winter and Summer Olympic Games. Demonstration events took place for the first time during the 1984 Sarajevo Olympic Games and the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games. These demonstration events did not have full Olympic medal status but allowed sport for people with an impairment "to witness on television". In turn these strategies exposed and weakened even more field boundary. In 1981, the Olympic Movement issued a formal statement rejecting the use of Olympic terminologies and symbolic to describe sport competitions for people with an impairment. IOC also threatened to sue representatives of the sport movement for athletes with an impairment in case of non-compliance. By refocusing its boundary, sport movement for people with an impairment corollary became subject of external interferences and strategic considerations.

Boundary adapting strategies were coupled with efforts to protect the medical classification. Central players retained decision-making processes related to sport classifications as centralized as possible. They directly opposed any project taking place outside the "jurisdiction of the international bodies concerned". They also protected the medical classification system by maintaining disability-centered discursive activities (3A.3).

Arguments seeking to preserve institutional practice were centered on athletes' body and the distinctiveness of disability. The "unique complexity" of one athlete's impairment deserved "protection from the performance capabilities of the others with differing capabilities", and such protection was best provided by separated medical classification systems. But with overall decline of medical discourses, the medical classification system began to be questioned. According some central actors, medical classification system resulted in "too many parallel events and too many classes as well as too few participants in too many events" (3A.4). As Dr. Harald Natvig pointed out, many an athlete in the 1988 Seoul Paralympic Games won "his medal in the classification hall, not in the sports arena". During these Games, more than 744 events took place for more than 2230 medals. Progressively, central players acknowledged researches seeking to improve the classification processes in order to reduce the number of classes. Such classification systems became known as "combined" or "integrated" classification systems. In 1981, ISOD experienced new classification system in few ISOD sports wherein athletes with an equivalent level of functionality were grouped in a same class whatever the physical impairment of concern. Similarly Dr. Blomqvist, an influential member of both ISOD and ISMGF Swimming Committees, undertook a swimming classification's study sponsored by ISOD, ISMGF and CP-ISRA. Blomqvist classification system – called the Functional Classification System for Swimming – focused not on an athlete's disability but on the functions essential for swimming that were present in athletes' body. A medical examination of an athlete's functionality for swimming was followed by a water-test, and the results combined. The functional classification system allowed to drastically reducing the number of classes in swimming from 33 to 10 classes. Nevertheless it was highly contested by field members.

The boundary work and practice work of central actors reverberated on organizational form at the field level. Early 1980s, sport sections were created within ISMGF. While mainly composed by the same ISMGF members, sports sections supported ISMGF sports-specific pathways of development. Central actors also developed a new sport organization at the international level, namely the International Coordinating Committee (ICC) of World Sports for the Disabled. The ICC was designed as a cooperative committee grouping autonomous IOSDs. This organization aimed to deal with increasing complexity of the international sport movement and was responsible for the organization of the Paralympic Games (until the 1992 Barcelona Paralympic Games) and some international multi-IOSDs championships. The ICC was composed of three representatives of each IOSD. This organizational form was symptomatic of a transitional stage within sport movement for people with an impairment. First, the ICC was set up in response to IOC request to only deal with one sport organization representing "all disability groups". In that way, ICC was another evidence of the frailty of

field boundary. Second, the ICC constitution was designed to respect autonomy and independence of the IOSDs. Each IOSD preserved its own classification system and rules book. For example, the Paralympic Games under ICC's organization were an alignment of various IOSDs competition programs, managed independently. ICC thus represented an example of weak organizational speciation: ICC remained a disability-based organization since the IOSDs retained full responsibilities for their respective disability groups.

6.4.3.2 The boundary work and practice work of challengers

The climate of change within sport movement for people with an impairment and more broadly within society motivated challengers to push further institutional change. Challengers focused communications on actors inside the field and made the institutional system the focus of disruptive debate.

Challengers used what we refer to as breaching strategies to undermine the boundary delimitating sport movement for people with an impairment. They denounced obvious confusion between “international competitive sports with rehabilitation and recreation” and the IOSDs policies designed “more for the sake of disability than for the sake of competitive sports ideology”. They also promoted radical reorientation of field boundary (3B.1). They encouraged integration of the “competitive programs for the disabled in those of the able-bodied athletes, maintaining a classification system”. According to challengers, no reason could justify the exclusion of athletes with an impairment in sport for able-bodied athletes “as long as the presence of disability does not violate the rules”. They also framed role of sport for people with an impairment as complementary to the one of sport for able-bodied: Only “when the ordinary sports, suited for the able-bodied, not can provide the opportunity for participation by the disabled person that the responsibility of the sports movement for the disabled starts”. They also modeled sport classification system as “just a continuation in sports system with one class for able-bodied and a sufficient number of classes for person with lower functional ability than able-bodied”. Doing so, they also theorized a new point of departure for field boundary based on the degree of limitations of functional ability of the athletes. Criteria of eligibility for athletes with an impairment were foreseen (3B.2) at the international level. These criteria had to deal with a complex question: “when disability really can be considered a large enough handicap in competition within the programme of able-bodied” and consequently, when an athlete can really be considered as having an impairment in sport.

Boundary breaching efforts were associated with strategies to disrupt institutionalized practice of medical classification. Challengers built upon emerging critics of medical

classification system to even further delegitimize this practice. They argued, for example, that medical classification system did not give “opportunities to match relative skills” and diluted sport achievements “by multiple copies of the same event”. They pleaded for combined sport classification (3B.3) arguing there was “no need to separate participants in the same event by disability as long as they are classified according to functions, subjected to the same rules and used the same type of equipment”. Moreover, they directly valorized a classification system “organized on the basis of function rather than the etiology of disability”. Finally, they denounced the IOSDs protectionism of the power structure (3B.4).

Simultaneously concerns arose about organizational structuration and particularly about the way ICC was developing. Challengers called for reforming international sport organizations and suggested “national membership” within ICC as well as a “centralized source of authority”. The 1984 Paralympic Games were a crystallization point for contestation. For the first time ICC members planned to split the 1984 Paralympic Games into two competition sites: ISOD, ISMGF and CP-ISRA organized multi-IOSDs Games in New-York (USA) while ISMGF convened to set up its own Games in Champaign (USA). But the ISMGF Games collapsed due to mismanagement. This episode gave rise to a deep institutional crisis about ISMGF policies, and more globally, about the whole structuration of the international sport movement. Challengers censured the ISMGF executive committee for “its failure to monitor the progress” of the organizing of the Champaign’s Games. They also condemned the undemocratic functioning of ISMGF. Challengers also regretted the global “historical tendency” to establish separate sports organizations based on disability. They proposed the creation of one comprehensive international organization for all sports for athletes with an impairment, following “the model established by organizations governing sports for the non-disabled”.

Challengers disrupting efforts were successful and gained attention of field members. By the mid-1980s, the institutionalized boundary and practice as well as the dominant organizational form were compromised. An important ICC seminar occurred in 1987 (Arnhem, Netherlands), in which field members had “the opportunity to say which sports programme and classification principles and organizational structure they want”. The 1987 ICC seminar resulted in a crystal-clear call for institutional change and innovation. Twenty-three recommendations were brought forward, notably for continuing “experiments with integrated classifications” (n° 18), “working towards signing an agreement with international sports federations for the able-bodied” (n°21) and allowing for the “development of organizations according to sport rather than categorical disability” (n°23). Importantly, the delegates recommended “the continuation” of the IOSDs (n°3). The representatives also acknowledged the “appointment of an ad-hoc Committee” (n°7) for the implementation of the ICC seminar

recommendations. The ad-hoc Committee was composed of some IOSDs executives, members of national organizations and, for the first time, athletes' representatives. It provided a temporary space for discussion in part protected from field scrutiny and intra- and inter-organizational pressures.

Figure 9 provides a sample of the 23 recommendations put forward during the 1987 ICC seminar (Arnhem, Netherlands). The columns of the right side of the picture are the number of vote in favor of the recommendations (column of left) or against the recommendation (column of right). This picture is interesting in two points: first, it shows how new boundary (n°21-22), practice (n°16, 17, 18) and organizational form (n°23) are envisioned by field members. Second, it indicates how the call for change was widely shared among representatives as each recommendation was widely supported (number of vote in favor).

15. To produce common rule books for summer and winter sports.	97	9
16. We recommend reducing classes.	93	11
17. We recommend that all International Organisations for sports for the disabled investigate how they can reduce classes. (This also applies to IBSA).	104	2
18. We recommend continuing to make experiments with integrated classification in order to achieve a reduction of classes and to improve the sports.	101	5
19. We recommend that integrated classifications can only be accepted when a clear and adequate system has been developed through scientific knowledge and research.	99	3
20. The ICC shall continue to function under the existing agreement until a new structure has been determined and accepted.	102	1
21. We recommend working towards signing an agreement with international sports federations for the able-bodied.	104	2
22. We seek increased participation of disabled athletes in able-bodied competition, e.g. Olympic Games, World Championships and others, always safeguarding their own identity.	103	---
23. The structure must allow for the development of organisations according to sport rather than categorical disability.	82	7

Figure 9 Sample from ICC Seminar's recommendations (March 1987)

After two years of harsh negotiation and many criticisms, the ad-hoc committee drafted the constitution for a new international organization named the International Paralympic Committee (IPC). The IPC claimed to be the supreme governing body for sports for people with an impairment and took responsibilities for the Paralympic Games and some international multi-disability sports championships. The IPC General Assembly was composed of the six existing IOSDs and 31 national delegations. Its objectives encompassed the ICC Seminar calls for change. The IPC Constitutional objective II.4 envisioned new boundary. It stated that the IPC is committed to "increase the integration of sports for athletes with a disability into the international sports movement for able-bodied athletes, whilst safeguarding and preserving the identity of sports for disabled athletes". The IPC also empowered a new institutional practice at the field level – the Functional Classification System. Finally IPC promoted sports technical committees with a high degree of autonomy to

foster sports-specific pathways of development. The IPC evidenced an example of strong organizational speciation at the field level, being a sport-based organizational form – in contrast to the disability-based IOSDs. The International Paralympic Committee (IPC) legitimized challengers' disrupting works and brought forward a new group of actors at the field level - that we call IPC actors.

6.4.4 Cycle 4: Institutional conflict

With the establishment of a new organizational form at the field level, actors entered a cycle of institutional conflict. While some actors developed collaboration across organizational structures, others remained in conflict. Specifically some central actors continued to support an international sport movement for athlete with an impairment structured according disability. For example, the ISOD President campaigned for institutional status-quo, notably based on the following argument: “what do a paraplegic and a deaf person or an amputee and a mentally handicapped person in common in sporting practice, except the name of sport”. At the opposite IPC actors worked to shift field boundary and promoted new institutional practice. They also secured the development of the International Paralympic Committee (IPC).

IPC actors progressively shifted boundary to anchor the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) within the international sport movement. First, they take care to strength relationships with the IOSDs. IPC actors attended IOSDs board meetings and promoted involvement of IOSDs members in IPC sports technical committees. In 1991 an agreement was signed between the IPC and the IOSDs to define respective roles and responsibilities in the international sport movement for athletes with an impairment. This agreement acknowledged that every IOSD “would represent and bear responsibility for its particular disability on a world level” (4.1). In turn IPC would focus on multi-disability sports championships and the Paralympic Games. Second, IPC actors expanded relationships with the “able-bodied” sport movement. These strategies were aligned with the IPC constitutional objective II.4 mentioned earlier. They intensified relationships with various sports stakeholders including the International Sport Federations (IFs), the General Association for International Sports Federations (GAISF) and the Organizing Committees for Olympic Games (OCOG). IPC actors also worked extending relationships with key representatives of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), in particular with the IOC President J.A. Samaranch. Many meetings were organized between IPC and IOC to ease partnership and collaboration. IPC actors secured IOC financial assistance (e.g. more than \$1.000.000 for the period 1992-1996) and involvement of IPC members within IOC commissions (e.g. the IOC anti-doping

commission or the IOC Athletes Commission). They also obtained IOC public support for their efforts towards integration. The IOC contacted some International Sports Federations (IFs) to sponsor inclusion of athletes with an impairment within IFs sports programs. Such calls were received differently among IFs. By the end of the 1990s, some IFs started to organize sports for athletes with an impairment while some others were “reluctant” to such idea. IOC also agreed to attach Paralympic Games Host bidding manual within the Olympic Games’ ones “to ensure” that the Olympic Games bidding cities also organize the Paralympic Games shortly afterwards. Thanks to these various collaborations, IPC organizational capacities and level of sports performance quickly increased during the 1990s. Following recommendation 15 of the 2000 IOC reforms commission, “clear rules concerning the link between the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games” were developed. As a result, the IOC and the IPC first signed a “Cooperation Agreement” on October 2000. This Agreement laid down general principles of relationships between both sport organizations (e.g. IPC President would become an IOC member, partnerships across commissions and financial contribution). On June 2001, a second agreement detailed the “conditions under which the IOC agreed to assist the IPC in securing and protecting the organization of the Paralympic Games, effectively including the obligation to organize the Paralympic Games in the IOC Host City Contract with the OCOG”. This model of cooperation becomes known as the “one city model”.

In parallel IPC actors set up the Commission for the Inclusion of Athletes with a Disability (CIAD). The CIAD purpose was notably to “seek the cooperation and commitment of the IOC in the successful inclusion of event with full [Olympic] medal status for athletes with a disability”. In CIAD mind, full medal status in able-bodied sport programs recognized “the value and contribution of all competitors” while demonstration events “could perpetuate a message of difference instead of advancing a message of full acceptance and legitimacy”. IPC actors had difficulties to fix CIAD objective and proposed up to 14 events for full Olympic medal status. Despite CIAD very intense lobbying until the end of 1990s, demonstration events never had full Olympic Medal Status due to IOC outright refusals. CIAD episode is interesting on two sides. First, it demonstrated that IOC still protected its own boundary. IOC strictly fixed the number of demonstration events, the type of sports and also which groups of athletes could compete (4.2). Second, CIAD work was criticized at his outset by some IPC actors notably the IPC Athletes Commission (4.3). Neither total integration of the Paralympic Games in the Olympic Program nor intermediate inclusion with selective events with full Olympic medal status was strongly supported among IPC representatives. Negative consequences of such scenarios were highlighted notably in “creating super-elite compared

to the remaining IPC athletes and depreciating the Paralympic Games with the demise of spectacular events”.

The IPC actors’ practice work aimed to promote new practice at the field level and to bridge different disability groups together in sport. IPC actors promoted the so-called Functional Classification System for each IPC sports. Researches were undertaken to assess “the uniqueness and comparability” of the disability groups. Doing so, they looked for marrying IOSDs rules together in order to reduce number of classes. IPC actors also rewritten sports rules “more in line” with able-bodied sports-rules and scientifically validated functional classification systems in different sports (4.4). Importantly classification became a prerogative of the sports within the IPC and no longer a sport science and medical committees matter (4.5). Sports determined the most adequate functional classification for their respective sports disciplines, combining classes if no significant difference in the performance were noted between classes. Each IPC sports also fixed criteria of eligibility for their respective athletes. Concomitantly IPC actors pushed towards high-level sports performance and endorsed “more stringent” criteria of selection for sports competitions. For example, they introduced limits of participants per sports as opposed to countries in the Paralympic Games, ensuring that every athlete “had to qualify”. They also cancelled sports events gathering too few participants.

This turn towards functional classification system and high-performance sport was structurally supported with the establishment of Sport Assembly Executive Committees (IPC SAECs) within the IPC. IPC SAECs were created to harmonize IPC sports governance and promoted “general rules” for IPC sports. Criteria were established to strengthen and rationalize each IPC sports. Once criteria were met, the [IPC] Technical Committee may recommend its recognition as an official IPC Sport”. In 1993, twelve sports were officially recognized IPC Sports, enjoying greater level of structural autonomy. This means that IPC SAEC had the responsibility to develop sports rules and classification systems as well as to organize and monitored all regional and World Championships for each of them.

The “centre of gravity” of the international sport movement for people with an impairment progressively shifted during the 1990s. IPC actors gradually gained influences within sport movement. But IOSDs, which kept responsibilities of their disability groups at the international level, undermined IPC development. Sport movement for athletes with an impairment was composed of different international governing bodies in the form of either IOSDs, or federations per sports or sub-committees per sport. In 1995, 73 different governing bodies were active in 31 sports. With up to five interests groups active in some sports (e.g. swimming or athletics), the international governance of sports for athletes with an impairment

was highly confused. Interferences between IPC and IOSDs were numerous, particularly for the organization of multi-disability championships. So-called multi-disability championships were part of the IPC mandate, but IOSDs did not accept being “compelled to surrender that right and privilege to a third party”. IOSDs defended their “freedom to engage in mutual agreements” and organized their competitions “based on unrivalled knowledge”. IOSDs also discredited IPC work to the IOC and were highly critical in various newsletters and reports. They also tried to obtain control of the IOC financial assistance. In result, co-existence of the two organizational forms (i.e. disability-based and sport-based organizational forms) promoted contradictory boundary and practice. In consequence, sport movement for people with an impairment was highly conflictual until the 2000s.

6.4.5 Cycle 5: Institutional stabilization

Despite remarkable world-wide development of sport for athletes with an impairment during the 1990s, a comprehensive institutional framework was still missing at the international level. Some international sport governing bodies (e.g. IPC and IOSDs) had contradicting or interfering aims and objectives. Since the mid-1990s, issues and concerns arose relating “the future position and roles of the IPC” in the sport movement. Some IPC members criticized IPC governance and management systems. They also highlighted inappropriate IPC legal rules which did not give “certain Paralympic Sports the headroom and breathing space in order to further their development”. With the emergence of new generation of IPC actors, sport movement for athletes with an impairment entered in a cycle of institutional stabilization while some conflicts continued within the IPC as well as with some IOSDs representatives. The new generation of IPC actors engaged in bridging boundary and sustaining institutional practice. Sport-specific models of development for IPC sports were also promoted, in order “to finally banish the rehabilitation syndrome from high performance Paralympic competition at world and zonal level”.

Building upon close relationships weaved with the IOC during the 1990s, IPC actors worked to bridge boundary. Strong links and collaboration with the International Sports Federations were fostered. Similarly, collaboration between IOC and IPC administrations reached a day-to-day level and the existing IOC-IPC agreements were extended and refined. In parallel, the “one city model” brought the different editions of the Paralympic Games to an unprecedented level of excellence. A third agreement between the IOC and IPC – “The Marketing Protocol” - was signed in 2003. But IPC actors progressively wondered how to build on “the unique Paralympic identity” and similarly, how to avoid “Olympification” (5.1). A clear vision emerged, that “the IPC needs to protect and enhance its own identity within any

relationships". The last agreement between the IPC and the IOC evidenced such view. This agreement – The Partnership Agreement – was signed in 2012 and aimed to extend relationships between the Paralympic and Olympic Movement on the long term and particularly outside the Games context. The negotiation process initiated in 2010 and has proven to be sensitive. The main subject of discussion was the initial claim by the IOC that they held "ownership rights over the term "Paralympic" and IPC's refusal to accept that the IOC was correct on this point". After months of harsh negotiations and institutional dispute, the IPC safeguarded its rights regarding the Paralympic symbolism and terminologies. Ultimately, the agreement recognized "the mutual benefits of a close cooperation between both organizations to support their vision, mission and strategic objectives". It further stated that the IOC will not use the word "Paralympic" without the consent of the IPC.

In parallel the IPC actors worked to sustain institutional practice of Functional Sport Classification and encouraged very sports-specific functional classification systems. IPC actors drafted the "IPC Classification Code and International standards". The Code wished to provide a framework for classification policies and procedures that were common to all sports. Negotiations took place to find a balance between a Code specific enough to obtain harmonization on classification issues where required and general enough to allow flexibility for its implementation according needs of the different IPC Sports (5.2). The Code was first published in 2007 and revised in 2014. The Code is complemented by the International Standards, notably to identify what an eligible impairment is in Para-sports. In other words, each para-sport has to clearly define for "which impairments they provide sports opportunities". While some sports include athletes of all Eligible Impairments (e.g. athletics, swimming), other sports are limited to one impairment (goalball, boccia) or a selection of impairments (e.g. equestrian, cycling). IPC actors also looked to translate the complex subject of sport classification in an easy-to-understand language to "all stakeholders in the Paralympic Movement, including athletes, spectators, media and partners". The aim was to uphold confidence and trust in the classification processes.

In view of the unclear and confused situation of responsibilities and roles among international sports governing bodies, some IPC actors promoted a framework to develop IPC sports "along their own [individual] lines". IPC actors discussed elements of "Governance, roles and responsibilities" during the 2001 IPC Strategic Planning Congress (Kuala-Lumpur, Malaysia) and encouraged the harmonization of sports structures, a change in the IPC mandate and the development of one organization per sport. Moreover they decided to assist the Sports to develop the more autonomy, based on a transitional plan and established criteria. Another output was "that IPC's core activity is the Paralympic Games only and the governance of the IPC Sports should not, in the future, be part of IPC's primary focus". This meant that IPC

endorsed “the right to any IPC Sport Championship to become independent from the IPC without prejudging which organizational model it adopts (whether it be the inclusion within an Olympic International Federation or the creation of an independent Federation for athletes with a disability, etc.)”. Conversely the role of IOSDs remained open to discussion and was framed in a sport development and grass-roots perspective. Such strategic direction was voted during the 2003 IPC General Assembly (Turin, Italy). According current strategy of IPC, sport interest is then best served by independent International Federations per sport, having space to establish what “the best model is for their sport” and enhancing opportunities for para-athletes in the global sport movement. The IPC launched the “2006 IPC Sport Governance and Management Initiative” devise to assist IPC sports towards self-governance and autonomy, followed by the 2013 IPC Sports Strategic Plan.

Today, four types of International Sports Federation could be identified within the sport movement for athletes with an impairment. The International Paralympic Committee (IPC) still governs nine IPC sports. This is, for example, the case for IPC Swimming, IPC Athletics or IPC Skiing. Several International Sports Federations now organize sports for able-bodied athletes alike for athletes with an impairment. The various policies developed by the IPC eased some of these mergers. For example para-equestrian is organized by the Fédération Equestre Internationale (FEI) since 2006, like the para-cycling by the Union Cycliste Internationale (UCI). Para-table tennis is part of the International Table Tennis Federation since 2007. Some Sports also developed their own International Sports Federations, such the International Wheelchair Basket-ball, the International Wheelchair Rugby or the International Federation Cerebral Palsy Football. Finally, few sports remained governed by the IOSDs (e.g. Judo and Football-5-aside by IBSA). In conclusion boundary work and practice work developed by IPC actors succeeded in securing sports-based organizational forms at the organizational field level, at the expense of the disability-based organizational forms.

6.4.6 Institutional Contradictions

Our first set of findings showed how the interplay between boundary and practice work, undertaken by various groups of actors, supported changes in organizational forms. Our second research question focused on understanding the contradictions (in terms of ruptures, tensions, incompatibilities within and across institutional systems) that weakened institutional constraints and enabled institutional entrepreneurship. From our case we find a particular combination of interdependent and cumulative institutional contradictions that drove, empowered or undermined institutional change. The four contradictions identified by Seo &

Creed (2002) accumulate over time and combine together to activate and motivate actors to foster institutional change. Our analysis also shown how the development of contradictions were associated with particular state of boundary and practice.

During cycle 1, central actors settled a strong institutional system. In less than two decades practice, boundary and organizational form became widely accepted within the field. The practice of medical classification was the only repertoire at the disposal of field members and quickly became unquestioned and unquestionable. Moreover the decision-making about classification process was strictly controlled by central actors. New boundary was set up around the practice and defended a vision of sport for people with an impairment solely for rehabilitation purpose. This vision of sport rapidly spread across the field, thanks to central actors' leadership. The institutional system was definitely secured with the creation of a new disability-based organizational form (i.e. ISMGF), very foundation of the international sport movement for people with an impairment.

During cycle 2, central actors maintained the institutional system through boundary and practice work. The practice of medical classification was extended to include different medically-diagnosed disability groups and securely entrenched in various rule books. In consequence the medical classification, as the dominant practice at the field level, regulated the entire international sport movement for athletes with an impairment. The boundary was maintained through the abundant use of medical discourses. Physicians and other medical professions remained the "cognitive authority" within the field. Moreover new disability-based organizational structures emerged and validated these central actors' efforts (i.e. IOSDs).

But during the 1960s, concerns about practice and boundary arose at the field level. Different groups of actors (e.g. athletes, sport administrators) felt disadvantaged by prevailing structural arrangements. Some challengers claimed for change in practice and wished to group athletes in a same competition whatever the medically diagnosed impairment of concern. Other asked for a better investment in sport structure, at the expense of sport for rehabilitation purpose. Such concerns towards field's *isomorphism* were later coupled with *inter-institutional incompatibilities* as sport movement came out from anonymity. During the 1970s, organizational field was indeed increasingly exposed and connected to other institutional arrangements. We identified two main sources of *interinstitutional connections*. First increasing relationships were nurtured with sport movement for able-bodied. Central actors notably worked to deepen relationships with the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Collaboration between the two sport movements also operated at different levels and on many occasions. For example the 1976 Paralympic Games necessitated the involvement of referees and officials usually active in sport for able-bodied athletes. Second, new

discourses (i.e. leisure discourse) developed within the field as society became more aware of people with an impairment. To sum up the practice, boundary and organizational form progressively weakened during cycle 2 even if central actors remained in dominant position.

During cycle 3, central actors agreed *thin adaptation* of the institutional arrangements. They protected the medical classification system while conceded research to improve the classification process. They also gradually reoriented the boundary. Importantly they used strategies to preserve dominant disability-based institutional forms. In parallel challengers increasingly denounced the *lack of efficiency* of institutional structuration. Collapse of the 1984 Paralympic Games evidenced such aspect and should not be understood as an idiosyncratic event but rather, as the outcome of long-standing institutional inefficiency. Challengers developed disruptive strategies to both undermine practice and boundary, and envisioned new ones.

The high degree of institutional contradictions translated in high-level of agency that ease the process of institutional innovation. Consequently a new sport-based organizational form (i.e. the International Paralympic Committee) was created, promoting new practice and boundary at the field level. This combination of institutional contradictions that developed over time, associated with particular state of boundary and practice, also explains why institutional disruption, rather than a collaborative process ensued. Whereas challengers, empowered by a high degree of institutional incompatibilities and tensions, claimed for important institutional change, central actors were unable to adapt and to envision new pathways of development. Moreover this dialectical process was exacerbated by still strong boundary and practice at the field level, strategically fomented by central actors.

The cycle 4 was marked by striking conflict between the two organizational forms, which sponsored divergent and conflictual boundary and practice at the field level. Conflicts were particularly salient on the so-called multi-disability championships, where both groups claimed leadership. During the 1990s, IPC actors succeeded in shifting field boundary and in creating new practice (i.e. functional sport classification). Similarly governances of some sports were centralized within the International Paralympic Committee (IPC).

As power balance evolved, institutional contradictions gradually lessened in the field. This allowed field' members to develop a fifth institutional cycle (i.e. institutional stabilization) wherein boundary was bridged and practice sustained. Sport-based organizational forms were further strengthened, and the sports developed the more autonomy within the international sport movement.

6.7 Discussion

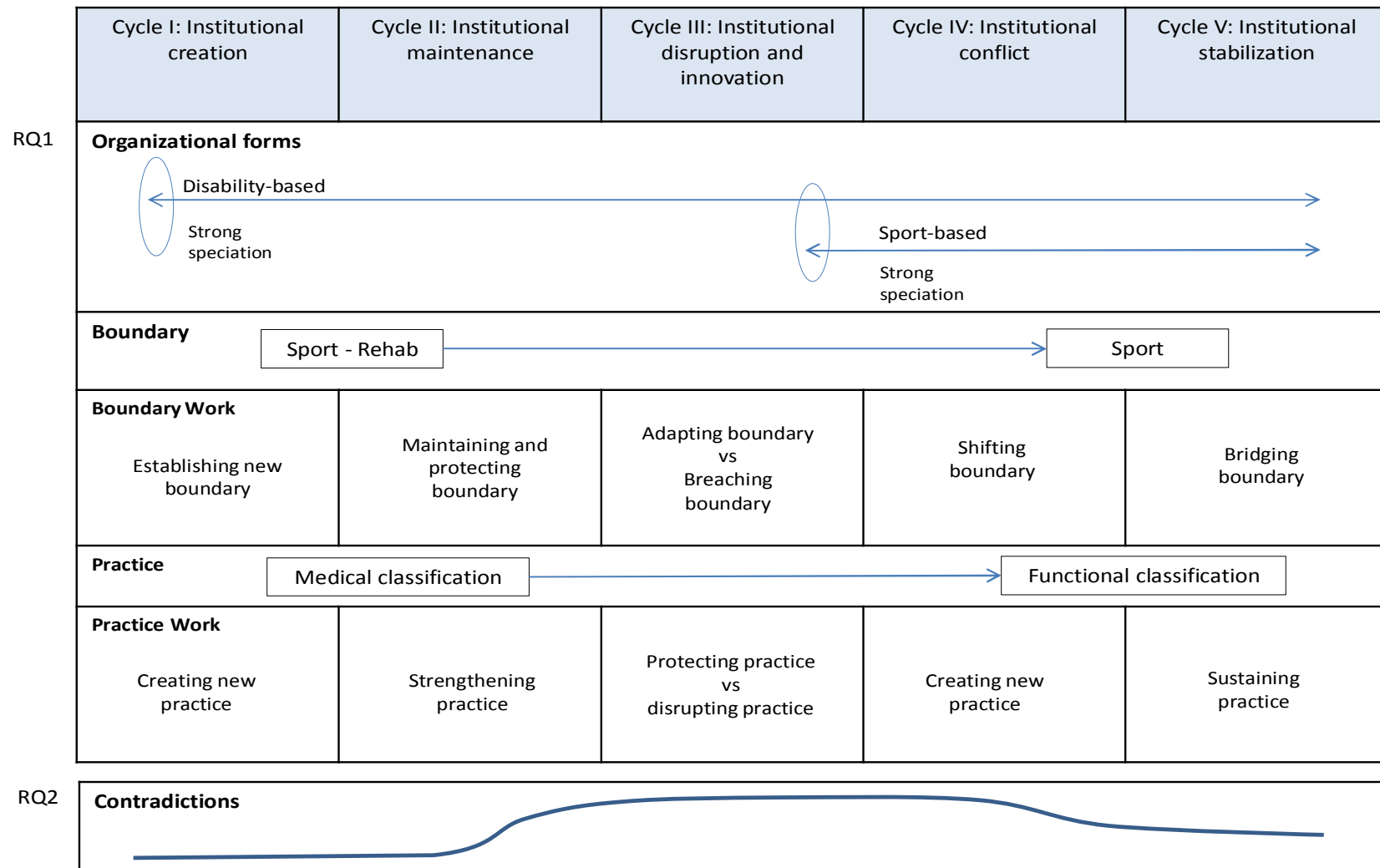
Our findings provide new insights into how institutional entrepreneurs create, maintain and transform organizational forms and foster institutional change (See fig. 10). First, we have highlighted one important way in which organizational forms are created or altered, i.e. through the interplay between boundary work and practice work. We demonstrate recursive, mutually supportive relationships between boundary work and practice work that underpinned transformation in organizational forms and impacted cycles of institutional change and stability. We found five cycles of institutional creation, maintenance, disruption and innovation, conflict and stabilization. Institutional creation was associated with recursive relationships between boundary and practice work to establish new boundary and create new practice. A new organizational form emerged and secured both new practice and boundary. Institutional maintenance mainly relied in mutually reinforcing sets of boundary and practice work to maintain and protect boundary and strengthened practice. Institutional maintenance was also associated with the preservation of the organizational form at the field level. Institutional disruption and innovation was underpinned by competing patterns of boundary work and practice work, one aimed at adapting boundary and protect practice and the other at breaching boundary and disrupting practice. It also involves at creating temporary boundary and searching for new practice. This resulted in the creation of a new organizational form, in addition to the previous one. Institutional conflict implied shifting boundary and create new practice. This cycle was marked by intense conflicts between organizational forms, what generate institutional incertitude. Finally, institutional stabilization was linked with bridging boundary and sustaining practices and the gradual renewal of the former organizational forms by the new one.

Second, we also find that the accumulation of interdependent contradictions over time, associated with various states of boundary and practice, empowered different groups actors in the field. As contradictions deepened, actors became aware of institutional arrangements in which they were embedded and worked to either defend status-quo or destabilize institutional system.

The theory put forward in this article then identifies the process by which new organizational forms are created (i.e. through the interplay of boundary work and practice work) and the conditions (i.e institutional contradictions) by which institutional embeddedness is weakened and, in consequence, the scope for action is enlarged (Perkmann & Spicer; 2007; Rao et al., 2000; Tracey et al., 2010). By doing so, we engage the paradox of embedded agency by demonstrating how institutional change is endogenously produced by institutional

entrepreneurs – institutional work - and conditioned by the by-product of institutional evolution – institutional contradictions (Holm, 1995; Leca et al., 2008; Seo & Creed, 2002; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010).

Figure 10 Institutional Work, Institutional Contradictions and New Organizational Forms



Our study on institutional entrepreneurship and new organizational forms also resulted in a number of important insights related to the role of boundary, practice and organizational forms in institutional change processes. We also contribute to a better understanding of the mechanisms involved in institutional change (Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). In this section, we discuss these different contributions in more detail and propose new avenues for future research.

The case we explore allows us to analyze what institutional entrepreneurs do to create and transform organizational forms, and the kind of institutional work they deploy. The study resonates with previous works which suggest that the construction of a new organizational form is “a political project involving collective action” (Rao et al., 2000) and resulted from the “various political strategies” undertaken by institutional entrepreneurs (Perkmann & Spicer, 2007). Our analysis also shed new light on organizational forms not only as outcome of political struggles but also as process to affect institutional stability or change (Ingram, 1999; Rao & Singh, 2001; Tracey et al., 2011). Our analysis indeed provide concrete example where organizational forms are used as tools in the pursuing of specific actors’ interests. Cycle 3 was marked by the presence of two organizational forms with conflicting aims and purposes. The organizational structure that emerged at the beginning of cycle 3 - the International Coordinating Committee (ICC) - evidenced a weak organizational speciation and consequently, continuation of previous institutional arrangements. This organizational structure represented central actors’ attempt to defend status quo by preserving core feature of organizational form (i.e. disability-based organizational forms). Moreover by incorporating “important facets of the cause” championed by the challengers (i.e. “centralized” system of authority, more “spaces” for the sports) central actors undermined and circumvented challengers’ calls for institutional change. In contrast the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) that emerged at the end of cycle 3 was designed as a vehicle to disrupt institutional system. The IPC was the “structural incarnations” (Rao & Singh, 2001) of new beliefs, values and interests sponsored by challengers. In other words, our study completes previous work by not only showing how new organizational forms are created (i.e. through boundary and practice work), by whom (i.e. challengers) and where (in the field’s periphery) but also the process by which organizational forms deeply impacted institutional change and stability.

Our findings also shed new light on the role of boundary in institutional change processes. The study brings new insights regarding field members’ position and process of institutional change. In the literature, actors at the margin of the organizational field are frequently presented as the more likely to engage in institutional change (Leblibici et al., 2011; Haveman & Rao, 1997). It has also been shown that actors at the interstice of different fields could play a major role (Rao et al., 2000). Yet dissonant voices can be found. For example,

Greenwood & Suddaby (2006) highlighted how institutional change was fostered by actors in dominant and central positions within the field (see also Leca et al., 2008). Rather than an antagonistic role, our study shows complementary roles between actors located in different position within the field during institutional change (be there at the center, periphery or at the interstice of organizational fields). Until cycle 4, challengers were located in the field' periphery and represented the main sources for institutional contestation and change. But effectiveness of their boundary and practice work to breach boundary and disrupt practice was linked to the work undertaken by central actors to adapt boundary and protect practice. Such central actors' move resulted from growing contestation within the field as well as from external pressures. In other words, challengers built upon central actors' work to nurture institutional change. Our findings also highlight the role played by actors located at the interstice of two organizational fields to support or constrained institutional change. Our analysis indeed revealed the crucial role played by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) President, Juan Antonio Samaranch. On one hand, he helped central actors to adapt boundary during cycle 3 notably by personally promoting demonstration events. On the other hand, he also supported challengers work to promote institutional transformation during cycle 4.

Our study also highlighted the influence exerted by powerful actors located in a different field. Cycle 4 indeed shows how the International Olympic Committee (IOC) controlled field boundary of sport movement for people with an impairment. For example, the IOC acknowledged some types of demonstration events within the Olympic Games that occurred during cycle 3 and cycle 4. But it also strictly refused the program of the Commission for the Inclusion of Athletes with a Disability (CIAD) during cycle 4. Both of these strategies, as envisioned by representatives of sport movement for athletes with an impairment, aimed at blur boundary between the Olympic and the Paralympic Movement. Further study could investigate if such synergies between actors in various field' positions verifies in different empirical setting. Other study could also analyze in more detail the role of external powerful actor to control and manipulate boundary in a different field.

Our findings also have implications for the study of institutional work during institutional change. The paper indeed echoes the work of Maguire & Hardy (2009) on the defensive institutional work. Institutional work literature argued that institutional maintenance requires efforts to maintain institutions, which according to Lawrence & Suddaby (2006: 234) "is accomplished by actors largely unaware of the original purpose, or ultimate outcome, of their actions". But, as our study shows, institutional maintenance also implies motivated and defensive institutional work. Our case indicates that during cycle 2, central actors maintained boundary and strengthened practice in more or less conscious ways (i.e. reproduction of the

medical classification system) but also directly applied defensive institutional work. Central actors indeed counter-blocked initiatives through “conscious and strategic response to disruptive work” undertaken by the challengers (Maguire & Hardy, 2009). Our perspective then highlights interdependence between central actors and challengers’ institutional work in “whether incumbents and challengers take actions to both stabilize and change institutions. Incumbents must not only maintain institutions, but also disrupt disrupters and refine arrangements. Similarly, challengers must attempt to preserve parts of existing institutions as well as suggest alternative arrangements” (Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2009).

Finally, our study provides a rare empirical account of the mechanisms involved in institutional formation and change. Previous studies highlighted what happen to institutions over time and the conditions under which institutional entrepreneurship occurred (Battilana & D’Aunno, 2009; Leca et al., 2008). But the “agency dimension underlying those processes” (Perkmann & Spicer, 2007) was rarely captured. In contrast our study shows how early challengers’ efforts during the 1970s weakened institutional boundary, practice and organizational forms and laid down the foundation for subsequent mobilization during the 1980s. By tracing change in organizational forms over a period of 60 years and examining institutional work developed by entrepreneurs, we emphasizes the processual and cumulative dimensions of institutional entrepreneurship and provides a more clear picture of institutions in terms of “power, status and history” (Washington & Patterson, 2011).

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Part III : General Conclusion

7. General Discussion

This research questioned management-related issues of sport for people with an impairment (Fay & Wolff, 2009; Hums, Moorman & Wolff, 2009; Legg, Fay, Hums & Wolff, 2009; Misener & Darcy, 2014). More specifically we were interested in processes of organizational change among the Paralympic Sports over time (Bailey, 2008; Brittain, 2010; Legg & Steadward, 2011). Drawing on the institutional theory (Greenwood et al., 2008; Scott, 2014), this research was guided by a straightforward research question: **How to understand institutional change among the Paralympic Sports over time?** Driven by this research question, we investigated two research directions that highlighted important dimensions of our topic. As a whole, we argue this research have significantly improved the understanding of institutional change processes among the Paralympic Sports over time.

At the macro level, we questioned the role of the social construction of disability in sport as well as in society. To capture this dimension, we invested in the theoretical notion of institutional logic (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008) which is defined as “the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality” (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999: 804). Specifically we asked “how and why do institutions form and change through the interplay between different levels of the field?”

At the meso level, we questioned the role of entrepreneurship in institutional change processes (DiMaggio, 1988; Garud et al., 2007). To do so, we based our analysis on the theoretical notion of “institutional work” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 215; Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca, 2009) which is defined as “the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions”. Specifically we asked “How do actors create, maintain and disrupt organizational forms through the interplay between boundary work and practice work?” and “What conditions and factors motivated actors to create new organizational forms or transform existing ones?”

The remaining of this chapter is composed of three parts. First we present the theoretical, methodological, managerial and social contributions of this research. Second, we detail the limits of this research. Finally we offer new points of departure for future researches.

7.1 Theoretical Contributions

The theoretical contributions of this research were two-fold. First we made several contributions to institutional theory. In parallel we shed new light on the development of sport for athletes with an impairment, especially with regard to institutional change among the Paralympic Sports over time.

7.1.1 Contributions to institutional theory

The macro level of analysis of this research brought many insights regarding to multilevel mechanisms involved in institutional formation and change (Wright, 2009). In particular, we emphasized the role of shifting institutional logic during processes of institutional change (Thornton, 2002, 2004; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). We demonstrated how institutional logic was shaped by top-down pressures coming from the society as well as bottom-up pressures coming from the organizational level (Stenling, 2014). We also highlighted how field logic shifted during moment of alignment between the societal, field and organizational levels (Wright & Zammuto, 2013). Finally, we showed how institutional change was triggered by shifting logic evolving on a continuum between two ideal-types, in contrast to previous research conceptualizing logics as discrete units (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Nite, Singer & Cunningham, 2013).

The meso level of our analysis also provided new insights into how institutional entrepreneurs create, maintain and disrupt organizational forms and foster institutional change (Ingram, 1998; Rao et al., 2000; Tracey et al., 2011; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). Specifically we highlighted one important way in which organizational forms are created or altered, i.e. through the interplay between boundary work and practice work. We demonstrated recursive, mutually supportive relationships between boundary work and practice work that underpinned transformation in organizational forms and impacted cycles of institutional change and stability. The study also showed how the accumulation of interdependent contradictions over time (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Seo & Creed, 2002), associated with various states of boundary and practice, empowered and motivated various groups of actors to engage in institutional change.

Our study also underlined the importance of “conceptual blending” (Doherty, 2013; Oswick, Fleming & Hanlon, 2011) in theorizing institutional change processes. By incorporating key insights from the disability studies (Fougeyrollas, 2010; Oliver, 1990; Stiker, 1999), our analysis was informed about social norms, beliefs and practices related to disability over

time. So doing, we were able to pay attention to larger socio-cultural context that shaped institutional change processes (Nite et al., 2013).

Finally our research also contributed to bridge two largely disconnected body of literature, namely the “disability sport studies” and the theory of organization (in particular the institutional theory). As an empirical context, the sport movement for athletes with an impairment has been overlooked by organizational scholars but yet revealed to be an extremely appropriate research setting for studying institutional processes. In turn the institutional theory can fruitfully informed the understanding of the development of this sport movement. Moreover the uniqueness and singularity of our research field coped with recent calls by organizational scholars (Bamberger & Pratt, 2010) and institutional theorists (Lawrence, 2008; Khan, Munir & Willmott, 2007) for unconventional research setting. By investigating institutional processes taking place “at the margins” (Marti & Fernández, 2013) of the mainstream sport movement, this study further enlarged the spectrum of cases and research contexts available for organizational scholars.

7.1.2 Contributions to the understanding of the Paralympic Movement

Our study, and underlying research directions, also significantly improved our understanding of institutional change processes among the Paralympic Sports over time.

First, we showed how the Paralympic Movement’s logic moved from rehabilitation-sport logic to sport logic, through the interplay between:

- Disability conceptualization at the societal level, which moved from the individual and medical model of disability to the social model of disability;
- Shifting logic at the field level carried by sport classifications systems, which evolved from a medical classification system (based on medical diagnoses of athletes’ impairments) to a functional one (centred on athletes’ functional abilities in one specific sport or discipline); and
- The individual and organizational actions interpreting and reinterpreting field logic over time.

Second we also demonstrated how the dominant organisational form within the Paralympic Movement moved from disability-based organisational forms to sport-based organizational forms. This move resulted from institutional works aimed to affect 1) the dominant

boundaries, which progressively shifted from the rehabilitation sector to the sport sector and 2) the dominant practices, which changed from a medical classification system to a functional one. The study also highlighted key institutional contradictions which pushed and motivated actors to engage in institutional change over time.

Our study also provided many new insights regarding the Paralympic Movement. By questioning its institutional evolution, this research has enabled a better understanding both of the past and current policies within the Paralympic Movement. Below we emphasize four main dimensions.

Firstly our research underlined the importance of sport classification systems as defining feature of the Paralympic Movement. Our study revealed how the development of a first sport classification (i.e. the medical classification system) enabled the progressive institutionalization of sports for people with an impairment. In turn the medical sport classification, as a deeply entrenched institutional practice, constrained further institutional change processes. This research also highlighted how the different sport classification systems were vector of different logics and practices within the Paralympic Movement over time. While the medical classification sustained a rehabilitation perspective of sport, the development of a functional classification marked the turn towards a more sport-oriented international sport movement for people with an impairment. This raised the fact that the classification systems transcended medical or scientific considerations but questioned, and still question, the Paralympic Movement as a whole, its role towards athletes with an impairment and its place within the international sport movement.

Secondly this research shed new light on the IPC current strategy regarding the organizational structure of the Paralympic Sports and their relationships with the international sport movement. The current IPC strategy promotes autonomous and independent International Sports Federations (IFs) for each sport, developing along their own lines and without prejudging the organizational model they have to develop. With regard to Paralympic Movement's history, this strategy represents the outcome of long-standing actors' efforts to emancipate the Paralympic Movement from the rehabilitation sector. It also opposes sports structuration based on disability or a centralized system of all sports' governance within the IPC. This study has also enabled to better locate where the question of inclusion in sport for athletes with an impairment operates today. While the question of inclusion in sport is frequently presented as a move from one movement (the Paralympic Movement) to one another (the Olympic Movement), our study depicted a far more complex situation since each International Sports Federation (IFs) currently deals independently with this question. In other words, the question of inclusion has to be asked in sport-specific terms and find answer

within each International Sports Federations (IFs). Moreover since each IFs develops its own classification system and determines sport-specific criteria of eligibility, the question of who are para-athletes (and then who are not) has also to be considered as a sports-specific question.

Thirdly our study highlighted one under-explored but significant episode of the development of the Paralympic Movement: the work done by the Commission for the Inclusion of Athletes with a Disability (CIAD) during the 1990s. The CIAD aimed to implement lobbying strategies for the inclusion of events with full medal status within programs of major international sport competitions such the Olympic Games or the Commonwealth Games. The CIAD work was considered as a key vector to promote inclusion in sport for athletes with a disability until the 2000s. We argue CIAD program is interesting for mainly two reasons. First this program was highly criticized since its onset by representatives within the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) and notably by the IPC Athletes Committee. Second this episode resonates with current debates about the inclusion of the Paralympic Games “within” the Olympic Games and, more globally, about the inclusion of the Paralympic Movement “within” the Olympic Movement. Such merging is frequently presented as the best way to promote an inclusive sport movement. In contrast we argue that such debates frame the question of inclusion in sport as a “static notion” or as “a universal place or placement” wherein all individuals have to fit (DePauw & Doll-Teppe, 2000). Put differently we argue that debates framing inclusion “as one place” perpetuates the status-quo in which inclusion in sport is always thought in reference to something else, notably in reference to the “normal” sport movement and in particular the one symbolized by the Olympic Movement. In line with DePauw & Doll-Teppe (2000: 139), we argue that inclusion in sport “must be reconceptualized as an attitude or a process”. This process should be accomplished through a strengthening of the Sports, be there called Olympic or Paralympic, in the way that best answer athletes’ needs. Moreover this process should not be uniform nor homogenizing but designed according specificities of each sport and be athletes-centered. In that way, we argue that the notion of autonomy of sports emphasized by the Paralympic Movement – in contrast to the one of inclusion – deserved more attention by scholars. We suggest that the question of participation in sport for people with an impairment could fruitfully be investigated through the autonomy’ prism (rather than through inclusion’ prism). This could corollary bring at the forefront the notion of “choice” – choices of the athletes with an impairment in sport participation - which is few investigated in disability sport studies.

Fourthly and finally, this analysis emphasized fundamental aspects of the evolution of the Paralympic movement, that is, the many tensions, ruptures and incompatibilities that motivated the actors to foster institutional change or, at the contrary, to defend institutional

status-quo. The study indeed depicted a complex sport movement wherein institutional conflicts – rather than institutional cooperation – were prevalent. Participation in sport for people with an impairment indeed is not a neutral phenomenon but is infused with “values and power [relationships]” (Martí & Fernández, 2013) taking their roots at multiple levels, from the individual and organizational level to the society level. Among these values and power relationships, it is worth to mention the burden of the individual model of disability and the impact of the medical sector on early sport practices for people with an impairment. We also highlighted crucial roles of actors trying to disrupt historical conformism, and that is, at each stage of the Paralympic Movement’ evolution. As a whole, our study indeed emphasized how the Paralympic Movement’ history can be understood as an on-going struggle to give people with an impairment a better place and role in society. Doing so, we demonstrated that organizations and institutions are the fruit of actors’ actions that inhabit them and that the Paralympic Movement cannot be understood without acknowledging the leaderships that few individuals had and still have on it.

7.2 Methodological contributions

Our research made four methodologically-oriented contributions. First we argue that multilevel research design composed of independent case-studies provided rich and complementary analytical lenses to study institutional change. Informed by various streams of the institutional theory, our research design have proposed two research approaches highlighting either macro-influences related to social construction of disability in sport and in society or meso level influences related to the roles of institutional entrepreneurs in institutional change. Both approaches emphasized different dimensions of a same social phenomenon (i.e. institutional change) and provided rich, complementary and nuanced account of institutional change among the Paralympic Sports over time.

Second our study developed two processual analyses of institutional change. In keeping with previous institutional change studies (Hoffman, 1999; Leblebici et al., 1991; Tolbert & Zucker, 1983), we argue that longitudinal and processual case-studies are recommended to disentangle complex mechanisms related to institutional change. Our study also underlined the importance to have a large temporal window when studying institutional change. With a too short one, the risk exists to consider a context as given while it is itself, the emanation of previous social construction with established social norms, beliefs and practices as well as power relationships.

Third our research suggests that secondary sources (i.e. archival records) provide valuable empirical data for processual analysis of institutional change. We argue they are especially relevant in research setting marked by a high degree of conflicts. By confronting multiple sources of data, archival records enable to reconstitute temporal and processual dimensions of conflicts that entail change processes. They also allow tracing and comparing actors' point of views and actions over time. Being produced at the same time that the events occurred, archival data also allows to avoid ex-post rationalization bias as well as social desirability response bias (Harris, 2001).

Fourth, this research also showed that archival records-based processual analyses are not without risks and difficulties. We below detail two risks and difficulties associated with this type of research. Firstly, the discovery and access to archival materials can be difficult and time-consuming. Such difficulties can be explained in part by the organizations' reluctance to open archives to external scrutiny. To these may be added the lack of time of organizations' employees, the fact that archives are missing or in bad state of preservation as well as the organizations' difficulties to understand and answer the researchers' requests. Moreover the collect of data may be a complex process because as Gephart (2004) argued, a qualitative analysis is built and refined at the same time as the data collection occurred. In result, it may be complicated for researchers to describe their works in research applications and to precisely detail the documents they need. This is, we argue, even more salient in problem-oriented research which are methodologically and theoretically-agnostic. Furthermore the reconstruction ex-post of a process of change frequently requires a cumulative research process, wherein researchers build on archives in their possessions to discover new ones. On the other hand, researchers should avoid excessive scientific jargon in their research applications and should highlight the added-value the research could offer to the organization under study. This requires frequents contacts and to build up a bond of trust between researchers and the targeted organizations.

Secondly analytic treatment of archival materials is complex. The understanding of an institutional system generally requires the analysis of thousands of pages of archives, involving dozens of actors within dozens of issues. In other words archival-based research asks a high degree of intimacy with the field under study. Such intimacy requires time but, in turn, enables unexpected data or evidence to emerge during the course of the analysis.

In sum archival data reveal to be extremely appropriate for processual analysis of institutional change but the difficulties associated to their access, collect and analysis generate much incertitude and doubt all along the research process.

7.3 Managerial contributions

By questioning participation in sport for people with an impairment, this research was thought and designed with the hope “to influence the world of action” (Hoffman, 2004). But providing advices for practitioners is certainly not an easy task, especially when the research we undertook precisely demonstrated that all we know – or think to know – is in constant flux and of particular momentum. This applies both to what we call “scientific inquiry” (Kuhn, 1962; Nicolai & Seidl, 2010) as well as “disability sport”. As Sherrill (1999: 206) stated, disability sport is indeed supported by “a body of knowledge that guides philosophy and practice”. She further argued that these concepts – i.e. disability, sport and knowledge – are “socially constructed, meaning that they are created by social groups and reflect the affordances and constraints of specific times and cultures”.

Importantly it has to be note that our study took place at the field level or, in other words, focused on the sport movement in its wholeness. We were indeed interested in investigating broad changes and deep-rooted trends that occurred within sport movement for people with an impairment since its inception. For that reason, it could be difficult for a decision-maker to directly translate our analysis to its particular sport organization.

Nevertheless this study makes several contributions that could be useful for practitioners, notably by detailing the mechanisms that have influenced the historical development of the Paralympic Movement. Doing so, we described the sport and social contexts in which decision-making about sport participation for athletes with an impairment have occurred and still occurs. Below we also detail key issues and trends that could help decision-makers to evaluate where the Paralympic Movement currently is, where it may be going and how they could “visualize and realize alternatives and better futures” (Hoffman, 2004).

The analysis indeed explained that the vision of sport for people with an impairment solely for rehabilitation purpose was widely shared during many decades, both among sport leaders and within the broader society. This rehabilitation understanding of sport became subsequently contested within the Paralympic Movement and was gradually replaced by a vision in which sport achievement was the ultimate goal. This perspective of sport achievement is today propagated by the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) which claims to be a sport-centered organization. But as the two visions of sport (i.e. sport for rehabilitation vs. sport achievement) have been deeply institutionalized, it is likely that sport administrators are still influenced by both understandings of sport for people with an impairment. This implies that a particular sport policy can be understood and filtered by sport representatives through different frames of references and beliefs. In that sense, our study

provided two additional contributions. First, we showed that sport leaders may secure a particular vision of sport only 1) if this vision is widely shared among sport representatives and if 2) this vision echoes the main beliefs within broader communities. This implies that sport leaders have to communicate both internally – towards members of the sport movement but also externally – beyond the sport context to influence larger society. Second we also demonstrated that the attitudes and practices of actors within the sport movement may be changed. This can be achieved by influencing the identity that is afforded to athletes with an impairment (e.g. are they disabled people in need of protection? Are they para-athletes or simply athletes? Or still are they cycling racers, swimmers, football players?) as well as by changing the definition of their sport practices (e.g. Do they do rehabilitation activities? Do they do adapted sport? Do they do (elite) sport?).

The research also highlighted that sports structuration deeply changed over time. Being mainly disability-based until the end of 1980s, the dominant organizational form became sport-based during the 1990s and 2000s. This move towards sport-based organizational forms is currently strengthened by IPC policies. It might therefore be argued that this particular organizational form will become increasingly prevalent over time.

The study also revealed that boundaries between athletes with an impairment and those without an impairment will be increasingly blurred in the future. This has short-term implication at, at least, two levels. First the notion of “minimum impairment”, or the criteria for being eligible as para-athletes, will become more and more important and probably contested. It is therefore important for decision-makers to clearly define criteria that settled this notion, keeping in mind that this line drawn between athletes has social implications that go far beyond technical considerations. Second it will become increasingly important for the Paralympic Movement to safeguard its own identity and its particular vision, especially with regard to the Olympic Movement.

The analysis also revealed how sport technologies can be used to disrupt institutional arrangements. By modifying again and again their sport equipments, the athletes were indeed vehicles of change towards a more sport-oriented movement. The increasing debates about sport participation of athletes using technologies (e.g. prostheses etc.) underline that the Paralympic Movement - and more globally the world of sport - is probably reaching a turning point. A turning point in which sport technology will deeply challenge our vision of what an athlete – being called Olympic or Paralympic – is capable of as well as our definition of what sport is.

The research similarly detailed a progressive shift towards a movement valorizing high-level sport performance and progressively embracing the media and sponsors codes and

expectations. This shift has concrete implications for the governance of the Paralympic Movement, notably regarding the development of sport opportunities for all athletes with an impairment. A current debate, representative of this shift, is related to the Paralympic Games Program and asks how to reconcile core defining features of the Paralympic Movement (in terms of sports, impairment representativeness, gender...) with requirements of high sport performance, broadcasters, sponsors, spectators etc. This also led to the question of the status, roles and sport opportunities that are available for athletes with the more severe impairments as well as those with an intellectual impairment. In other words the Paralympic Movement has to be vigilant not to let (again) some athletes (with an impairment) in the margin of the sport movement.

Finally the whole research process highlighted the gap that still exists between on one side, “the world of action” composed of the athletes, the administrators, the decision-makers... and on the other side, the world of research. Paraphrasing Sir L. Guttmann, we would modestly like to emphasize the importance that sport movement and sport research “goes hand in hand”. Put differently it is important that sport and research in sport work together, advance together – eventually get wrong together – to develop a better sport movement in the future. After all, athletes, administrators and researchers are all nurtured with the same fundamental ingredient. This ingredient is called “passion”.

7.4 Social contributions

Our study was fundamentally motivated by the desire to answer one question: Why have people with an impairment fewer opportunities in sport? With this analysis, we hope to contribute rendering this question meaningless in the future.

Our research resonated with critical research on emancipation (Habermas, 1984). According to Alvesson & Willmott (1992: 432), emancipation is “the process through which individuals and groups become freed from repressive social and ideological conditions, in particular those that place socially unnecessary restrictions upon the development and articulation of human consciousness”. In this study we examined institutional mechanisms that shaped the development of the Paralympic Sports over time. By doing so, we expect to contribute to Paralympic Movement’s emancipation by having informed individuals about “social and ideological conditions” that have constrained, and still constrain, the growth of the Paralympic Movement.

This study also emphasized multiple roles and strategies of actors during processes of institutional change. We notably showed how actors were able to interpret and reinterpret

organizational scripts at the field level. In other words we have demonstrated that actors are able to affect behavioral grammar that guides an institutional system. We also showed how actors can redefine boundary between set of people and groups and how they can work to alter organizational practices and shared routines. This highlights the fact that any practice or boundary is legitimate per se but instead, is always the product of social practices given as legitimate at a particular period of time.

7.5 Limitations

Obviously this research is not without limits, both from a theoretical and methodological point of view.

Theoretically we have chosen to analyze the development of the Paralympic Sports from an organizational perspective based on one specific stream in organization theory, namely the institutional theory (e.g. Greenwood et al., 2008; Scott, 2014). But each theoretical perspective has its own strengths and weaknesses and offers a particular conceptual apparatus²⁰ to study organizational change. It would therefore be interesting to look at the development of the Paralympic Sports from different theoretical angles. It could be done either through theoretical leverages coming from other research fields (e.g. sport sociology, sport anthropology...) or thanks to other research streams in organization theory. In this vein it could be useful to add concepts from resource-dependence theory, as our study have showed deep and mainly asymmetrical relationships between the Paralympic Movement and the Olympic Movement. Similarly the stakeholder theory could complement our investigation by analyzing how relationships between key actors over time have influenced decision-making processes. As a whole we argue that an investment in different theories could enrich both the institutional theory as well as the understanding of the Paralympic Movement.

Another theoretical limitation also comes from our own understanding of the various streams of the institutional theory and how we invested them. Despite we based our theoretical frameworks on the most acute and current developments of institutional theory, it remains important to continuously deepen and update our understanding of this theory to develop further analyses.

Methodologically we have developed case studies (e.g. Blatter & Haverland, 2012; Rohlfing, 2012). Our findings thus have limited possibilities for generalization. Moreover our study addressed a particular empirical context, the international governing bodies of sport for athletes with an impairment. Other studies should therefore confront our results to other

²⁰ See chapter 3, in particular point 3.2.1

empirical context. In that way it would be interesting to analyze the development of the Olympic Sports and the Olympic Movement over time, and to look if similar institutional dynamics were at play. We also argue that further investigation of “unconventional” empirical contexts (Martí & Fernández, 2013) or social issues “that matter” (Davis & Marquis, 2005) is needed in academia. In the sport context we would emphasize that issues related to “hyperandrogenism” in sport will become increasingly salient and could be usefully investigated under an institutional lens.

Likewise our case studies were independent, which also limits generalization’s possibilities of our findings (Rohlfing, 2012). Further studies could develop comparative research design. In particular we believe that the Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) is a promising method for such aim. QCA allows developing (several) combination/configuration of indicators related to phenomena of interest Y. If the phenomena of interest are institutional change processes, then it could be interesting to highlight combination(s) of key factors that intervene in such processes.

A last limitation is related to the type of empirical data we used – i.e. archival records. According to Welch (2000), a collection of archives is rarely complete and we would add, each collection of archives is, in some sense, unique. This “uniqueness” of our set of archives also affect the reliability of our analysis as original insights could always emerged from new pieces of archives. Such insights could consequently confirm, infirm or more probably refine our findings.

7.6 Research Perspectives

As a whole, our analysis enabled a better understanding of institutional change among the Paralympic Sports over time. The study also highlighted different research perspectives with an added value for both sport management literature and institutional theory.

The first research perspective is related to the micro-level of analysis of this study (individual and organizational level), questioning cognitive mechanisms related to institutional change. Our exploratory phase²¹ indeed revealed the importance of notions of framing and translation in relation to our topic. Frames are “metaphors, symbols and cognitive cues that cast issues in particular light and suggest possible ways to respond to it” (Campbell, 2005). As all sport issues, issues related to participation in sport of people with an impairment are culturally and socially rooted. This micro level of analysis is therefore interested in how debates – framing struggles – about these issues have been influenced by broader social and cultural forces

²¹ See Chapter 3 for more information

and have impacted both their “interpretation” as well as “the nature of solutions” (Hoffman, 2013) that were proposed. Since “collective categories of identity play significant roles in framing action” (Todd, 2005), this research perspective also aimed to investigate the collective categories of identity that were at play during the development of the Paralympic Movement. Doing so, we aim to shed new light on dominant identities to which actors (e.g. (early) sport administrators, challengers, athletes...) were referring to over time. The guiding sub-research question is how institutional practices and beliefs are framed in different local context?

The second research perspective is related to potential links and influences between the different levels of our analysis. Our research has indeed developed independent case studies at different levels of analysis. But this has introduced questions about the relationships between these levels. From our analysis, two research directions have emerged that question relationships between 1) institutional logic and institutional work and 2) institutional logic and framing process. Our study indeed showed how institutional logic within sport movement for people with an impairment shifted from rehabilitation sport-logic to sport logic. But a fundamental characteristic of institution is its resilience (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) and its resistance to change. This implies that both logics were and, to some degree, are still competing in the field and prescribe distinctive set of norms, beliefs and practices (Friedland & Alford, 1991). These institutions, encompassing multiple logics, have been recently captured through notion of “institutional complexity” defined as the encounter of “incompatible prescriptions from multiple institutional logics” (Greenwood et al., 2011: 317).

Building on this notion of institutional complexity, the first research direction considers relationships between institutional logic and institutional work. Institutional logics, as guidelines for practical action, play out at the individual and organizational level. Consequently competing logics can imply “persistent and deep-rooted tensions” (Jarzabkowski, Matthiesen & Van de Ven, 2009) in actors’ decision-making. Further research could focus on how do individual and organizational actors engage in institutional work when dealing with multiple logics. This imply to capture “practitioners’ everyday activities” (Smets & Jarzabkowski, 2013) and the meaning they afford to them.

In this vein, a second research direction is related to presence of competing institutional logics and how they are framed at the individual and organizational level. This research direction could trace presence of cultural influences (i.e. institutional logics influences) in debates between individual and organizational actors. It implies to examine actors’ discursive strategies promoting a particular logic or in other words, to examine framing competition “over the interpretation of the problems and the necessity and nature of solutions” (Hoffman,

2011: 5). Together these two research directions could shed new light on important issues related to participation in sport for people with an impairment.

Another research perspective deals with the emergence and burgeoning of early sport activities for people with an impairment. The work of Guttmann to develop sport activities for spinally injured people have already been described, including the medical character of these new practices. But to date, no research has been done to explain the strategies used by Guttmann and colleagues to frame these new practices as acceptable in a society largely indifferent, and even hostile to such idea. Research focus would be on the work done by the very pioneers of the Paralympic Movement, and especially on the social context in which this work occurred. Such study could avoid anachronistic analysis that sometimes depicts current research. By doing so, this study could also shed new light on processes of institutional creation (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca, 2009).

Finally, our study suggests a broad research agenda. Our analysis have emphasized how institutional environment shaped individual and organizational actions over time (top down pressures, from societal and field levels to individual and organizational level) through the theoretical notion of institutional logic. We have also showed how individuals and organizations were able to shape their institutional environment (bottom-up pressures, from individual and organizational level to field level) thanks to institutional work aiming at creating, maintaining and disrupting institution. We suggest directing the research locus on pressures starting from the field level to the societal level. In other words, future researches should consider institutional mechanisms through which sport movement for athletes with an impairment can be vector of change at the societal level, and consequently, how sport movement for athletes with an impairment can “make for a more inclusive society for people with an impairment through para-sport” (IPC Strategic Plan 2015-2018)²².

²² https://www.paralympic.org/sites/default/files/document/150619133600866_2015_06%2BIPC%2BStrategic%2BPlan%2B2015-2018_Digital.pdf (May 2016)

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Appendices

Appendix I : Archival Sifting

Datum	Type of documents	Object - Title	Language	Num. of pieces	Num. of pages	E
05/1949	Article de presse	"Miracle men of Sport" (Worlds Sports)	EN	1	3	
08/1950	Prospectus	"Championnats d'Europe d'Athlétisme" à Bruxelles	FR	1	2	
10/1952	Article de presse	"Olympic Games for the disabled" (Wolrd Sports)	EN	1	3	
06/1953	Correspondance	Dr Houssa & Dr Guttman	EN	1	1	
08/1953	Prospectus	The Sixth Annual and Second International Inter-spinal Unit Sports Festival - "Stoke Mandeville Games" + photos	EN	2	10	
07/1954	Correspondance	Dr Houssa & Dr Guttman	EN	1	2	
07/1954	Articles de presse	Les Jeux Olympiques de Stoke Mandeville + photos (Divers)	FR	9	13	
09/1954	Interview de presse	Interview du Dr Tricot	EN	1	2	
07/1955	Rapport	Réunion Scientifique organisée à l'occasion des Jeux de Stoke Mandeville	FR	2	7	
08/1955	Interviews de presse	Interviews du Dr Tricot	FR	2	7	
07/1956	Prospectus	The Ninth Annual and Fifth International Inter-Spinal Unit Sports Festival – "The Stoke Mandeville Games (Paralympics)"	EN	1	12	
06/1957	Correspondance	Dr Guttman & Dr Houssa	EN	1	1	

07/1957	Prospectus	The tenth Annual and Sixth International Inter-Spinal Unit Sports Festival – “The 1957 Stoke Mandeville Games (Paralympics)”	EN	1	12	
07/1958	Prospectus	The Seventh International Sports Festival of the Paralysed	EN	1	14	
07/1959	Communiqué de presse	A l’occasion des Jeux Internationaux pour Paraplégiques de Stoke Mandeville	FR	3	3	
07/1959	Prospectus	The Eighth International Sports Festival of the Paralysed – “Stoke Mandeville Games”	EN	1	11	
05/1960	Communiqué de presse	A l’occasion des Jeux Nationaux pour Handicapés (Belgique)	FR	3	3	
09/1960	Communiqué de presse	À l’occasion des IX Jeux Internationaux pour Paraplégiques (Rome)	FR	1	2	
07/1961	Prospectus	The 1961 International Stoke Mandeville Games for the Paralysed	EN	1	14	
07/1961	Rapport	Réunion Scientifique organisée à l’occasion des Jeux de Stoke Mandeville	FR	1	9	
10/1961	Communiqué de presse	“Album Sport” Belgique	FR	2	3	
11/1961	Correspondance	Palais Royal de Belgique	FR	2	3	
1962	Rapport de film	tourné à l’occasion des 3eme Jeux Internationaux de Bruxelles pour Paraplégiques	FR	1	8	
1962	Communiqué de presse	A l’occasion des Jeux Internationaux d’été de Vincennes (Paris)	FR	1	1	
1962	Article scientifique	Metabolic Changes in Paraplegia	EN	2	5	
07/1962	Prospectus	The Tenth Anniversary of the International Stoke Mandeville for the Paralysed	EN	1	15	
08/1962	Rapport	Réunion Scientifique organisée à l’occasion des Jeux de Stoke Mandeville	FR	1	1	
05/1963	Correspondance	Fédération Sportive belge des handicapés – Ambassade de Belgique	FR	4	9	
07/1963	Speech	On the occasion of the opening of the 1963 Stoke Mandeville Games (Victor	EN	1	2	

		Boin)				
07/1963	Prospectus	The Twelfth International Stoke Mandeville Games for the Paralysed	EN	1	15	
08/1963	Correspondance	Couverture du Bulletin de la Fédération Sportive Belge des Handicapés	FR	2	2	
09/1963	Article de presse	A l'occasion d'une compétition à Cologne	FR	3	2	
09/1963	Communiqué de presse	En réponse à un article de « La dernière Heure »	FR	1	2	
04/1964	Communiqué de presse	A l'occasion des Jeux Internationaux des Handicapés (Bruxelles)	FR	2	3	
04/1964	Communiqué de presse	A l'occasion du 1 ^{er} Championnat National de Bowling (Belgique)	FR	2	2	
04/1964	Communiqué de presse	A l'attention du journal « Les Sports »	FR	1	2	
05/1964	Article de presse	A l'occasion des 6 ^{eme} championnats de Belgique de la FSBH	FR	3	1	
06/1964	Prospectus	4 ^{eme} Jeux Internationaux pour Handicapés (Bruxelles)	FR	1	15	
09-10/1964	Correspondance	Avec le journal « Pourquoi pas ? »	FR	2	3	
11/1964	Prospectus	The Thirteenth International Stoke Mandeville Games for the Paralysed	EN	1	19	
11/1964	Prospectus	The Tokyo Games for the Physically Handicapped	EN	1	6	
11/1964	Prospectus	The 1964 International Stoke Mandeville Games for the Paralysed in Tokyo	EN	1	133	
11/1964	Correspondance	Obtenir une aide financière supplémentaire après les ISMGF de Tokyo	FR	3	6	
12/1964	Correspondance	Suite à un article dans le journal « Ligueur »	FR	2	3	
12/1964	Correspondance	Suite à une aide financière de la firme GANCIA	FR	1	1	
04/1965	Correspondance	En vue de la publication d'un article dans le journal « Pourquoi pas ? »	FR	1	2	
07/1965	Prospectus	The fourteenth International Stoke Mandeville Games for the Paralysed	EN	1	13	
01/1966	Correspondance	Dr Tricot – Dr Guttman	EN	2	2	
05/1966	Article de presse	Sporta – Spoort door invaliden	NL	1	5	

05/1966	Article scientifique	Revue des séminaires belges de réadaptation	FR	1	7	
06/1966	Correspondance	A propos des 1968 International Stoke Mandeville Games	EN	1	1	
07/1966	Prospectus	The fifteenth International Stoke Mandeville Games for the Paralysed	EN	1	13	
11/1966	Correspondance	A propos des 1968 International Stoke Mandeville Games	EN	2	2	
1967-69	Correspondance	Wereld Kampioenschappen Basketbal	NL	3	4	
04/1968	Article de presse	HOPI	FR	2	3	
05/1968	Communiqué de presse	A l'occasion de l'AG de la FSBH	FR	2	2	
11/1968	Prospectus	I.S.M.G. for the Paralysed in Israel	EN	1	11	
01/1969	Article de presse	Le Palmarès du Sport de la Radio-Télévision d'expression française	FR	1	1	
02/1969	Correspondance	Princess Alice Orthopaedic Hospital	EN	2	4	
03/1969	Correspondance	Dr Tricot – Dr Guttmann – possible interférence de Jeux en Autriche	EN	2	2	
03/1969	Correspondance	Joan Scruton – Dr Tricot – Classification problems	EN	2	2	
1969-73	Correspondance	1973 World Championship Basketball for the Disabled (Brugge)	EN-FR	22	28	
08/1970	Correspondance	Dr Guttmann – Dr Tricot – sabotaging attitudes of the Australian Team	EN	1	2	
09/1971	Correspondance	Dr Tricot – Dr Guttmann	EN	2	2	
11/1972	Correspondance	Mérite Olympique du Travail (en Belgique)	FR-EN	2	2	
03/1973	Rapport	Classification and Evaluation of the Wheelchair Athlete	EN	1	5	
03/1974	Article de presse	Wheelchair Olympics Bring... (The Toronto Star)	EN	1	2	
04/1974	Newsletter	1976 Olympiad for the Physically Disabled	EN	1	2	
09/1974	Prospectus	1 st World Games for Multi-disabled of the ISOD	EN	1	8	
1974	Article scientifique	"The value of Sport for the severely physically handicapped" by L. Guttmann in Hexagon Roche, Vol. 2 n°3, 1974	EN	1	5	x
1974-1975	Correspondance	1975 Golden Cup (Brugge)	EN-FR	21	27	
1975	Article scientifique	'Development of sport for the spinal paralysed' by L. Guttmann in Hexagon	EN	1	8	x

		Roche, Vol. 3 n°3, 1975				
1975-1976	Correspondance	1976 Eurocup Wheelchair Basketball	EN-FR	10	14	
1976	Article scientifique	Reflection on the 1976 Toronto Olympiad for the Physically Disabled (Dr Guttman)	EN	1	16	
1977	Article de presse	Sports'N Spokes July/August 1977 Volume 3 Number 2	EN	1	5	
1978	Rapport	ISMGF – Policy regarding International Events	EN	1	3	
07/1979	Position paper	Future role of ISOD – Joan Scruton	EN	1	3	
07/1979	Correspondance	South African participation in the 1980 Arnhem PG	EN	4	11	
07/1979	Prospectus	The Twenty-Eighth International Stoke Mandeville Games for the Paralysed	EN	1	7	
04/1980	Correspondance	Ludwig Guttman Death	EN	1	1	
10/1980	Position paper	The position of the NWAA on Holding Games for the Disabled	EN	1	4	
1981	Articles de presse	20km de Bruxelles (1981)	FR	4	4	
1981	Article de presse	“Nous ne sommes pas une abstraction”	FR	1	1	
1981	Article de presse	Les « moins-valides »	FR	1	1	
1982	Constitution	International Stoke Mandeville Games Federation Consitution	EN	1	17	
06/1982	Correspondance	Joan Scrutin – Dr Tricot	EN	2	2	
11/1982	Correspondance	Co-ordinatif committee – ISMGF Track & Field section	EN	3	3	
1982	Rapport	Symposium International de l'UNESCO “La pratique sportive des sports par les handicapés physiques et mentaux”	FR	1	10	
03/1983	Invitation	Colloque Handicaps moteurs et entrainement sportif (Université Libre de Bruxelles)	FR	1	2	
06/1983	Articles de presse	20km de Bruxelles (1983) – Victoire de Pol Van Winkel	FR	11	16	
06/1983	Article de presse	Propaganda voor rolstoelsport ? of toch niet (Pol Van Winkel)	NL	1	4	
12/1983	Correspondance	ISOD Participation in the 1894 Olympic Games	EN	1	1	
01-03/1984	Correspondance	The VII World Wheelchair Games (Champaign) – Collapse	EN	13	19	

03-05/1984	Correspondance	The VII World Wheelchair Games (Champaign) – Collapse	EN-FR	11	18	
05-06/1984	Correspondance	The VII World Wheelchair Games (Champaign) – Critics	EN	4	7	
04-07/1984	Correspondance	Wheelchair demonstration in the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games	EN	4	10	
1984	ISOD Circular	Los Angeles: Are the disabled athletes better than their leaders?	EN	1	1	
08/1984	Rapport	ICC report on the Wheelchair Demonstration in Los Angeles	EN	3	8	
09/1984	Correspondance	Letter from the ISMGF former President John Grant	EN	1	4	
1984	Article de presse	20km de Bruxelles (1984)	FR	4	5	
1984	Article de presse	Wheelchair Sports: A paper on organization	EN	3	28	
1984	Position paper	The 1984 Olympic Scientific Congress Proceedings Volume 9	EN	1	24	
02/1985	Position paper	Position paper on ISOD Integrated Classification System (Canadian Federation)	EN	1	11	
05-07/1985	Correspondance	1985 European Track & Field Championship for the Disabled	EN	8	16	
07/1985	Rapport	Meeting of the Athletics Sport Section of ISMGF	EN	2	12	
07/1985	Communiqué de presse	Rick Hansen – Man in Motion World Tour	EN-FR	3	22	
08/1985	Rapport	Meeting of team Managers, 1985 European Athletics Championships (Belgium)	EN	1	3	
09/1985	Rapport	Simplified guide for classification – 1986 World Championships & Games for Disabled Archery – Athletics – Swimming (Gothenburg)	EN	7	22	
06/1986	Article de presse	20km de Bruxelles (1986)	FR	3	3	
07/1986	Rapport	Congrès pour le développement du sport international pour handicapés (Münich)	FR	1	4	
1986	Newsletter	ISMGF - On World Championships & Games for the Disabled (Gothenburg)	EN	1	4	
08/1986	Rapport	1986 World Championships & Games for Disabled Archery – Athletics – Swimming (Gothenburg)	EN	1	3	

08/1986	Rapport	Report from meetings on Classification Athletics	EN	1	5	
08/1986	Rapport	Report from meetings on the Functional Classification Swimming	EN	1	7	
09/1986	Rapport	L'évolution du sport international pour handicapés	EN	1	4	
10/1986	Invitation	ICC Seminar on structure and future of sports for the disabled (March 1987)	EN	1	4	
03/1987	Position paper	ISOD – Principles for international structure of governing bodies for sports competition programmes	EN	1		
03-04/1987	Article	The Physically Disabled in Sports – Tracing the influence of two tracks of a common movement (Sports & Spoke)	EN	1	10	
04/1987	Newsletter	ICC Newsletter 87/1	EN	1	16	
05/1987	Article de presse	20km de Bruxelles (1987)	FR	3	3	
02/1988	Correspondance	A propos de la Draft Constitution	EN	2	2	
1988	Constitution	ICC Draft Constitution	EN	1	17	
01/1988	Correspondance	Ad-Hoc Committee Future Organisation of sports for the disabled – Questionnaire to national organisations	EN	1	2	
01/1988	Correspondance	Ad-Hoc committee questionnaire – Belgian Answer	EN	1	4	
03/1988	Correspondance	Ad-Hoc committee questionnaire – German Answer	GE	1	2	
06/1988	Correspondance	Ad-Hoc committee questionnaire – Swedish Answer	EN	3	6	
1988	Rapport	Summary of replies to the questionnaire for the athletes	EN	1	4	
05/1988	Article de presse	Le remède du sport	FR	1	5	
1988	Prospectus	Seoul 1988 Games of the VIIIth Paralympics	EN	1	11	
1988-1989	Article de presse	Para-tennis	FR	4	4	
08/1988	Newsletter	ISOD Circular 2/88	EN	1	2	
10/1988	Correspondance	Ad Hoc Committee – Letter to the Paralympic Athletes	EN-FR	2	6	
12/1988	Correspondance	Message from the ISMGF President, John Grant	EN	1	2	
01/1989	Newsletter	ISDO Circular 1/89	EN	1	4	

03/1989	Correspondance	Ad-Hoc Committee for future Organisation of Sports for the Disabled – Proposed Constitution	FR	1	15	
04/1989	Correspondance	Ad-Hoc Committee Lettre d'intention	EN	1	2	
03/1989	Correspondance	FSBH - Ad Hoc Committee Proposed Constitution	FR-EN	1	4	
03/1989	Correspondance	CP-ISRA – Ad Hoc Committee Proposed Constitution	EN	1	4	
04/1989	Correspondance	Important message from the ISMGF President	EN	2	2	
05/1989	Correspondance	FSBH	NL	1	2	
09/1989	Rapport	Reports from the Inaugural GA of a World Organisation for Sport for the Disabled	EN	3	8	
09/1989	Correspondance	Nomination de Marie-Jeanne Piron (ISMGF)	EN-FR	7	8	
10/1989	Newsletter	Para-contact – Nouvelles sportives internationales	FR	1	5	
1990	Newsletter	International Paralympic Committee Newsletter Volume 1/ Number 1	EN	1	8	
11/1990	Rapport	Minutes of the ISMGF Executive Committee	EN	1	10	
11/1990	Correspondance	A propos de Marie-Jeanne Piron	FR	1	1	
01/1991	Rapport	Meeting between the IOC/ICC/IPC	EN	2	12	
1991	Newsletter	International Paralympic Committee newsletter Volume 2/ Number 2	EN	1	1	
04-1991	Article de presse	La Nouvelle Gazette	FR	7	7	
01/1992	Newsletter	Revue ASCTR – La professionnalisation grandissante des courses en fauteuil	FR	1	1	
06/1992	Correspondance	Change in the IPC Logo	EN	1	3	
06/1992	Rapport	Submission for the inclusion of events with full medal status for athletes with a disability in the 1996 Summer Olympic Games and Beyond (By R. Steadward)	EN	1	22	
1992	Newsletter	International Paralympic Committee Newsletter Volume 3/ Number 1	EN	1	1	
03/1993	Correspondence	Subvention du CIO	FR	2	2	x
03/1993	Rapport	Events to be proposed for Inclusion in the 1996 Summer OG and beyond	EN	1	5	x
03/1993	Rapport	The IOC and the Paralympics by A. Napier	EN	1	2	x

04/1993	Correspondance	Revised proposal for Inclusion of events in the 1996 OG and beyond	EN	1	2	x
04/1993	Correspondance	FIBA Commission for Basketball for the Disabled	EN	3	4	x
04/1993	Communiqué de presse	RTBF	FR	5	5	
04/1993	Correspondance	Update of the CIAD	EN	1	2	x
04/1993	Correspondance	New IPC logo	EN	1	1	x
04/1993	Correspondance	Torche Paralympique des JP de Barcelone 1992	FR	1	2	x
05/1993	Questionnaire	VISTA 93 : future directions for the IOC and the IPC	EN	1	3	x
05/1993	Rapport	Vista'93 Abstract manual & conference information	EN	1	1	x
05/1993	Correspondance	Inclusion of events for athletes with a disability in the Olympic program	EN	1	1	x
05/1993	Correspondance	Lettre de remerciements suite à Vista 93	FR-EN	2	2	x
05/1993	Correspondance	IOC Subvention for Vista 93	EN	2	2	x
06/1993	Correspondance	Invitation the 1993 IPC GA	EN	2	2	x
06/1993	Rapport	Memorandum IPC Vista 93 by Père Miro (IOC)	FR	1	4	x
06/1993	Correspondance	Use of the IPC five drops logo	EN	1	2	x
06/1993	Correspondance	Lettre de remerciements suite à Vista 93	EN	1	1	x
06/1993	Correspondance	Use of the IPC five drops logo	EN	2	2	x
06/1993	Rapport	'The future of IPC – What do you want? A consultation document''	EN	2	6	x
08/1993	Rapport	Meeting between the IOC and IPC	EN	1	4	x
09/1993	Rapport	President report for the 1993 IPC GA	EN	1	3	x
09/1993	Rapport	Secretary General Report for the 1993 IPC GA	EN	1	3	x
09/1993	Rapport	Treasurers Report for the 1993 IPC GA	EN	1	2	x
09/1993	Rapport	Technical officers report for the 1993 IPC GA	EN	1	8	x
09/1993	Rapport	Legal Committee report for the 1993 IPC GA	EN	1	4	x
09/1993	Rapport	North, Central and South America Regional Representative report for 1993 IPC	EN	1	3	x

		GA				
09/1993	Rapport	European Paralympic Committee report for the 1993 IPC GA	EN	1	4	x
09/1993	Rapport	IPC Athletes Committee for the 1993 IPC GA	EN	1	5	x
09/1993	Rapport	Progress report on the CIAD for the 1993IPC GA	EN	1	12	x
09/1993	Rapport	Equity for Athletes with a disability by R. Hansen for the 1993 IPC GA	EN	1	20	x
09/1993	Rapport	Finance report for the 1993 IPC GA	EN	1	9	x
09/1993	Rapport	Athletes Committee by laws	EN	1	2	x
09/1993	Rapport	Bylaws for the regional Committees for the 1993 IPC GA	EN	1	3	x
09/1993	Rapport	Nominations for election 1993 IPC GA	EN	1	2	x
09/1993	Rapport	Paper 'Issues on integration' for the 1993 IPC GA	EN	1	3	x
09/1993	Correspondance	1993 IPC GA by Walter Tröger	EN	1	2	x
09/1993	Rapport	Report site inspection candidate cities for 2000 PG	EN	1	3	x
09/1993	Rapport	Report site inspection candidate cities for 2000 PG	EN	1	4	x
09/1993	Minutes	Minutes of the 4 th IPC GA (Berlin)	EN	1	13	
Fall 1993	Newsleter	IPC Newsletter V.4 n°1	EN	1	16	
10/1993	Correspondance	Subvention du CIO	FR	1	1	x
10/1993	Correspondance	Inclusion of Full medal status	EN	1	2	x
11/1993	Minutes	MinuTes of the 4 th IPC GA in Berlin	EN	1	15	x
11/1993	Correspondance	Demande de subvention	FR	1	1	x
1993-1994	Correspondance	ISMGF Belgian membership	EN	9	10	
01/1994	Correspondance	Manuel de candidature à l'organisation des Jeux Paralympiques	FR	2	2	x
02/1994	Minutes	Meeting with the IPC	EN	2	6	x
03/1994	Correspondance	Demande de subvention suite au changement de logo	FR	1	1	x
03/1994	Rapport	Note interne du CIO 'Paralympics position'	EN	1	5	x
03/1994	Correspondance	5 Tear drops IPC Logo	EN	3	3	x

03/1994	Rapport	Note interne du CIO 'IOC and the Paralympics'	EN	1	5	x
04/1994	Correspondance	Planification of a IOC - IPC meeting	EN	1	1	x
04/1994	Correspondance	Planification of a IOC - IPC meeting	EN	1	1	x
07/1994	Correspondance	5 Tear drops IPC Logo	FR	4	5	x
08/1994	Correspondance	USA Gold medal in the 1992 Barcelona PG	EN	3	8	x
10/1994	Correspondance	Permanent IPC Secretariat	EN	1	2	x
Fall 1994	Newsletter	IPC Newsletter V.5 n°2	EN	1	12	x
12/1994	Correspondance	IPC Program development & Program Solidarity	EN-FR	6	7	x
01/1995	Correspondance	IPC Medical officer appointment in the IOC Medical Commission	EN	2	2	x
01/1995	Correspondance	Bidding cities for the 2002 Winter OG & PG	EN	4	4	x
02/1995	Correspondance	Demande de subvention	FR	1	1	x
02/1995	Correspondance	ISL	FR	1	1	x
02/1995	Correspondance	Collaboration IPC – IOC Medical commission	EN	1	2	X
03/1995	Correspondance	Collaboration IPC – IOC Medical commission	EN	1	2	x
1995	Newsletter	IPC Managzine n°2/1995	EN	1	18	x
06/1995	Rapport	Vision for the Future by A. Raes	EN	1	6	x
07/1995	Correspondance	First IPC Congress	EN	1	4	x
08/1995	Correspondance	India NPC recognition	EN	4	5	x
1995	Rapport	Integration and sport in the Paralympic Movement	EN	1	32	
08/1995	Correspondance	Papers for the 1995 IPC Congress	EN	1	1	x
10/1995	Correspondance	Liste des pays pauvres de l'IPC	FR	1	1	x
10/1995	Correspondance	Demande de subvention	EN	1	1	x
11/1995	Rapport	IOC Memorandum 'Relations entre les FI de sports pour Handicapés et IPC	FR	1	3	x
11/1995	Position paper	Paralympic for everyone by B. Verneau for the 1995 IPC Congress	EN	1	1	x
11/1995	Position paper	The principle and activities of the FESPIC federation for the 1995 IPC	EN	1	2	x

		Congress				
11/1995	Position paper	IPC and IOSDs: a marriage of convenience for the 1995 IPC Congress	EN	1	2	x
11/1995	Position paper	Development and solidarity by A. Auberger for the 1995 IPC Congress	EN	1	2	x
11/1995	Position paper	Proposal by the IPC European region for the 1995 IPC Congress	EN	1	3	x
11/1995	Position paper	Paper from the Spanish sports organization for the physically handicapped for the 1995 IPC Congress	EN	1	5	x
11/1995	Position paper	Present structure of international sports for athletes with a disability' by H. Lindström for the 1995 IPC Congress	EN	1	8	x
11/1995	Position paper	Position paper by A. Raes for the 1995 IPC Congress	EN	2	2	x
11/1995	Position paper	Paper by ISOD & ISMWSF presidents for the 1995 IPC Congress	EN	2	2	x
11/1995	Position paper	Position paper from B. Atha (INAS-FMH) for the 1995 IPC Congress	EN	1	1	x
11-1995	Position paper	Paper from the Norwegian Sports Organization for the disabled for the 1995 IPC Congress	EN	1	3	x
11/1995	Position paper	The IPC – Where lies the future? By P. Craven for the 1995 IPC Congress	EN	1	2	x
1995	Article de presse	Divers	FR	2	3	
11/1995	Rapport	'Summary of response to Questionnaire regarding the inclusion of Events for Athletes with a disability in major International competitions' by the CIAD	EN	1	5	x
11/1995	Rapport	President's report for the 1995 IPC GA	EN	1	1	x
11/1995	Rapport	Technical officer's report to the 1995 IPC GA	EN	1	4	x
11/1995	Rapport	Report of the medical officer for the 1995 IPC GA	EN	1	3	x
11/1995	Rapport	FESPIC Report for the 1995 IPC GA	EN	1	2	x
11/1995	Rapport	IPC Athletes committee report	EN	1	4	x
11/1995	Minutes	Minutes of the fifth IPC GA	EN	1	16	
11/1995	Correspondance	Mandate form, agenda and all documents related to the 1995 IPC GA	EN	1	3	x
11/1995	Communiqué de	Full medal status of Paralympic events in the 2000 OG Program	EN	1	1	x

	presse					
12/1995	Correspondance	Manual for host bidding to organize the XII Summer PG – 2004	EN	1	2	x
01/1996	Correspondance	Meeting IOC/IPC	EN	2	2	x
01/1996	Correspondance	Inclusion of full medal events in the OG	EN	1	2	x
01/1996	Correspondance	Subvention pour frais extraordinaire d'administration	FR	1	1	x
02/1996	Correspondance	Retrait d'affiliation du CISS de l'IPC	FR	1	1	
02/1996	Correspondance	Manual for host bidding to organize the XII Summer PG – 2004	EN	1	1	x
02/1996	Rapport	Demande de financement au CIO	FR	1	1	x
02/1996	Correspondance	Demande de subvention	FR	2	3	x
02/1996	Rapport	Réunion IPC - IOC	FR	1	8	x
1996	Rapport	Draft agreement IPC -ITF	EN	1	13	x
06/1996	Correspondance	Exhibition races Winter Olympic Games, Nagano 1998	EN	1	1	x
07/1996	Rapport	Report of the IPC Task Force : Partnership & Unity Towards the Twenty-first Century	EN	1	31	
08/1996	Rapport	Minutes of the IPC Extraordinary General Assembly	EN	1	7	
08/1996	Rapport	Paralympic Congress and timetable for S.E.M Juan Antonio Samaranch	EN	1	1	x
08/1996	Correspondance	Report of the IPC Task Force	EN	1	1	x
08/1996	Correspondance	50 th Anniversary of Wheelchair BB and the future of the Paralympic Movement	EN	2	2	x
09/1996	Correspondance	Full medal status of Paralympic events in the 2000 OG Program	EN	3	6	x
09/1996	Position paper	Lindström – Maintreaning, New roles and new possibilities for National Sports Organizations for Disabled	EN	1	3	
10/1996	Correspondance	IOC – IPC relationships for the IOC Medical Commission	EN	2	2	x
10/1996	Correspondance	IPC Athletics Section	EN	1	1	x
11/1996	Correspondance	Inclusion of events with full medal status for athletes with a disability in the 2000 OG	EN	3	6	x

1996	Rapport	Draft – Provisional Paralympic Summer Games Guidelines	EN	1	14	x
10/1996	Correspondance	Solidarité Paralympique 1997	EN	2	2	x
12/1996	Rapport	Meeting IOC/IPC	EN	2	9	x
12/1996	Correspondance	Lettre de remerciement concernant le programme de Solidarité Paralympique 1997	FR	1	1	x
01/1997	Correspondance	Arrangement for the IPC, IBSA, Once and IOC Meeting	EN	1	2	x
01/1997	Correspondance	Relation avec le president de la ONCE	FR	1	1	x
01/1997	Correspondance	Inclusion of events with full medal status for athletes with a disability in the 2000 OG	EN	1	2	x
01/1997	Correspondance	Inclusion of events with full medal status for athletes with a disability in the 2000 OG	EN	2	3	x
02/1997	Rapport	Conditions and requirement for organizing Summer and Winter PG	EN	3	14	x
03/1997	Correspondance	Invitation for the 1997 IPC GA	EN	2	2	x
03/1997	Correspondance	IOC – IPC relationships	EN	1	2	x
04/1997	Rapport	Basic Idea and Structure of IPC	EN	2	7	x
04/1997	Correspondance	IPC Structure	EN	2	3	x
04/1997	Correspondance	Inclusion of events with full medal status for athletes with a disability in the 2000 OG	EN	1	1	x
05/1997	Correspondance	Agreement with Salt Lake Organizing Committee	EN	1	1	x
05/1997	Correspondance	IPC Marketing Director H. Gibeault	EN	3	3	x
05/1997	Correspondance	IPC's International Marketing Program	EN	2	2	x
10/1997	Correspondance	IPC's International Marketing Program 1998-2004	EN	3	4	x
10/1997	Rapport	IPC European Conference and General Assembly	EN	1	5	x
10/1997	Correspondance	André Raes Resignation	EN	1	2	
10/1997	Correspondance	World Games for the Deaf	EN	1	2	

10/1997	Correspondance	World Games for the Deaf – CISS Answer	EN	2	6	
11/1997	Minutes	Minutes of the Seventh IPC General Assembly (Sydney, Australia)	EN	1	26	
1997	Rapport	The International Stoke Mandeville Wheelchair Sports Federation	EN	1	4	
01/1998	Correspondance	1998 IPC development Program	FR	2	4	x
04/1998	Correspondance	Between R. Steadward and J. A. Samaranch	EN	1	1	x
05/1998	Correspondance	IBSA – H. Linström conflict	EN	1	4	x
05/1998	Rapport	Inclusion of events with full medal status for athletes with a disability in the 2000 OG	EN	2	8	x
06/1998	Correspondance	Demande de subvention	FR	2	2	x
07/1998	Correspondance	Calgary Sun newspaper	EN	1	1	x
10/1998	Correspondance	IOC 2006 Bid Evaluation Commission	EN	2	2	x
10/1998	Correspondance	Inclusion of events with full medal status for athletes with a disability in the 2000 OG	EN	1	2	x
11/1998	Rapport	IOSD's Agreement in principal	EN	1	1	
06/1999	Correspondance	Yugoslavia participation in European/International competitions	EN	2	2	x
06/1999	Correspondance	Between R. Steadward and J. A. Samaranch	EN	2	5	x
08/1999	Correspondance	Between R. Steadward and J. A. Samaranch	EN	1	2	x
11/1999	Minutes	Minutes of the eighth IPC General Assembly (Salt Lake City, USA)	EN	1	17	
12/1999	Rapport	Report by the IOC 2000 Commission to the 110 th IOC session	EN	1	29	
1999	Article scientifique	Proceedings of the 99' Vista conference - Michael Riding	EN	1	5	
1999	Article scientifique	Proceedings of the 99' Vista conference – Horst Strohkendl	EN	1	20	
1999	Article scientifique	Proceedings of the 99' Vista conference – Norma Lorincz	EN	1	15	
1999	Article scientifique	Proceedings of the 99' Vista conference – York Chow	EN	1	6	
1999	Article scientifique	Proceedings of the 99' Vista conference – Gary Wheeler	EN	1	33	
1999	Article scientifique	Proceedings of the 99' Vista conference – Colin Rains	EN	1	5	

1999	Article scientifique	Proceedings of the 99' Vista conference – Harald von Selzam	EN	1	15	
1999	Article scientifique	Proceedings of the 99' Vista conference – Karen DePauw	EN	1	11	
1999	Article scientifique	Proceedings of the 99' Vista conference – Hans Lindström	EN	1	30	
1999	Article scientifique	Proceedings of the 99' Vista conference – Carol Mushett	EN	1	6	
2000	Rapport	Activité Physiques et Sportives Adaptées (Prof. A. Strom) – Université Catholique de Louvain	FR	1	22	
04/2000	Rapport	Duties and responsibilities of the NPC	EN	1	5	
04/2000	Correspondance	Between R. Steadward and J. A. Samaranch	EN	1	5	x
05/2000	Correspondance	Financial assistance for the Summer PG	EN	2	2	x
05/2000	Correspondance	Between R. Steadward and G. Felli	EN	3	4	x
09/2000	Correspondance	VIP Program of the IPC	EN	1	1	x
10/2000	Correspondance	IOC – IPC Agreement signature	EN	4	4	x
2000	Rapport	Facts sheets of the 2000 Sydney Paralympic Games	EN	1	19	
12/2000	Correspondance	Dr. Steve Bailey request	EN	1	1	x
2000-2003	Rapport	Cooperation Agreement between IOC – IPC (three parts)	EN	3	15	
02/2001	Correspondance	Suspension of INAS-FID from IPC Membership	EN	1	1	x
03/2001	Correspondance	Suspension of INAS-FID from IPC Membership	EN	2	2	x
04/2001	Rapport	IPC Strategic Planning Congress (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia)	EN	1	44	
04/2001	Rapport	IPC Strategic Planning Congress (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia) – Theme I : Governance	EN	1	22	
04/2001	Rapport	IPC Strategic Planning Congress (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia) – Theme II : Roles and responsibilities	EN	1	31	
04/2001	Rapport	IPC Strategic Planning Congress (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia) – Theme II : Structure	EN	1	24	
04/2001	Rapport	Description of responsibilities for IPC Elected Officers – Period 2001-2005	EN	1	5	

05/2001	Correspondance	Deaf World Games change in Deaflympics	EN	1	1	
06/2001	Correspondance	Revised structure of the IPC Executive Board	EN	1	3	
06/2001	Correspondance	IOC/IPC Agreement Part 1	EN	1	12	
10/2001	Press release	IOC and IPC sign agreement on the organization of the PG	EN	1	1	x
11/2001	Correspondance	F. Terranova proposal for IPC Presidency	FR	3	3	x
12/2001	Rapport	Minutes of the ninth IPC General Assembly (Athens, Greece)	EN	2	32	
12/2001	Correspondance	Phil Craven elected IPC President	EN	2	2	x
12/2001	Minutes	Minutes of the ninth GA IPC	EN	1	15	
01/2002	Correspondance	Dr. Robert Steadward reportage	EN	2	2	x
03/2002	Correspondance	IOC Commissions/IPC Representation	EN	2	2	x
03/2002	Correspondance	Correspondance between R. Steadward and P. Craven	EN	2	2	
04/2002	Correspondance	IOC Commissions	EN	1	1	x
06/2003	Rapport	IPC Strategic Plan Strategic Review	EN	1	13	
06/2003	Rapport	IPC – email/fax to IPC membership	EN	1	13	
07/2003	Correspondance	IPC/IOC Relations	EN	1	2	x
08/2003	Correspondance	Signature of the IOC – IPC Agreement Part III	EN	1	2	x
08/2003	Correspondance	IOC/IPC Agreement Part 3	EN	1	4	
08/2003	Rapport	Report, Recommendations and strategic planning New organization ISMWSF-ISOD	EN	1	12	
08/2003	Rapport	Minutes of the joint ISMWGF/ISOD General Assembly (28 th October 2003)	EN	1	5	
08/2003	Rapport	Minutes of the joint ISMWGF/ISOD General Assembly (29 th October 2003)	EN	1	8	
11/2003	Rapport	Minutes of the Tenth IPC GA (Torino, Italy)	EN	1	33	
11/2004	Rapport	The IPC International Development Conference Ensuring Sustainable Development	EN	1	15	
11/2004	Minutes	Minutes of the IPC Extraordinary GA	EN	1	14	

2004	Rapport	The Paralympics – Promoting Health and Human Rights through sport	EN	1	16	
2005	Rapport	Paralympics Equestrian will join the FEI	EN	1	2	
06/2006	Rapport	IPC Sport Governance and Management Initiative	EN	1	16	
11/2007	Rapport	2007 IPC GA (Seoul, South Korea)	EN	1	19	
11/2007	Rapport	Minutes of the 2007 IPC GA (Seoul, South-Korea)	EN	1	28	
2008	Rapport	IPC – History and use of the term “Paralympic”	EN	1	3	
11/2009	Rapport	Minutes of the 14 th IPC GA	EN	1	17	
2009	Newsletter	Magazine HSCTR – From Aylesbury to Bonn	FR	1	3	
2010	Rapport	Chapter 2.7 Bylaw sport governance and management IPC	EN	1	15	
2011	Rapport	IPC Strategic Plan 2011-2014	EN	1	40	
2013	Rapport	IPC Sports Strategic Plan 2013-2016	EN	1	20	
2014	Rapport	IPC Membership Gathering	EN	1	48	
2015	Rapport	IPC Strategic Plan 2015-2018	EN	1	41	
2015	Rapport	Chapter 2.7 schedule to bylaws sport governance and management IPC	EN	1	3	
2015	Rapport	2015 IPC GA Motion form n3	EN	1	5	
11/2015	Rapport	IPC athlete classification code	EN	1	20	

Appendix II: Endoding table of macro analysis: examples for institutional formation and change

Institutional formation Stage 1 : institutionalization of the Paralympic Movement (1944-1960)		
Transformation in disability perception	Key insights	Analysis
XIXth century: "individual approach located in medical knowledge was widely accepted in Western society" ; "focus on bodily "abnormality" disorder or deficiency and how this "causes" functional limitation or "disability" (Barnes & Mercer, 2010)	Dominant discourses in society focused on bodily abnormality, sustained by a medical understanding of disability	What? Dominant discourses Where? In society When? ~XXth century
"individual model of disability of which medicalization is one significant component" (Oliver, 1996)		
Quotes from archives	Key insights	Analysis
"The most remarkable achievement of all however, was to seen in the table tennis competitions. These were divided into three classes: a) cervical cord injuries, b) high thoracic cord injuries and c) for the lower cord injuries" ('Olympic Games for the disabled' by Dr Ludwig Guttmann, World Sports, October 1952)	Creation of a first classification system	What? rule Where? Field level When? 1952 Who? Dr Ludwig Guttmann, sport administrators at the Stoke Mandeville Hospital
"The rehabilitation program for paraplegics consists in an initial period of medical treatment and passive movements, followed by specially adapted exercises for the upper extremities of the body" (Dr A. Tricot interview for the I.N.R broadcast, September 6th 1954)	Specially adapted exercises (ndlr: sport activities) are integral part of the rehabilitation treatment of people with a spinal injury	What? script Where? Field level When? 1954 Who? Dr Albert Tricot, Belgian collaborator of Dr Guttmann

Institutional change Stage 2 : Consecrating the medical classification rules (1960-1981)		
Transformation in disability perception	Key insights	Analysis
1st national survey by the Office of Population Censures and Survey (OPCS) in late 1960s	OPCS based on a medical understanding of disability	Increasing international awareness of people with a disability in society but persistence of the individual model of disability
1975 UN Declaration of the rights of Disabled People	Increasing social awareness of people with an impairment	
Quotes from archives	Key insights	Analysis
“During the past year, the idea of sport amongst the paralysed and other handicapped people has shown further development. Many countries have held their own National Games for the Paralysed, and paralysed men and women have also taken part in international multi-disabled sports meetings” (Program of The Twelfth International Stoke Mandeville Games for the Paralysed, July 24-27th, 1963)	‘other handicapped people’ (ndlr: not only spinally injured) are part of the international sport movement	Translating of the previous script
“Will Cloney, the Marathon’s venerable director, shook each participant’s hand, then turned to Bob Hall and uttered: ‘I hope this thing works” (Sports’ N Spokes, July/August 1977)	Sport achievement instead of sport solely for rehabilitation purpose	Theorization: dominant medical discourses are gradually weakened

“The sports events were controlled by qualified international referees of the ISMGF in cooperation with national Canadian referees. Naturally, as in previous international sports competitions, sometimes discrepancies arose between international judges or referees with the officials of the host country. However, this did not interfere with the running of the competitions as a whole” (‘Reflection on the 1976 Toronto Olympiad for the Physically Disabled’ by Sir L. Guttman, Paraplegia n°14, 1976)	Gradual sportivisation of rehabilitation practices	Translating of the previous script
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