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Abstract

This article focuses on the context of private sporting clubs, previously referred to by sports historians as ‘the long residuals of sport’, as important sites of sporting culture and sport heritage in local communities. The project explores the history and meaning of sport through intergenerational collaboration between the academic researcher, primary school children and experienced members of Glasgow Southside's sports community. The research reflects on the process of intergenerational learning, reminiscence and heritage activities to inform future cultural histories of sport, as well as sports development and future wellbeing. Through a focus on interpreting cultural and social change in Glasgow sport by educating children and elder members of the community in the use of sport media archives, as well as affording opportunities to examine the usefulness of intergenerational communication in community settings, the project investigated the cultural transmission of sporting cultures of the past, and its influence over, or disconnection from, contemporary sporting practices of young people. The article concludes that by acknowledging and sharing the heritage of private sport clubs, such ‘communities of practice’ have an important role to play in fostering stronger socio-cultural ties between clubs, their members and young people.

Keywords: Sport heritage, intergenerational learning, reminiscence, archives.

Introduction

In July and August 2014 the city of Glasgow hosted the twentieth Commonwealth Games. The political rhetoric, public affairs and communications that surrounded the event promoted the positive social, cultural, environmental and economic benefits that would follow the hosting of the sporting mega-event, with much emphasis placed on the central legacy principles of ‘health’, ‘inclusion’ and ‘sustainability’.¹ As research by Stuart Whigham on the political discourses that accompanied the hosting of Glasgow 2014 has illustrated, such rhetoric fits with commonplace politicised logics of

‘boosterism’ that accompany the hosting of sport mega-events and the legacy ideals that follow them.² Among the various legacy outcomes detailed in the Glasgow 2014 Legacy Framework, which included health and physical activity, civic pride, sports events, tourism, environmental sustainability and education, there was no mention of the role heritage might play in delivering such outcomes, nor, indeed, as a priority outcome in itself. Although one of the headline outcomes of the Framework was to ‘inspire new cultural activity and learning opportunities’ none of the list of specific outcomes equated to learning about, fostering or celebrating Glasgow’s sports heritage. Ged O’Brien’s *Played in Glasgow* fantastically illustrated the city’s incredible wealth of sporting heritage, from local community-led clubs to national sporting venues including the National Stadium, Hampden.³ Given such rich and historic sites of sporting significance in Glasgow, the omission of heritage policies and practices from the Legacy document raises questions as to why? Moreover, the emphasis on regeneration through the Games, in terms of discourses espousing the benefits of renewed sporting and residential infrastructures, have similarly been criticised for ignoring the needs of local populations, which includes localised cultural and sporting services and amenities.⁴ In the context of community sport clubs, this raises questions as to why legacy objectives in hosting sporting mega-events ignore the value for community sport cultures and their heritage, and what opportunities exist to connect the heritage of local community sport to future sport policies, health education and public engagement?

A discussion of what sport heritage is for is prompted by a need to understand the meaning and values of contemporary sports culture, which is increasingly viewed as being subject to overt commodification, dislocated from communities and in some

cases socially exclusive.⁵ Connecting with what Stephen Hardy and colleagues have called the ‘long residuals of sport’,⁶ this article focuses on the context of private sporting clubs as important sites of sporting culture and sport heritage. Through the analysis of an action research project with sport clubs in the Southside of Glasgow in Scotland, the article critically reviews the particular challenges and opportunities for sport and heritage education through intergenerational learning and sport participation. The article aims to provoke discussion and possible policy development in the potential use of localised, community sports heritage initiatives, which link in to some broader themes of how understanding the sporting past and investigating the themes that emerge from a range of visual sources can inspire both intergenerational learning and sustainable sports development activity. The article critically evaluates the importance of the applied intervention of interdisciplinary research on sports history, which can creatively inform new social and cultural engagement around sport heritage themes and practices.

Community Sports Clubs as Repositories of Cultural Heritage

Sport heritage is of direct relevance to sport historians because it is part of the renegotiation of the meanings placed on the past. Historians have rightly critiqued the sport heritage industry for overtly romanticising the sporting past, heroes and sites of play in waves of nostalgia and myth.⁷ As Grant Jarvie has noted, sporting heritage ‘can construct a national fable and glorify and sanitise the past by developing sporting myth’.⁸ Nevertheless, in spite of lacking integrity in some cases, sport historians have also recognised the importance of sport heritage initiatives, such as sport museums and halls of fame, as being ‘essential for maintaining artefacts, as well as a sense of place and tradition for contemporary sports audiences.’⁹ Arguably, a large percentage of sport

artefacts, traditions and sense of place exists at the periphery of organised sporting heritage within the clubs and communities that sustain national sporting cultures.

For more than a century local amateur sports clubs were sites of important social and cultural bonds in communities.¹⁰ As Wray Vamplew has argued: ‘They enabled people with a common purpose to come together, provided a basis for agreeing common rules and regulations, created a framework for competitive interaction and secured a location for participation and sociability’.¹¹ Today, many clubs struggle to recruit new members and face financial hardship. According to the Sport and Recreation Alliance the representative trade body for the UK’s governing bodies of sport, there are 151,000 sports clubs operational in the UK. The SRA’s research between 2011 and 2013 showed a general decline in sports clubs, partly due to the changing nature of sport and fitness practices, which have become more individualized, but also the failure of clubs to accommodate and appeal to the social and cultural needs of potential new members, in particular young people. Research in 2017 revealed a resurgence in club membership, with 56% of clubs in the UK reporting more junior members over the previous year. While the general environment of sport club membership and their financial security has been unstable for several decades, the SRA research does demonstrate the resilience of the club model in sport, particularly in building engagement in active lifestyles in local communities.¹²

The value of sports clubs to national sporting cultures has become a primary focus of sports policy. Initiatives to promote, foster leadership and financially support community sports clubs have been developed at regional and national levels by local authorities and national agencies for sport in recognition of the important role clubs can

play in community engagement and public health. In Scotland, the national agency for sport SportScotland introduced its Community Sports Hub scheme in 2013 with the aim of fostering local partnerships to produce safe and fun spaces for sport and recreation in communities. The scheme invests a budget of £1.5million into 133 CSH's every year, which in 2015 supported 818 sports clubs across Scotland. Nevertheless, in spite of the sport development merits of the policy, in SportsScotland's framework for club development there is no mention of the importance of either the historical infrastructure of sport clubs in Scotland, or the cultural value of club heritage to sport in Scottish society.¹³

The invisibility of sport heritage in grand civic projects that aim to regenerate post-industrial urban communities and promote civic pride, social inclusion and sustainability is one of many challenges facing the heritage sector. In the case of sport, its heritage is often viewed as being the preserve of its own governing body, and if a museum exists it survives on the patronage and funding of the administration of the sport who either believe in its broader cultural value or not. Research by Justine Reilly, Matthew Clayton and John Hughson revealed how sports history was absent from the official documentation of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport and the London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games during the celebrations around London 2012.¹⁴ But governing bodies are not the only repositories of sport heritage. Both Andrew Hood and Justine Reilly have noted that extensive material sport collections exist at local, regional and national levels and many of these sport collections have been on display in diverse museum and public buildings for more than a century.¹⁵ Public archives, of both local and national origin, frequently contain an array of sport collections from photographs, film, paintings, architectural drawings, public records,

and ephemera that are representative of the historical sporting culture of a town, city or region. In the UK, recognition of the diversity of sport heritage has begun to emerge through Simon Inglis's *Played In* book series sponsored by English Heritage,¹⁶ via professional and academic collaborations such as the Sports in Museums Network which was later rebranded as the community-interest company Sporting Heritage, and the formation of Sport Heritage Scotland, an initiative developed from the football reminiscence project run by the Scottish Football Museum. Nevertheless, developments of this nature are the exception and overly reliant on a select group of individuals who champion the place of sports heritage in wider cultural and educational sectors. The celebration and use sporting heritage for educational and tourism purposes remains largely the preserve of well-resourced governing bodies of sport or a select number of professional sports clubs, mainly in football and cricket, that can afford to invest in opening up their archives and tangible heritage to the public. However, with over half a million private sports clubs across the UK, there are many sports organisations in local communities with long histories, and whose material culture from the past is well represented in the preservation of collections of minutes, photographs, films, trophies, sporting equipment, assorted ephemera, architecture and playing fields. Furthermore, many of the members of such clubs also form part of the collective memory of sport in communities and provide the potential for valuable intangible heritage. In other words, private community sports clubs, run by local people for local people and on a voluntary basis, are key residual repositories of sports heritage and should also be of interest to sport historians and educators.

Sport, Heritage and Identity in Scotland

Within the humanities, there is now an established acceptance that culture and heritage have a significant part to play in generating wider public value.¹⁷ This is particularly the case in relation to historic buildings, monuments and landscapes of archaeological significance where various local, regional and national authorities have invested significant human and financial resources in their conservation and sustainability for the purposes of heritage, education and tourism.¹⁸ In particular, community heritage and community-based archival projects have illustrated the value in participatory and collaborative approaches to knowledge production through the use of local archives which can empower different publics to develop and authenticate new community stories.¹⁹ Community sports heritage has also been popularised in this context. English Heritage, for example, provided financial support for the *Played in Britain* series, covering the architecture, sportscape, graphic, fine art, archaeology and artefacts of past sport in selected British cities. Ged O'Brien's *Played in Glasgow* similarly received financial support from Historic Scotland and Glasgow City Council.

The connections between sport, cultural memory and heritage are growing and gaining wider recognition as an important aspect of a wider public engagement with history and historical projects.²⁰ The celebration of Scottish Sporting Trophies in a project devised by sports broadcaster and academic Hugh Dan McLellan and Grant Jarvie supported by SportScotland in 2014, placed strong emphasis on Scotland's historical contribution to world sport, especially in golf, curling, bowls and shinty. In Scotland, participation in sport and consumption of its mediation through the press, film, radio, television and now the Internet forms an important feature of everyday life, cultural heritage, identity and public policy. This is true in terms of its recreational value, the promotion of health

and wellbeing and the wider social and cultural meanings communicated through sporting practices, as players, spectators and administrators. Sport is also central to the construction of identities, where mediated representations of sporting nationalism, such as being Scots and celebrating ‘Scottishness’ are pronounced, particularly around sports such as football and Rugby Union.²¹ Other initiatives like the Scottish Sports Hall of Fame run collaboratively by SportScotland and the National Museums of Scotland, or the Scottish Football Museum housed in Scotland’s national stadium in Glasgow, exemplify a desire to celebrate sport in Scotland and Scotland’s sporting heroes. The museum is also home to Sport Heritage Scotland, a network created in 2017 to support the ‘sporting memories’ activities of six Scottish governing bodies for football, golf, rugby union, shinty, cricket and curling. Scottish Women in Sport (SWIS) have also championed the role of elite female athletes in Scotland’s sporting past with the introduction of the Scottish Women in Sport Hall of Fame in 2018. Academic sport historians, heritage professionals and volunteers have coalesced to create these sport heritage initiatives in Scotland, and in doing so provide important sites for reimagining the purpose of sport heritage in contemporary Scottish culture and society. Here, Scottish sport histories from feminist historians, such as Fiona Skillen, Carol Osbourne and Eilidh Macrae have opened up new critical interpretations of sport in Scotland which also inform heritage practice in new and innovative ways with ‘herstories’ of women’s sporting pasts.²² Histories of Scottish football, which are expansive, have also seen new approaches and revelations from previously untapped archives and sources such as Matthew McDowell’s cultural history of club football in Scotland and John Hutchinson and Andy Mitchell’s revelatory book *1824* which tells the story of the world’s first football club created by John Hope in Edinburgh.²³

Sports museums, and the heroes worshiped within them, commonly draw on feelings of nostalgia from their visitors, who frequently view such sporting heritage sites as ‘pilgrimages’ to view and enjoy the ‘symbols of faith’ that the hallowed stadia, artefacts, documents and relics represent.²⁴ While these are important national heritage resources, they tend to elevate symbols of national prestige and achievement rather than engaging with more localised and personal histories of sport in Scottish communities.

In their critique of sporting heritage as tourism, Greg Ramshaw and Sean Gammon illustrate how most sport heritage sites use emotional rhetoric of nostalgia to both attract visitors and inform the core narrative of exhibits.²⁵ Instead of viewing sports history through this nostalgic lens, they identify a typology of four approaches to sporting heritage that moves beyond such emotive framing: tangible immovable sport heritage; tangible movable sport heritage; intangible sport heritage; and goods and services with a sport heritage component. Although these four characteristics of sport heritage are wide-ranging in their scope, they do at least open up broader perspectives on the nature and value of sport heritage. Historical sites of sporting importance such as stadia, buildings and playing fields are perhaps the most obvious forms of immovable sport heritage. Sports equipment, clothing, and media are forms of tangible movable sport heritage and are often presented as user-friendly ways for museums, exhibitions and professional sports clubs to celebrate their history. Memories, stories, traditions and customs form the core of intangible sport heritage and are less representative in sports heritage tourism. Work on the heritage uses of sporting heroes by Gammon suggests such figures provide opportunities for a living commoditized heritage of athletes which celebrates their talent, performance and achievement in sport, even when the value of their heritage status, may have faded, be damaged, or is contested.²⁶ The

commercialized memorabilia, reproductions and exhibits are the most common form of goods and services associated with the last form of sporting heritage. It is clear to acknowledge that when unpacked further, the sites, materials and immaterial features of sport heritage are extensive and varied, and offer up a range of ways for people to engage with, enjoy and understand the meanings of the sporting past.

Intergenerational Learning, Reminiscence and Sport Heritage

Sports reminiscence involves a process of evoking and reconstructing memories of sport to empower its participants. Previous research on reminiscence from within health studies and social care, has illustrated the ways in which recalling long-term memories and life stories can empower older people to improve overall morale and quality of life.²⁷ It is also recognised that reminiscence is one non-clinical way of halting the decline in semantic memory, or memory of the world, which is often associated with the early stages of dementia.²⁸ Emotions associated with sport in an individual's past experiences can provide a powerful cue to recall family histories and cultural traditions, and provide informants with a narrative identity. The sharing of such personal narratives of sport can reinforce attitudes of respect, understanding and acceptance across generations, reaffirming the socio-cultural value of sport in communities.

The concept of intergenerational learning, and its value to both young and senior people alike, is now well established. Existing intergenerational research studies are frequently used for the mutual transmission of knowledge, beliefs, practices and life histories between adults and children. The exchanges are conducted for educational or lifelong learning purposes and may involve direct teaching or more informal activities, carried out in schools, family or community settings. Intergenerational research and practice is

carried out for varying reasons, but a common outcome of such exchanges is the desire to develop individual and community learning, as well as building positive social capital for the participants.²⁹

Loewen has explained how intergenerational learning programmes support a better understanding of the participants' community.³⁰ When adolescents are involved with older members of the community in a learning activity, the classroom can be a forum for the sharing of the life experiences of the adults. The interaction between adolescents and adults usually has the structure of adults having positions of authority and being focal points of knowledge, and the students receiving this knowledge. The exposure of adolescents in a public school system to an age group older than that of their teachers and unsupervised by them is very rare.

Intergenerational learning is also heavily associated with the social theory learning proposed by Etienne Wenger ideally located in what he termed 'communities of practice'.³¹ This suggests we place learning in a social context of lived experience rather than in individualised structures of following a curriculum. This recognises learning is a social experience, which changes perceptions of how learning takes place and how it may be supported. In the context of sporting heritage, this suggests that our knowledge, competencies, engagement and understanding of meaning are all enhanced through communities of practice, which do not replace but certainly compliment more traditional modes of education.

Intergenerational learning projects work best if there are some common grounds or shared goals among the different age groups.³² In the case of the Glasgow project there

was a clear understanding by all participants that sport had a firm place in the lives of the local community. There was also an implicit assumption that sport offered a positive experience, was connected to health and wellbeing and was something with altruistic benefits. The prospect of the city hosting the Twentieth Commonwealth Games in July and August 2014 heightened an awareness of sport in Glasgow, which was reaffirmed by the involvement of some of the clubs in the city's facility plans and also in terms of wide local media coverage of the Games and its expectant legacy impact on local communities. In other words, most young residents in Glasgow, and certainly those involved in running sports clubs, were acutely aware of the sporting malaise that framed many conversations about Glasgow in the lead-up to being Commonwealth Games hosts. In terms of heritage activities, the co-design of the project, involving both the clubs and the school who were facilitating the project was also central to the conceptual thinking and design of the research.

A further principle of effective intergenerational research is the recognition that every participant has something to offer. Young people who may usually be quiet in the classroom and not be confident contributors are afforded opportunities to engage with older generations, either individually or in a collective. Similarly, older participants, some of whom will have limited opportunities to engage with young people, and in the context of sports heritage are encouraged to open a dialogue with young people and share their own thoughts and reminiscences of the sport they play, coach or administer at club level.

Methodology and Context for the Research

The research, carried out in the Southside of Glasgow between 1 February to 31 October 2013, explored the interpretations of local sports heritage in the community involving people from diverse generational, gender and ethnic backgrounds. The pilot project was funded by an Exploratory Award from the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council in response to the ‘Care for the Future’ theme which, among a number of objectives, aims to critically analyse ways in which the past connects with the present and informs the future. The study used action research methodology which has become an established approach in education, health and community research projects through the participatory collection of data with the objective of generating practical knowledge of participants to enact social change.³³ Action research, therefore, ‘is concerned with exploring the multiple determinants of actions, interactions and interpersonal relationships in unique contexts’.³⁴ In the context of sport heritage, the research in Glasgow encouraged young people to reflect upon the concepts that are used to join together the past, present and future – including ideas about memory, legacy, heritage, and wellbeing within the context of their wider learning in the classroom in collaboration with their teacher. One of the broader contexts for the research was the prospect of the 2014 Commonwealth Games being hosted in the city, and a desire to connect aspects of the city’s sporting heritage to notions of legacy, prosperity and wellbeing, which had a principle objective to ‘inspire more Glasgow citizens to become physically active and participate in sport’.³⁵

The research explored different creative, artistic and media modes of community engagement with the city’s sporting past and through intergenerational engagement triggered senior members of the Glasgow sporting community to draw upon different

emotions evoked by reflecting on the past – such as nostalgia, celebration and pride when reflecting on the longevity of particular sporting clubs in the area. Many of these clubs were formed in the mid-to-late Nineteenth Century.

The project was the catalyst for 24 young people aged nine and ten of mixed abilities and diverse cultural backgrounds (one third of the group were of South East Asian ethnic origin) from Shawlands Primary School to connect with ten senior members of the local sports community aged between 48 and 80.³⁶ The children met senior club representatives and visited sporting venues from in and around Shawlands, Pollokshields, Pollokshaws, Queens Park and Govanhill to investigate sporting heritage in the Southside of the city. The academic purpose of the research was to develop our understanding of how the concept of heritage is understood, contested and authenticated, and assess the role and value of sports heritage for cultural and social change. The project investigated the transmission of sporting cultures of the past, and its influence over, or disconnection from, contemporary sporting practices of young people, which tend to be highly commercialised and mediated. The intergenerational research therefore enabled young people to learn why particular sports clubs existed in their local area and understand how their membership and association with the community may have changed over time. Through community engagement the children were encouraged to think about the sustainability of sports clubs, and in some cases interview the people who were integral to the survival of such institutions. With this in mind, the children also explored local lost spaces sport, such as the former ice rink at nearby Crossmyloof and the former football stadium at Cathkin Park, to understand where sport used to be played in the south of the city and how the urban landscape of sport had changed over time. This aspect of the research connected with the pupils

knowledge and understanding of new sporting arenas in the city (many of them being built for the Commonwealth Games), enabling them to think about why certain sports venues flourish where others do not.

The research used a variety of methods and activities co-created with the school and local clubs, to explore the relationships between people, places and discourses of sporting heritage, including:

- Intergenerational communication and reminiscence of club sport;
- Community heritage activities including site visits and museum visits;
- Engaging communities in the interpretation of sports films and visual culture;
- Enabling communities to explore the continuities and transformations in sports cultures in their localities through the use of local sport histories, websites and digital resources supplied by the researcher on Apple iPad's such as photographs and maps;
- Experience playing particular sports in the club venues, in some cases for the first time.³⁷

Some of the most valuable resources used on the project were films held by Scottish Screen Archive and the newsreel archives of British Pathé, which had captured sport in the area throughout the Twentieth Century. Copies and licences to use some of these films in the project proved to be invaluable in some cases, particularly where moving images of local clubs featured in either home movies or popular mass newsreels from past decades. As research on the Mitchell and Kenyon archive has shown, early moving images of sport provide an important historical resource for interpreting continuities and changes in sporting practices, venues and the commercialisation of sport.³⁸

The media archives were used to inform and compliment the core research method of the project, intergenerational reminiscence and engagement of young people with senior members of the clubs. The Glasgow sport clubs involved included:

- Clydesdale Cricket Club

- Poloc Cricket Club
- Pollok Football Club
- Titwood Tennis Club
- Shawlands Bowling Club
- Govanhill Baths Community Trust
- East Kilbride Curling Club

The students practiced interview technique and devised a schedule of open-ended questions in the classroom prior to each field visit. The children recorded the reminiscences and stories of club members on digital recorders supplied by the researcher, and used iPads to take photographs of venues, artefacts and photographs that were representative of the club's heritage and material culture.³⁹ The data collected was used to inform the pupils' projects on each sport which were organised in groups in collaboration with their schoolteacher. Although the researcher briefed both the teacher and the class with regard to what the project aimed to do, the teacher and the children were allowed to explore different creative ways to study different sports in the community and produce a wide range of creative outputs including poetry, short stories and reminiscences, artwork, collage, models, video and a replica of a local sports stadium using the gaming software Minecraft. Children worked on the projects in class, and a selection of this creative material was later posted on the project blog and used in an exhibition at the school open to parents and the local sports community. At the end of the project the researcher interviewed the children in groups, asking them to reflect on what they had learned, what they felt about the people they had met and interviewed, and what their perception of sport in the community was. The senior participants in the project were contacted and asked for feedback on the project, and in some cases follow-up communications between the school and the clubs was instigated by the researcher.

The Uses of Sports Media and Archives in Heritage Activities

The research recognized the value of media and sport education as an essential component in the social inclusion of young people in their communities, helping the development of cultural citizenship, media literacy and self-esteem. It also opened up new ways of raising the profile and status of Scottish sports archives to both the children and the senior members of the sport community. For example, students learned how to access the online Pathé news archive and a film *If Winter Comes* showing interwar Glaswegians curling in 1933 at a former nearby curling pond was shared by a group with an experienced curling coach who had not seen the film before.⁴⁰ This developed the children's skills in accessing and searching digital archives, at the same time enabling the senior sports participant to interpret and explain the historic significance of the film, highlighting the difference and transformations in curling styles, dress codes and equipment from the period in the film to today. This simple exchange helped illustrate that curling in Scotland has a long and wide-ranging history, including in urban centres such as Glasgow, where curling clubs existed and played on purpose-built curling ponds, which is a history now lost to the suburban sprawl of Glasgow and changing sporting traditions in the area. The children working in the group looking at winter sports also had access, via iPads, to a range of images, maps and newspaper clippings that helped construct their understanding of this history, especially the popularity of curling in the area in the early half of the twentieth century. Evidence of tangible and intangible curling heritage in the community therefore produced a realisation of how local people from different eras used their winter recreation in a socially and cultural distinct form from the contemporary experience of the children in the group. A practical demonstration and first attempt to 'curl' at East Kilbride skating

rink (some twenty miles from the school) provided additional experiential learning of how difficult the sport is to play.

Sports media archives have an intrinsic value in illuminating broader cultural shifts of sport in society. The visual culture of sport, in particular, has the capacity to illustrate the transformations in the actual sites of sport and material changes to sport stadia, or in terms of the identities and backgrounds of those involved in sport.⁴¹ During the Glasgow project there were numerous instances of this process in action, but one of the best examples came from a visit to a local cricket ground, Poloc Cricket club located in the beautiful environs of Pollok Country Park. The senior youth coach of the club, a volunteer in his early fifties, had explored the club archive, kept in a dusty cabinet locked away in the back room of the clubhouse, and displayed an amazing array of photographs from the late-Victorian, Edwardian and mid-Twentieth Century. These were set out on tables throughout the clubhouse for the children to explore. The coach explained some of the details in the photographs including stories of a team from 1911 some of whom appear in the club's war memorial set in to one of the walls of the clubhouse. The war memorial lists those members who lost their lives in both World Wars, many of whom appeared in the club's photographic archives. War memorials are well recognized as valued sites of remembrance, commemoration and social memory, but there is also an acknowledgement that attempts to maintain acts of commemoration have become more difficult as veterans get older and generations of people with memories of war disappear.⁴² In a setting and context that might not usually be associated with the heritage of war, the children were asked to reflect and consider the devastating impact of the First World War on the cricket club's first team, thereby summoning themes of heroism, sacrifice, solemnity and horror of war. The same group

of children also looked at images from the annual club fête taken during the late-Victorian and Edwardian periods when the club had a vibrant membership. The photographs show large ensembles of club members in their best clothes, women as well as men. The images provided evidence that the club did not only play cricket, but also had tennis, table tennis, croquet, bowls and golf sections too, with high numbers of female members. The images therefore serve as a reminder that many of the sporting clubs in industrial cities of the UK were devised as multi-sport clubs and had broad patronage from local communities. This contrasts with the contemporary club, and many clubs like it, that now struggle for survival in the age of individualized and commercialized sporting practices.

It can be suggested from the research in Glasgow, briefly examined in these examples from curling and cricket, that film and photography archives offer a useful resource to intergenerational heritage activities in order to analyse sporting practices of the past in local communities. Close analysis of media texts can enable a wider understanding of how a particular sport was played: how rules and laws of sport have changed and were interpreted; the place of women in sport; the evolution of sporting techniques and modes of performance through sport; and the cultural importance of ‘the club’ itself in the wider social structure of the community. Further, sports film and photographs illuminate continuity and change in stadium architecture, the use of advertising, aspects of professionalism and commercialism in sport and the emergent forms of spectatorship and fandom. They also help reflect on the loss of sporting spaces, such as the curling pond, which was replaced by middle-class suburban housing, or the transformations in the utility of sports grounds, which once accommodated multiple sporting practices which have since dwindled in scale. Indeed, all the requisite aspects for understanding

the place of sport in society could be analysed and interpreted through such visual cultures of the sporting past.

The Club Visits and Intergenerational Learning

Sport clearly plays an important role in the formation of regional and national identities.⁴³ The secular rituals of sport and the civic pride it frequently stirs in particular communities is of great interest to both social scientists and historians. The intergenerational reminiscences of sport club members with school children offered a bottom-up way of understanding the dynamics of how these identities are constructed and what the meaning of sport is for those who volunteer their time and energies to the survival of community club sport. Acting as intermediary and facilitator, the enhanced academic contact with schools and sports clubs in the south Glasgow area focused on what local people believed to be the core values of sport in the community, and how they might be explored in an historical context. Through embodied field research the children visited sites and relics of community sports based in the south of Glasgow at places such as Crossmyloof Ice Rink (now the location of a supermarket), Cathkin Park (the site of the second Hampden Stadium and home of the defunct Third Lanark Football Club) and Govanhill Baths (a former local authority swimming baths and wash house now run by a local community trust) that encouraged them to learn about the history of different clubs and venues, as well as develop a sensory mapping of local sports culture and sports heritage sites back in the classroom.

Inviting young people to develop their own questions and practice interview techniques empowered them to explore their curiosity about the local sports clubs and the material objects they found at each venue.⁴⁴ The senior members of the local sports clubs helped

young people to explore the histories of the clubs, the architecture of the sports buildings and clubhouses, the images and artefacts held by the clubs and selected stories of people and events that had taken place at the club over the years. For example, in the visit to Titwood Tennis Club, the children recorded an interview with a senior female member who recalled what she knew of the club's history and that the club had not always been popular:

'I'm not a historian, but this club was formed 1890, a lot of people got together and started to realise the value of sport in their lives. They got this land from Stirling Maxwell, [...] and in fact there are a lot of houses around here were built on land he gave people. The club itself was first built for a bowling club then the tennis club and they shared the facilities. They decided they would like their own club house and that was built in the 1920s. I don't think the club has always been very successful. Sometimes there were very few players. In fact, on one stage they gave up on the tennis and grass grew up on the courts.'⁴⁵

This intergenerational sharing offered the senior members of the sports community the opportunity to educate younger generations about sport beyond the academic researcher and teacher. The intergenerational approach enabled all participants to learn together and to overcome any social and cultural barriers that may have existed, particularly with regard to sports clubs being private and often gated spaces in the community, as indeed was the case with Titwood Tennis Club.

A common theme in the oral history interviews was for the young people to inquire why individuals had begun playing a particular sport. This often produced personal recollections of participation, for example one interviewee was asked what inspired him to play cricket, which prompted an account of his childhood experience of watching the sport on television, as well as explaining some context of how sport on television has changed over time:

'I think I was probably inspired by watching cricket on television. Because - now this won't make any sense to you - but when I was your age, when I switched on the television how many channels to do you think there were?

Three. So I could pick three channels. And during the day, and this is even harder to believe, there was nothing on television. [...] but in the summer when I switched on the television there was cricket. So I sat and watched the cricket. Everybody sat and watched cricket. And I watched West Indian players and Australian players, and I thought I want to be as good as them.⁴⁶

In an example of how local people began an engagement with a particular club, three members of Junior football club, Pollok F.C., noted how they all started supporting the club following the demise of Scottish League club Third Lanark F. C. which went in to administration in 1967. Moreover, they explained how football was traditionally a working-class men's pastime in Glasgow:

'We're a remnant of what we call 'the working class'. Now you don't have that anymore. You go down to the shipyards, there's hardly anybody in the shipyards. There's hardly anybody in the mines. There's hardly anybody making steel, if you go out to Ravenscraig. This was the working man's idea of entertainment. We didn't have television's or laptops. So what did you do on a Saturday? You got out your good shirt and a tie – and if you look at some of the old photos you see men wearing bowler hats at football matches. [shows the children a black and white photograph of Poloc supporters from 1912] Now that's him on a Saturday on a day out. And I bet that he was working in a mine or steelworks.'⁴⁷

The interviewees also reflected on the meaning of Junior football in Scotland:

It is very community based. Especially if you go out in Ayrshire. The mining villages like Cumnock and Auchinleck, whereas we are just part of Glasgow. Although the support for the club comes from Newton Mearns, Clarkston, all over the place. [...] We've got members from all over the West of Scotland. The name Junior is a misnomer, because it's not junior. You go on holiday and say you support Pollok Juniors, and they say 'is that just wee boys?'. It's just a distinction from Senior football. [...] The Junior association broke away from the SFA over a fight over compensation. Rangers and Celtic were taking people away from the Juniors and no compensation was being given.⁴⁸

The intergenerational interviews at Pollok F.C. produced reflections on what local Junior football meant to the senior members of the club, as well as affording them an opportunity to express how they felt football had changed over time, and how this reflected broader social change. Similar reflections on the changing nature of clubs was expressed by most of those who were interviewed. One specific example came from

Clydesdale Cricket Club, which is one of the most thriving sporting clubs in the area, which is principally due to its hockey section. The sharing of sporting grounds with other sports is a feature of many recreational spaces and clubs in Glasgow. As a senior member of Clydesdale explained to the pupils:

Eighteen years ago there was another pavilion over there, and there used to be a bowls club in that corner. And then in this corner here there were four tennis courts and that was the works club of a company based in Paisley Coates Threads. They made threads for sewing machines. That was the works club, they bowled and they played tennis. But then they stopped because works clubs went out of fashion. Which is a pity. So with nobody to use that, we demolished the pavilion and we demolished the tennis courts, and demolished the bowls area, because this club became a hockey club as well as a cricket club in 1959.⁴⁹

Senior members also had the opportunity to reflect on their own position in the sport community, and place value on the potential for their own intervention in to celebrating local sports heritage. For example, one of the clubs visited, a bowls club, was immediately adjacent to the school. Scotland, and Glasgow, has a long history of bowling clubs, with a number of clubs in the southside of the city dating back to the 1830s. Old ordnance survey maps of the area reveal that prior to the first wave of suburban expansion with the railways at the end of the nineteenth century, two institutions stood alone, cheek-by-jowl, on the Pollokshaws Road leading south from the city: Shawlands Academy (now the primary school) and Shawlands Bowling Club. The club's minutes dating back to 1866 reveal membership of the schoolmasters and the club, but association between the two institutions declined from the middle of the Twentieth century. The project rekindled relations between the club and the school and introduced a group of children to the sport of bowls for the first time. The club was originally located in Eastwood Avenue before moving to Pollokshaws Road in 1892 and by an amazing coincidence one of the children discovered their house was built on the site of the old green. A former schoolmaster of Shawlands Academy donated a silver

mounted jack to celebrate the opening of the new green and ever since, the club season was ritually opened by Sir John Stirling Maxwell, patron and major landowner of the area, who usually gave a speech to members before the first 'Jack' was bowled by a female member, usually the wife of the Club President.⁵⁰ She was then presented with the silver mounted jack, a ceremony that continues to this day, and the children able to hold the artifact during the visit. The annual ritual itself is captured in the film *Opening Day* an amateur film from 1946 held by Scottish Screen Archive, and a copy of the film was donated to the club by the school.⁵¹ Following the tour of the club the children were able to play a game of bowls, learning the rudiments of play, the scoring system and the pleasures of the sport itself. The club secretary and the club president both attended the final exhibition in the school and informally met the Head Teacher to establish a new bond built on shared heritage of longstanding neighbours.

The Value of Intergenerational Sports Heritage to Future Wellbeing

The pilot research project in the Southside of Glasgow was an innovative attempt to bring together a care for future recreational needs and wellbeing, with the cultural heritage of sport and its connections with a 'community of practice' made up of children, senior club members, teachers and the researcher. Intellectually, the research connected with other projects aiming to understand and interpret the cultural transmission of practices of the past with those of the future, as well as those interested in how cultural inheritance, collective memory and intergenerational media research can be interlinked in innovative ways. The timing of the research, one year prior to Glasgow 2014, suggests a need for sport heritage to find its place in large-scale public policy initiatives when cities are hosting major sporting competitions. It also raised a need for wider thinking about the value and use of heritage themes in connection with

sport development. The intergenerational method used for the research provides evidence that an added sense of connection and meaning can be created by local sports heritage projects that bring together people from different ages and backgrounds together under the cohesive umbrella of sport. The research produced some initial findings on how sport heritage provides a context for different generations to work, learn and socialize with each other in order to develop better understandings of locality, sociability, culture and community by sharing ideas and experiences with other age groups.

This was a pilot action research project with limited time and resources. Nevertheless, the interviews with children and follow-up meetings and correspondence with the clubs did indicate a willingness and desire to forge stronger links between the clubs and the local learning community in the Southside of Glasgow. There was also affirmation that club heritage activities, whether in terms of celebrating past achievements through honours boards, or displaying old photographs, trophies and memorabilia in clubhouses did make members aware of the rich sporting past many of the clubs in the area enjoyed, and that by acknowledging and sharing the heritage of private sport clubs, such ‘communities of practice’ have an important role to play in fostering stronger socio-cultural ties between clubs, their members and young people. Moreover, many of the clubs involved in the project who already had a website began to scan and upload more images from the past and share the intangible stories associated with the history of the clubs. The motivation for doing so was simple, to share the long histories and established traditions of the club to entice future members. Intergenerational sport heritage therefore can be evidenced as having a potential to enhance and enrich the contemporary activities of sports clubs, to demystify their traditions and cultures, and

compliment the work of partnerships with professional sports development agencies, such as local authorities and governing bodies of sport, to transform social engagement in sport at all age groups. At a time of stringent cuts to public services which affect the delivery of sports development, museums and education services, bringing together various partners around sporting heritage themes appears to be a starting point for more holistic approaches to learning from the past to shape our future health and wellbeing.

Notes

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- ³⁶ Ethical clearance, in terms of gaining formal disclosure prior to working with young people, and obtaining formal approval from parents or guardians for permission to record and photograph the activities ensured the intergenerational practice could be undertaken safely and appropriately to their learning needs. Senior participants from the sport clubs were briefed by the researcher prior to the intergenerational meetings to ensure they were aware of why the children would be visiting their club and what to expect from the visit.

³⁷ The principles guiding the school children's projects on different sports and clubs were to research, interact, report and create on their community sport heritage experiences. Pupils therefore did some historical research on their local sports heritage, engaged with the local community to explore what knowledge existed about sport in the community, reported on the site visits and created stories, reports, photographs, video, weblogs and digital maps about the sporting past in Shawlands, which can then be shared with the local community.

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³⁹ Examples of the club visits, interviews and community exhibition conducted by the primary school children are available on the project blog <https://sportheritage.wordpress.com/2013/>

⁴⁰ The Pathé film *If Winter Comes* is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eF-mdpvRyRE>

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⁴⁵ Young people's interview with senior member of Titwood Tennis Club, June 2013.

⁴⁶ Pupil interview with senior member of Poloc Cricket Club, May 2013.

⁴⁷ Pupil interview with senior member of Pollok Football Club, June 2013.

⁴⁸ Pupil interview with senior member of Pollok Football Club, June 2013.

⁴⁹ Pupil interview with senior member of Clydesdale Cricket Club, May 2013.

⁵⁰ The Maxwell family were the baronets of Pollock, with hereditary ownership of a large estate in the south of Glasgow going back to the 13th Century.

Much of their wealth came from Atlantic slave trade as part of the British Empire. In the late 17th century, Glasgow had more than a hundred merchants, part of a 'Great Company' trading with the Americas, including the Caribbean islands. For detailed discussion of how Glasgow benefitted from the slave trade see:

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