Sporting Heritage: What Value Does it Hold?

Skateboarders at Kelvingrove 1978 Skatepark. Image: Iain Urquhart, www.northskate.com

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Abstract

Sport has been at the heart of popular culture in Glasgow for over a century. Our relationship with sport as a player or a spectator has the power to stir the heart and mind; it has the power to evoke memories that are often infused with sound, sight, smell and taste; it has the power to unite us. The city's integral relationship with sport was demonstrated recently when it agreed to host the Commonwealth Games 2026 after Victoria, Australia withdrew due to rising costs. Yet, for an activity that plays such a dominant part of our lives sporting heritage is an area that is just starting to gain interest and further research in the heritage and archaeology sector. The case studies that follow will explore the value of sporting heritage to the citizens of Glasgow. It will investigate the demanding campaign taken by the people of Govanhill when their sporting heritage was under threat; the Edwardian Baths which was the only social and leisure facility in the area was considered too expensive to keep open by the council. Govanhill Baths opened in 1917 became a vital part of the community's public health system as it was not only a place where working-class people could access washing facilities but also a hub for public swimming and leisure activities. The struggle to preserve their historical sporting structure ensued for over twenty years and is now a symbol of the community's strong identity and cohesion. The second case study will explore the historical sporting hub of Glasgow Green and the West Boathouse which is located on the banks of the River Clyde within the park. The Green is one of Glasgow's oldest and most notable spaces regarding sporting heritage and is inherent to the development of many sporting clubs such as football, golf and rowing. Built in 1905, the Edwardian West Boathouse housed the Clyde and Clydesdale Amateur Rowing Clubs, which have both greatly contributed to Glasgow's legacy in rowing. However, by 2015 the building faced significant structural problems and was in a perilous condition. The significant renovation and upgrade of the building ensured the continuation of rowing on the Clyde as an important social and competitive sport. Additionally, the extensive community engagement programme which ran in conjunction with the restoration encouraged a new audience to re-engage with the river and celebrate the east end of the city's rich sporting culture and heritage. The final case study follows the rise of skateboarding which was initially an alternative sport in the 1970s and 80s and gained traction as a countercultural movement. Kelvingrove 1978 skatepark played a vital role in this youth subculture as it was a unique space for young

skaters to challenge the conventional ideas of sport and recreation through creativity, expression and identity. The skatepark was covered over by 1982, at a time when boarding had taken a dip in popularity however preliminary archaeological investigations are enabling a better understanding of Glasgow's post-industrial transition. This research will demonstrate the potential for further archaeological exploration of the site to appreciate the creation of new communities and cultural identities in the urban landscape and how public spaces evolved to meet these new societal trends.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Situating the Research

What value does our sporting heritage have? In this thesis, the term 'value' within the context of the following sporting heritage case studies will have a multifaceted understanding which extends well beyond just monetary worth. It is a concept that includes social, cultural and personal value. It also includes tangible aspects such as the preservation of historic sporting structures and intangible elements such as emotional connections, narratives and traditions. Moreover, the term 'value' includes the understanding that sporting heritage evolves with societal changes and the ongoing reinterpretation of the past for present and future communities

Sporting heritage's social value lies in its ability to promote civic cohesion and build community and thus provide a sense of continuity. In turn, this can encourage local groups to participate and take responsibility in its conservation and preservation which can help invigorate neglected areas and foster a sense of pride (Giulianotto 2005: 40).Sporting heritage is also a powerful social tool for intergenerational connection through reminiscing which can contribute to wellbeing. The experience of sharing sporting history memories strengthens social bonds and creates a collective identity between community members. Sporting heritage's cultural value is embedded in its ability to foster a sense of belonging and oneness and can play a role in shaping cultural identity and national pride. Sport as a form of cultural heritage provides clues to our past and how society has evolved thus helping people understand their traditions and history[1] This contributes to collective identity and memory which is demonstrated by local sporting structures which can be focal points for the community and personify their memories, dreams and hopes. Sporting heritage's personal value can provide inspiration and aspiration; stories of athletic achievement and sportsmanship can inspire people to overcome challenges and pursue their own goals and thus contribute to a sense of personal history and wellbeing. This thesis aims to investigate the use of Govanhill Baths, the West Boathouse and Kelvingrove 1978 Skatepark to investigate the multifaceted value of sporting heritage and how it can help stimulate positive social developments in the future.

Despite the political and cultural value of sport in our society, sporting heritage still has a low status in the historic environment agenda. The 2014 Commonwealth Games, held in Glasgow hosted 4,950 athletes competing from 71 nations and was the largest multi-sport event ever held in Scotland. Mike Hooper. Commonwealth Games federation chief executive praised the Games as '*the standout games in the history of the movement*".[2] Not only were the Games

[1] UNESCO. (n.d.). Intangible Cultural Heritage. [UNESCO.org]↩

[2] https://www.movementstrategies.com/case-studies/glasgow-2014-commonwealth-games

deemed a great success, but Glaswegians were also assured the Games would be followed by economic, environmental, cultural and social benefits for the city.

The Glasgow 2014 Legacy Framework which followed emphasised six themes for the Games: prosperous, active, international, greener, accessible and inclusive, which were underpinned by the key principles of health, sustainability and inclusion. [3] Yet, as Richard Haynes points out in his research, the learning opportunities and new cultural activities that the Framework sought to inspire lacked any mention of Glasgow's sporting heritage or how it may be used as a vehicle for delivering the outcomes (Haynes 2020: 258). Glasgow has a wealth of historic sporting structures and artefacts and a multitude of community sport clubs with rich heritages which had the potential to positively influence legacy objectives in all the areas that the Legacy Framework aimed to fulfil yet they were ignored by the Games.

On the 17th of September 2024, Glasgow announced it will host the Commonwealth Games again, after the state of Victoria was forced to withdraw due to spiralling costs. The event will be a stripped-down version with 10 sports rather than 18 in the previous Glasgow Games and it is hoped that this new streamlined formula will encourage other countries and cities to host the Games and thus preserve them for the future. [4] The return of the Games to Glasgow is also an opportunity to consider how sporting heritage can be integrated into this major sporting competition in relation to historic sporting buildings and community sporting heritage programmes.

The Glasgow Commonwealth Games 2026 would be the perfect arena to display and celebrate the city's sporting heritage initiatives while generating a wider public audience. This thesis aims to evaluate the value of sporting heritage by investigating three case studies: Govanhill Baths, West Boathouse and the Kelvingrove 1978 Skatepark. All the sporting structures are located within the area of Glasgow although the sporting communities they served both in the past and presently are different. Therefore, the thesis will explore the impact that sporting heritage has on the communities and the potential role they could play when the city is hosting major sporting competitions.

In recent years sporting heritage has been used in new and innovative ways and in 2021, Archaeology Scotland used the medium of football as a focus for their community archaeology *'New Audiences'* project.[5] They recognised the powerful and integrating influence that football

[3] https://glasgow.gov.uk/media/343/Legacy-Framework-Progress-Report-2013-14-and-Action-Plan-2014-15-Final/pdf/Legacy_Framework_Progress_Report_2013-14_and_Action_Plan_2014-15_Final.pdf?m=1681393356047

[4] https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/live/cx25ly59l28t

[5] https://www.archaeologyscotland.org.uk/work/new-audiences-project/

played in society and used it as a tool to help migrants and asylum seekers in Glasgow assimilate to their new home. The original site of First Hampden which is Scotland's first National Football Stadium had been lost over the years but was rediscovered in an old railway map in 2017. The site was excavated by people who would not usually have access to archaeology and heritage and the process not only taught them new skills but helped them to meet new people and practise speaking English while acclimatising to living in a new country.[6] The writer worked alongside the volunteers on the project and witnessed firsthand the many ways it enhanced the participants social capital and confidence (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Finding First Hampden. Image: Dig It Scotland

I met Bobby from Vietnam who was a huge football fan, but he also wanted to practise speaking English as he was starting college soon and hoping it would lead him to university to study engineering. He wanted to meet people from Glasgow as he was going to live here and was eager to find a group of friends that he could play 5-a-side football with a few nights a week. Sehar enjoyed the sense of camaraderie and shared feelings of excitement with the new friends she had made. She had never considered archaeology as a career possibility for people from working-class or migrant backgrounds, but the experience changed her mind. The volunteers who had no previous archaeological experience worked as part of a team alongside Archaeology Scotland staff members to learn the core skills of the site formation process to

[6] https://hampdencollection.com/the-first-hampden-project/

find an iconic part of Scottish footballing history. The positive experience prompted the writer to research other community-led sporting heritage initiatives within the city of Glasgow.

1.2 Research Questions

My research aimed to answer the following questions:

In what ways does sporting heritage inform new sporting, social and cultural engagements in communities within Glasgow?

This was carried out through the following objectives:

1. To research the original site of Govanhill Baths and the ways in which it served society in the past. Research the new purpose of the site and evaluate what sporting, social and cultural heritage value it holds for the community it serves.

2. To research the original site of Glasgow Green and the West Boathouse and the communities which it served. Research the restoration of the West Boathouse and the community engagement programme that was incorporated into the initiative and evaluate the sporting, social and cultural heritage value it holds for the community it serves.

3. To research the development of skateboarding and investigate why some skateboarding parks in Britain from the late 70s to the early 80s have gained heritage listing. Research the original site of the 1978 Kelvingrove Skatepark and how it served communities in the past. Investigate the potential for Kelvingrove Skatepark as an archaeological community dig in the future and what sporting, social and cultural values it would have.

4. Investigate the ways in which the sporting heritage case studies within this thesis could promote policy development and be used as part of public policy initiatives when Glasgow is hosting major sporting competitions.

1.3 Methodology

To deliver on these objectives in this research a qualitative analysis approach was developed. This approach allows the researcher to use a specific set of research methods such as oral history, in-depth interviews, content analysis, desk-based assessment, observations and participation. The reason for choosing a qualitative approach is that it allows the use of interviews, online research tools and other research methods to identify concerns, issues, experiences and good practises in the field of sporting heritage and thus develop the case studies.

Oral history was obtained by interviewing individuals about their past experiences from the perspective of the present. In Scotland, like most countries, oral history has its roots in folklore and oral traditions where history was passed down by word of mouth to the next generations (Bertie and McIvor, 2013: 110). However, it was popularised in Scotland in the 1950s by historians who wanted to create a completer and more human picture of rural communities in Scotland and everyday life. Today, museums regularly use oral history in their exhibitions, especially where areas are poorly documented as it allows the personal narrative to be retold in a more democratic manner.

For the writer to participate as an oral history interviewer, ethical approval had to be obtained from the University of Glasgow which governs the standard of conduct for researchers. This is a rigorous process which involves an application form detailing the research protocol and supporting documentation. This includes participation sheets and consent forms which are written in plain English which is language which can be easily understood by people who may not work in the field of archaeology. All research involving people is reviewed by the ethics committee to ensure that the welfare, rights and dignity of research participants are being respected and that the researcher fully understands the ethical principles of autonomy and justice.

Observation and participation also played an important role in the research. The writer worked as a volunteer in the West Boathouse Project 2022-2023, working through the heritage collection of the Clydesdale and Clyde Amateur Rowing Clubs. There was a wide range of artifacts dating from the 1860s that had never been recorded or catalogued and as part of the volunteer project we packed up the material from the boathouse prior to it being closed for renovation and relocated it to the offices of the Glasgow Building Preservation Trust. In the year that followed the collection was catalogued, digitally recorded and

displayed in the renovated boathouse. This not only gave the writer experience in working with sporting heritage collections but also gave a wider insight into the challenges and process of the regeneration of the boathouse.

Additionally, the writer visited the Deep End, which is the temporary residence of Govanhill Baths, regularly and worked alongside Paula Larkin, the archivist to research the sporting heritage history of the Baths. Interviews were conducted with people who had contributed to life at the Baths and been affected by the closure of the building. Research also included how the community is planning and preparing new sporting, social and cultural activities when the building reopens soon. Finally, it is worth noting that all participants in this research project were happy to be named in this thesis.

1.4 Situating the Location of the Case Studies

1.4.1 Locating Govanhill Baths

Govanhill Baths were built in 1914 at 99 Calder Street in Govanhill which lies approximately 4km to the south of the River Clyde and Glasgow City Centre. Physically, it remains just one of the few large-scale districts in Glasgow with tenement buildings and historically it has been the South Side's busy shopping area which has been an important source of employment, albeit low-paid work (see Figure 2). Over the past century, the area's physical landscape has remained relatively unchanged however there have been major shifts economically and socially (Mooney and Fyfe 2006: 140). Unemployment, like other areas in Glasgow, is higher than the Scottish average, 13.1% in 2003, and 22% of the citizens are classed as not active economically; note that the figures from the recent 2023 Scottish Census are not yet published (Poverty Alliance, 2003: 5). The employment availability in many shops that cater for Govanhill's large minority ethnic population make the employment figures lower than other parts of Glasgow and it is the ethnic mix that embodies the social change in the area in recent years. 10% of the population were from Black and minority backgrounds, primarily Pakistani, in 1991 and this increased to 30% by 2001.

Figure 2. The main artery of Victoria Road, Govanhill. Image: Student 0210094.

The cultural diversity of the area is due to Govanhill being a place where migrants have settled, and this is reflected in local newsagents which sell a variety of Asian publications, the Jewish Chronicle and The Donegal Democrat. The pubs are varied too and well known as a place where Celtic football supporters meet as there are lots of Irish bars with live music. However, like other areas of Glasgow there are wider economic and social problems. The 2000 Report, Govanhill: Insecure Scotland? The Scottish Council Foundation categorised the area as a community at risk because of the decline in social and economic health. Also, it highlighted the significant lack of facilities for youths in the area and the rise of drug use which had led to significant increase in drug related deaths (Scottish Council Foundation, 2000). In 2003, a separate report by The Poverty Alliance brought attention to the issues of concern voiced by residents which included poor facilities and services. Not only were the swimming facilities closed in 2001 but in the previous few years the neighbourhood had experienced the closure of the x-ray and breast-screening unit and the social work office. Meanwhile, other nearby facilities such as the local library and Victoria Infirmary were also under the threat of closure. The residents were also concerned about the lack of available nursery places and facilities for younger children and felt that the lack of council funding and neglect from policymakers and local politicians was a major problem; they felt that Scottish 'devolution' had not improved the quality of life for the majority of Govanhill's citizens (Poverty Alliance, 2003: 8). Therefore, it is important to understand that the large-scale protests that would ensue when Govanhill Baths closed were

part and parcel of a perceived wider assault on the community and the reduction and closure of other services in the area.

1.4.2 Locating Glasgow Green and the West Boathouse

Glasgow Green and the West Boathouse is situated in the postcode G1 5QA within the Carlton ward and electoral division in the northeast of Glasgow (see Figure 3). At the time of the 2011 census the population of the area was 15,552 and the ethnic makeup consisted of 90% white British; 5.4% Asian, (mainly Chinese); 3.6% Black, (mainly African); 1% Mixed, (other ethnic groups).[7] Carlton used to be a lively district as it was the industrial centre of the West of Glasgow, and many people were employed in the steel industry. The black and white photographs on display at the People's Palace in Glasgow Green (temporally closed for renovation) demonstrate what the area was like 50 years ago. Although there was plenty of work, Carlton was a typical working-class neighbourhood where people lived in tenement flats where several families would share a toilet. The fuming smokestacks of the great steel mills overhung the working-class housing schemes.

Figure 3. The Carlton Area of Glasgow Image: architectsjournal.co.uk

[7]https://www.understandingglasgow.com/profiles/neighbourhood-profiles/ne-sector/calton-and-bridgeton

Presently, claimant rates for disability and unemployment benefits are higher than the Glasgow average and female and male life expectancy is lower than the Glasgow average. Also, child poverty is much higher than the Glasgow average and single-parent households make up 51% of the population with dependent children. The steel industry has been replaced by a shopping mall called Parkhead Forge which is now one of the main employers in the area, and most of the shops are outlets selling mostly products from Asia. It is an area of multiple deprivation where one in five is unemployed and half the population depends on benefits and like other areas in Glasgow, high unemployment brings other problems such as poverty, drugs, alcohol and depression.

When the West Boathouse, situated on Glasgow Green received rejuvenation funding of £2.8 million from the National Lottery Heritage Fund, an exciting programme was devised aimed to change how the boathouse had been used over the last hundred years and change by whom it is used. Rowing has an image problem and is perceived as being elitist and expensive. However, this was a chance to embrace new audiences and promote engagement with the River Clyde. The West Boathouse, a category B Listed boathouse was purposely built for Clyde and Clydesdale Amateur Clubs in 1905. By the late 1990s, it was evident that the building had significant structural problems and the original timber foundations were rotting; moreover, the interior facilities were outdated.[8] The funding not only allowed the West Boathouse to be rejuvenated but also included an expansive community engagement programme which included recording and cataloguing the Boathouse sporting heritage collection; building two rowing skiffs in conjunction with Glasgow Disability Alliance; developing an Environmental policy and creating educational materials advocating the role of caring for the river. The Boathouse reopened in 2023 and continues to promote engaging with new audiences with ongoing engagement programmes.

1.4.3 Locating Kelvingrove 1978 Skatepark

The 1978 Skatepark is in Kelvingrove Park in the West End of Glasgow which was purchased by the Glasgow City Council in 1852. It is a Victorian park, which like other parks in the city, was built when the population of Glasgow was growing rapidly due to the industrial revolution (see Figure 4). The river Kelvin runs through the park making it a haven wildlife and birds such

[8] https://westboathouse.org.uk/

as kingfishers, mallards, cormorants and herons.[9] The park is situated in one of the wealthier areas of Glasgow and is flanked to the south by the area of Kelvingrove, to the north by Hillhead and to the west by Gilmorehill and the University of Glasgow the area is home to many students because it is within easy reach of the university campus and many continue to live here after graduation as the area has many entertainment options and a range of tenement building containing self-contained flats of different sizes.

Figure 4. The Area of Kelvingrove Image: gerryblaikie.com

The area of Kelvingrove sits around a large hill which is known as the Park District. Originally, it was created by Charles Wilson in the 1850's as a highly desirable residential area which would be to the Georgian new town in Edinburgh.[10] Over the years these buildings were mostly taken over for student accommodation and office spaces, however more recently the neighbourhood has seen more high-class building development and a return to residential use. Unemployment is particularly low in comparison to Scottish and Glasgow averages and due to

[9] http://kelvingrovepark.com/heritage-walk.html
[10] http://www.gerryblaikie.com/westend/parkdistrict.htm

its location close to the University of Glasgow, the amount of young people in further education and training is particularly high.

The 1978 Kelvingrove Skatepark was buried in the early 80s but there are parts of the facility which could be excavated and perhaps even skated on once again. The historic value of skateboarding's 'Second Wave' in the late 70s to the early 80s is now being recognised. They represent physical evidence of the early development of a sport which became a phenomenon and is still culturally relevant today. They also represent a unique time in design and architecture and the way youth culture was engaging with social space and sport. As skateboarding became popular, purpose-built parks were built to cash in on the sensation as well as to keep the boarders off the street but when the sport dwindled in the early 80s most of the parks were destroyed or bulldozed. However, these unique sporting structures have important heritage value and are now being conserved and managed for future generations to experience and appreciate.

1.5 Thesis Structure

This thesis aims to evaluate the value of sporting heritage by investigating three case studies: Govanhill Baths, West Boathouse and Kelvingrove 1978 Skatepark. All the sporting structures are located within Glasgow although the sporting communities they served both in the past and presently are different. Therefore, the thesis will explore the impact that sporting heritage has on its communities and the ways it should be incorporated into public policy initiatives when the city is hosting important sporting competitions such as the Commonwealth Games.

Chapter two will investigate why sporting heritage, and the archaeology of sport has gained public interest in recent years. It will all show how sporting heritage networks developed in the UK and initiatives in Scotland which led to strategies in developing the Sporting Heritage Scotland organisation. The chapter concludes with a case study on sporting heritage and community archaeology which the writer was personally involved with and led to further investigations within the subject of sporting heritage to create this thesis.

Chapter three will investigate Govanhill Baths and explore why and whom it was built for in 1914 and how it served the community of that era. It will then discuss the closure of the Baths by Glasgow City Council in 2001 because they considered the building to be too expensive to run and too costly to renovate. The ensuing fight to save their only local amenity by the

community and how it developed into people power and a vision for the future will also be explored.

Chapter four will investigate West Boathouse, which is a sharp contrast to Govanhill baths as the building received a 2.8 million budget from National Lottery Heritage Fund, Historic Environment Scotland, Glasgow City Council and many others for a rejuvenation project. Despite an ambitious community engagement programme this case study will investigate if the aim of embracing new audiences and changing how the boathouse was used was achieved.

Chapter five will explore the rise of skateboarding from its roots in the late 1950s and early 1960s on the surf-beach promenades of California to becoming a global phenomenon with over fifty million riders worldwide. It will also investigate why 'second wave' skateparks are now being recognised as an intrinsic part of urban culture and heritage landmarks.

Chapter six will revisit the arguments and evidence discussed throughout the thesis and will close with a discussion on the contribution sporting heritage has made to the communities it serves and the valuable role it could play when Glasgow is hosting important sporting competitions such as the Commonwealth Games 2026.

Chapter 2. Literature Review and Sporting Heritage Practice

2.1 Sporting Heritage: Last in the Race

Nearly 20 years ago, archaeologist Jason Wood (2005) argued that despite all the positive changing concepts in cultural heritage, the value of sports heritage in Britain has not been fully realised. Yet, we are a great sporting nation and sport has played a distinctive role in British lives for hundreds of years; many of the world's most popular sports were practised and developed in Britain (Wood 2005: 137). It was British students that invented all the field events including the hurdles, track events and steeplechase races. The concept of distances for rowing, swimming and horse racing was invented by the British, as were racing sculls, sporting yachts and rowing boats. It was in Britain that most sporting equipment was devised, for example boxing gloves, stopwatches and the first goalposts for football, to name but a few. The important fixed rules needed for all team games from football to polo were also invented by the British (Mandell 1884:132). Not only did the British codify and develop most sports but they also gave them to the rest of the world. Sport has been one of our most successful exports and has made a lasting contribution on the world's sporting stage.

Yet, despite our love of sport as spectators or as players research in sporting heritage is just starting to gain momentum. This lack of attention over the past years from the heritage sector has resulted in a lack of preservation and documentation compared to other more traditionally regarded areas of heritage. Sports grounds and buildings are, more than ever, under various pressures and open spaces such as racetracks, football grounds and bowling greens are being lost to demands for new housing and industrial parks (Woods 2005:148). Until recently, football stadia were being destroyed and barely recorded by heritage authorities as is evident in the National Record of the Historic Environment (NRHE) in Scotland.

The recent rise of public interest in our substantial and divergent sporting heritage emerged through projects and initiatives which will be discussed further in this chapter. However, it is

widely recognised that the subject matter was kickstarted in 2004 by Simon Inglis's *Played In* book series which was sponsored by English Heritage to highlight the rich sporting heritage within British cities. In 2014, *Played in Glasgow*, written by sport historian Ged O'Brien was published with financial support from Glasgow City Council and Historic Scotland (now Historic Environment Scotland). It offered a new insight into the city's 19th and 20th century vast sporting heritage and highlighted how Glasgow was at the forefront of many international sports. In the same year, to coincide with the Commonwealth Games coming to Glasgow, Historic Scotland also published Scotland's Sporting Buildings[11] which showcased the historic purpose-built sporting architecture that exists in the country. The book was the result of a nationwide study in 2012-2014 to review sporting buildings and during the project 22 new listing were added, and 108 existing listed building records were updated.

Nevertheless, apart from book projects sporting heritage remains invisible when Glasgow is hosting major sporting competitions, a place where it can and should have a role. We need to follow the example of other countries such as Greece where sport, art, heritage and culture were central to the Athens Olympic Games in 2004 (Wood 2005: 311). In Glasgow we not only have a wealth of historic sporting buildings, but we also have a profusion of local amateur sports clubs and community-based sporting heritage projects already participating in public engagement and education. The case studies within this thesis will demonstrate that they have exciting and authentic stories that deserve to be heard at the international level.

2.2 Historic Environment Scotland and Sporting Heritage

The historic problem with Scottish sporting heritage is that it is not an area that is specifically singled out by HES. For example, The Historic Environment Scotland 'Our Place in Time' (2014)[12], has a traditional and prescriptive view of heritage with a primary focus on "protecting and managing Scotland's historic environment for its intrinsic value." The document emphasised the importance of understanding, conserving, and promoting the historic environment as a finite and irreplaceable resource. While it acknowledged the public benefit of heritage, the emphasis was more on its archaeological, historical,

[11]HES,https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationid=e183451e-4a44-422c-a6a4-a58600f4bbb5

[12]https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=fa088e13-8781-4fd6-9ad2-a7af00f14e30)

archaeological, and architectural importance. The document laid out a strategic framework for the historic environment, focusing on key values such as “Protecting," "Understanding,” “Caring," and "Enjoying." It often reflected a more expert-led approach, with a strong emphasis on statutory protection and the role of HES as the primary custodian of the historic environment. While it did mention community engagement, it was often within the setting of educating and informing and the public about the significance of designated heritage assets, rather than empowering them to define their own heritage. The idea of heritage as a driver for well-being and sporting heritage development was not evident in the document.

The Historic Environment Scotland ‘What's Your Heritage,’ (2017)[13], introduced a more democratic approach to heritage management compared to its 2014 predecessor. It introduced a more people centred approach, emphasising the personal and community value of heritage. It encouraged communities to identify what they considered to be their heritage and a move away from the top-down model where experts only defined and managed heritage. However, the lack of explicit mention of sporting heritage was evident and without specific guidance or recognition, sporting heritage was overlooked in planning or funding compared to more traditionally recognised heritage.

Historic Environment Scotland ‘Our Past Our Future,' (2023)[14], aimed to bring more accessibility and inclusivity and break down barriers to engagement thus allowing underrepresented groups and diverse communities to benefit from their historic environment. The document stressed the importance of community empowerment and the need for local groups to have a greater input in the management of their heritage assets. However, it integrates sporting heritage with the broader categories of cultural, social, and architectural heritage rather than explicitly isolating sporting heritage as a distinct heritage type. The document's emphasis on social value, public engagement, and the story of the past offers ways of recognising and sporting heritage but the absence of explicit recognition meant that sporting heritage was not considered with the specific focus that a dedicated policy might provide.

[13] (https://www.historicenvironment.scot/about-us/news/what-s-your-heritage/)

[14] (https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=4426a5d9-f7a5-40cf-be39-b1d800d9e5ca)

2.3 The Development of Networks in Sporting Heritage

The Sports Heritage Network (SHN) was established in 2003, by heritage practitioners and museum curators who were aware of the desperate need of a long term-term strategy for sporting heritage. There was also a to need raise the profile of the subject, to inspire more public involvement in sporting history but also promote contacts at government level and explore wider objectives within society such as education and health. Three sub-groups were created to work beneath the steering group to allow a more practical way of working: Academic Research; Historic Environment and Archives, Museums, and Libraries. In 2005, the SHN received funding from Arts Council England which allowed them to employ a Research Officer to investigate any sporting heritage that was currently held in the British archives and libraries (Wood 2006: 318). This was followed in 2006 with a series of sport heritage seminars which brought together relevant user groups, professional practitioners and academics who identified the need for a scoping report[15] which analysed the case studies of sporting heritage activity in Britain. The outcome of the report was published in 2012 with clear aims and objectives and a rebranding of The Sports Heritage Network and Our Sporting Life into the united brand name A British Trust for Sports Heritage (BTSH).

However, a follow up scoping report which was funded by the Arts Council of England in 2013 concluded that little had changed in the sector. There were still barriers which prevented sporting heritage being accepted as a subject for museums as well as collections which were not held in museums being at risk (Reilly 2014: 165). The research of Justine Reilly argued that the focus of the Trust was not wide enough and in 2015 she established the UK wide Sporting Heritage Community Interest Company[16] as a non-profit making, sector wide organisation which would support specialist sport collections (tangible and intangible) across the four nations. The focus of the organisation is on collections and the people who look after

[15] https://www.sportingheritage.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/A-Scoping-Research-Report-for-Sports-Heritage-in-the-UK.pdf

[16] https://www.sportingheritage.org.uk/content/what-we-do/about-us/who-we-are

them; helping collections to be removed from risk, increasing access, diversifying them, and ensuring that collections are supported wherever they are held.

2.4 Saving Scotland's Sporting Heritage

2.4.1 Hosts and Champions

Scotland was inspired by the Glasgow Commonwealth Games 2014 and Karl Magee, the archivist at the University of Stirling and Richard Haynes from the university's Arts and Humanities department took the opportunity to further inform the public about Scotland's involvement with the Games by researching and curating an exhibition called *'Hosts and Champions*[17]*'*. The exhibition highlighted Scotland's involvement with the Commonwealth Games which expanded over 80 years from its origin in 1930 as the British Empire Games in Hamilton, Canada through to the games held in Glasgow in 2014. As well as hosting the Games in 2014 Scotland also hosted in 1970 and 1986. The exhibition included interviews with competitors and medal winners, clothing, designs, papers, and artefacts which told the of Scotland's rich involvement in the games. The exhibition was deemed successful by the wealth of visitors it received and thus was developed and expanded to travel through a further 20 venues in Scotland between 2015 and 2018. In all the exhibition travelled 2,228 miles with over 200,000 visitors benefiting with a national archive being shared with local communities (Haynes and Magee, 2015). Moreover, the sporting heritage outreach initiative helped the local authorities and museums attract new audiences. Importantly, the project saved this neglected yet important collection from deterioration and helped to grow the archive by 205% (240 to 490 boxes), through generous donations of memorabilia from various individuals associated with the games. These items will provide more in-depth layers of history to the stories and give further insight into Scotland's participation within the Commonwealth Games. Presently, the collection is maintained by the University of Stirling where it is now properly archived and preserved.

[17] https://libguides.stir.ac.uk/archives/projects/hostsandchamps

2.4.2 Celebrating Scotland's Sporting Heritage

The success of the *'Host's and Champions'* exhibition galvanised Karl Magee, Richard Haynes, and Ian Mackintosh to organise a conference in February 2017 entitled *'Pass it On!*[18]*'*. Its aim was to establish a sporting heritage network for Scotland. One of the key themes was the neglect of many sporting heritage collections in Scotland; many are not generally accessible to the public or kept in proper conditions. Dr. Hugh Dan McLennan, Broadcaster and Academic highlighted the availability of collections and where they are stored is still unknown, for example, the sport of shinty was not officially archived until very recently and was mainly stored in collectors' garages and homes. It now has an established archive in Inverness. On a positive note, Richard McBrearty, addressed the establishment of the Scottish Football Museum and the collection of memorabilia and documents which are held there to provide a centre of excellence for researchers.

Furthermore, the museum not only provides an exhibition about football, but also has additional space for other sports to host exhibitions. The importance of sporting collections was also emphasised by presentations from The British Golf Museum and Rugby's Bill McLaren Foundation, who both agreed on the need for digitisation of collections for them to be maintained.

Additionally, the conference saw presentations from John Hutchinson and Andy Mitchell regarding John Hope and the Edinburgh Football Club and how with the benefits of accessibility. Sports heritage can be used by academics, researchers, and special interest groups. A presentation from Dr. McDowell which highlighted how education and a new generation of sport historians have the potential to learn from the history in Scottish records and academic reports. Finally, the collaboration project between schoolchildren and the elderly about the Glasgow Commonwealth Games 2014 was presented by Chris Wilkins who highlighted the social connections both groups established through their interest in sports. In conclusion, the conference ended with a positive outlook on new network connections and the need to establish a formal network to platform Scottish sporting heritage.

[18]https://archives.wordpress.stir.ac.uk/2017/01/27/full-programme-for-pass-it-on-celebrating-scotlands-sporting-heritage/

2.4.3 Sporting Heritage Scotland

A strategy[19] to guide Sporting Heritage Scotland's work was developed in a pilot programme as recently as April 2021. It was informed by desk-based research, conversations with stakeholders, analysis of risks and opportunities and analysis of collections opportunities and gaps. The organisation has grown over the past three years and by creating an active network of organisations and individuals developed strategies to understand, define and support sporting heritage activity in Scotland. Through regular network meetings they discuss the issues and challenges which include identifying the location and type of sporting heritage collections across the country; addressing how to protect collections which are under threat and working with the Scottish Governing Bodies of Sport on local priorities and wider policy directives.

Regular meetings and discussion groups are held to discuss challenges and issues facing those who are working with sporting heritage and to share achievements and good practices. Importantly they support sporting organisations wishing to develop or begin their sporting heritage activities to apply for Sporting Heritage Community Grants and hold webinars with question-and-answer sessions in supporting the development of the sector which could be anything from developing and delivering exhibitions to the very start of creating an idea, activities and partnerships. This resource is paramount to sporting clubs and communities as they retain a large percent of the country's sporting heritage artefacts and traditions and are the lifeline of Scotland's sporting culture (Haynes 2020: 259).

2.5 Scotland's Forgotten Footballing Pioneers: The Rutherglen Ladies

The establishment of Sporting Heritage Scotland has focussed attention in recent years in aspects of cultural diversity which had up until this point been ignored. Recent sporting history research has uncovered the forgotten story of Rutherglen Ladies FC who were formed in 1921. They did not want to be viewed as just another women's team playing for charity or fun but instead were determined to demonstrate that the women's football could be a bold and fearless sporting spectacle (https://beyondthe-pitch.com/rutherglen-ladies-scotlands-forgotten-

[19] https://www.sportingheritage.org.uk/content/category/nations/sporting-heritage-scotland

footballing-pioneers/). Unfortunately, they emerged at a critical time, just as England was forcibly shutting women's football down. When the English FA enforced a ban on December 5, 192, claiming the sport was unsuitable for ladies, it sent shockwave through the game. The sport was growing at an unprecedented rate with crowds of over 50,000 turning up to watch women's football matches.

While the FA ban stopped progress in England, the Rutherglen Ladies and other Scottish women's teams continued to play and continued to draw crowds. They wanted to prove that the ban had nothing to do with women's welfare, it was about control. The Rutherglen Ladies kept the game to the highest standard arranging a fixture in 1923 with the Dick Kerr Ladies who were widely recognised as the best team in the world at the time. The fixture was to be an entertaining match and a showcase of talent between two of the best ladies' football teams, but the outcome became historic. Rutherglen Ladies, the underdogs won 2-0. It was an unexpected and stunning victory against a side that were the best in the world. Therefore, in true footballing fashion, they declared themselves 'World Champion's', as any team would do after such a win.

However, in an era where women's football was constantly ridiculed and undermined, the victorious title was never officially recognised. It was a moment that should have cemented their legacy alongside the pioneers of the game but instead, their achievements were buried and neglected. By the time the club disbanded in 1939, the sport had been pushed into obscurity across Britain by the FA ban on women's football. The Rutherglen Ladies name all but disappeared from history and their title of World Champions little more than a forgotten story. However, their impact cannot be erased. They are proof that women's football was entertaining and competitive and they managed to keep the game alive in an era when the men in charge wanted it eradicated. It is an important story as it challenges the narrative that women's football only gained recognition in the 1970s when in fact it has being fighting for recognition for over a century. The Rutherglen Ladies deserve to be remembered as they paved the way for the way women's football has progressed today.

2.6 The Undercroft Skate Spot: The Importance of Embodied Experiences and Emotional Attachment.

Sporting Heritage networks, while focusing on underexplored areas of mainstream sports, have also been key to surfacing grassroots cultural practices that have traditionally remained hidden or unacknowledged.

Skaters are not only emotionally attached to the sport but also to the places where skateboarding takes place. This was clearly demonstrated when the Undercroft, the space under the London Southbank Centre, came under threat in 2013. When the Festival Wing complex opened, in 1967, at the London Southbank Centre, ground-level space was left open for unpredictable uses in accordance with the architects' experimental theories (Borden 2019: 265). The creativity which the designers had hoped for was fulfilled a few years later when skateboarding arrived and turned the empty space into a free-access version of commercial skateparks with the bonus that it had a roof which made it fit for London's all-weather conditions (see Figure 5).

Skateboarding has been an important part of the Southbank Centre as it has turned it into a place of youthful joy and energy for over 40 years, which makes it one of the oldest places in the world continuously used for skateboarding. It has changed over the years and become more like a city street rather than a free skatepark which is not only used by skateboarders but also as a shelter for homeless people. It is also a centre for various urban arts and is a studio in the street with graffiti and murals which attracts musicians, dancers, poets, and filmmakers (Borden 1999: 266). Many famous names in the world of skating such as Dobie Campbell and Mike McCart have credited the space as a place that turned them from novices to professionals. Consequently, the tens of thousands of skateboarders who learned their craft here, the occasional visitor and the locals, claim that the Undercroft is Britain's precious home of skateboarding. It has become a place of pilgrimage for skateboarders across the world who come to skate across the hallowed ground.

Figure 5. The Undercroft at the London Southbank Centre. Image: The Skateparks Project.

In 2013, the London Southbank Centre proposed a redevelopment of the complex which would have meant the skaters would be relocated to the adjacent Hungerford Bridge site with the Undercroft turned into retail units (Madgin et al, 2018: 585). Despite the Undercroft's recognition as the *'oldest recognised and still skated skateboarding space in the world'*[20] consent to authorise demolition was not needed as the building did not have listed status. Regardless of the support of Historic England who stated that the building was *'Britain's finest collection of post-war buildings'* (LLSB 2014: 35) the application to have listing status was refused by the Secretary of State and then given immunity from listing. The problem was the English designation hierarchy system which allows politicians rather than experts in the professional heritage sector to have the final decision.

However, the system in England does allow the assessment of local history and in March 2013, Lambeth Council (Lambeth 2015, 1) locally listed the London Southbank Centre. Unfortunately, this was not enough to save the space, and it would depend on the Undercroft community who in turn set up the campaign group Long Live Southbank to fight for their heritage (Borden 1999: 266). The campaign had support from locals and 150,000 people signed the petition supporting the Undercroft; a further 27,000 people were opposed to the planning application proposed for the new complex. Importantly, the campaign fought by drawing strongly on heritage arguments, encapsulated in their tagline*, 'You Can't Move History: You Can Secure the Future.'* The Long Live Southbank campaign believed that the skate spot was a part of historical urban heritage, as the *'found space'* was an authentic space created by groups and individuals conducting their everyday practise of skateboarding (Madgin et al, 2018: 586).

[20] Long Live Southbank, www.llsb.com/about

The space was *'found'* by the community in 1973, and they assumed figurative ownership, past and present, as they used it daily despite not legally owning it. Additionally, the authenticity of the *'found space'* was not only based on the materiality of the place but also the emotional value and the experiential value which was connected to everyday practise, *'dynamic, performative, culturally and historically contingent, relative rather than stable'* (Silverman 2015: 69).

Also, the skaters had gained expertise through their knowledge of the Undercroft skate spot which gave them an emotional connection to the space. *'Feelings' can often be considered an elusive and ephemeral concept but the feel, the lived sensation and emotional resonance of a place is what defines the noise and routine of city life'* (Duff 2010: 881). However, emotion within heritage studies in Britain is still seen as the elephant in the room which is not considered as facts, commemoration or remembrance is favoured instead (Smith 2006, 58). This contrasts with international charters that have a more inclusive understanding to the feel and experience of a place when assessing the value of heritage. The Declaration of San Antonio, for example, clearly states that it is the deeper understanding and expression of concerned communities that anchors the site to their cultural identity and that surveys and historic research of the material fabric do not fully reveal the importance of a place of heritage (ICOMOS 1996, point 4). The Burra Charter is even more implicit in the importance of allowing all individuals, groups and management associated with a site being allowed to participate and contribute to identifying the cultural significance of the site in question. Additionally, opportunity must be given to participate in the conservation and management of the site (ICOMOS 2013, 26.3). In fairness, Britain is starting to take note of this more inclusive understanding of expertise, which requires individuals and groups to play an important role in identifying cultural significance. The debate in heritage is now moving from once seeing groups and individuals as *'concerned'* to now understanding that they are the experts that have familiarity and intimate knowledge of a particular place, *'Knowing how to live in a place is a form of expertise that deserves greater recognition'* (Schofield 2014, 245). What needs to be better understood is why citizens and communities become *'concerned'* and how this is linked to their contemporary use of a particular place of heritage.

The Long Live Southbank campaign wanted to capture their knowledge and familiarity to prove authenticity through the lived experience of the site (Madgin et al, 2018; 590). Interviews and oral histories were recorded with skaters and other long-term users of the Undercroft by a research team which also included filmmakers and photographers who also recorded the ways in which the skaters created sensorial engagement in the way they interacted with the space –

they wanted to capture the skateboarder's sights, sounds and space awareness, the fully embodied experiences (see Figure 6).

Figure 6. Skater at the Undercroft. Image: The Evening Standard.

The skaters demonstrated a profound knowledge of the space, which had been ingrained through continual use: they knew instinctively where all the cracks were, exactly where the drain covers were situated and the slightly raised paving slabs (LLSB 2015b: 38). One of the interviewees recollected that just like earlier generations of skaters he could clearly remember what it feels like to fly out of the banks as high as you can and hit the banked wall and then trying to get maximum height. Another skater implied that his body could remember the space as he recollected that it was integrated with his muscle memory as he could feel as if he were skating there even when he was miles away from the Undercroft. Also, several skaters both old and young talked about the rich sensory environment and the way the noise reverberates around the low ceiling, which made skating in the Undercroft a unique experience as nowhere else sounds like it. The material fabric of the space was important, but it was the visceral relationship that the skaters had developed for the place and how it had shaped their lives that deterred them from relocating to a purpose-built skate park (LLSB 2014: 48).

A film entitled You Can't Move History resulted from the research on the skaters and campaign and in 2016 the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) awarded it with best research film of the year. However, the Secretary of State still refused to allow the latest application to list the London Southbank Centre despite the support from Historic England (LLSB 2014: 35). There was also support from future Prime Minister Boris Johnston who was at the time the Conservative Party Mayor of London. He emphasised its role in attracting tourists from around the world and *'part of the cultural fabric of London'* a declaration which was decisive in the eventual victory as it effectively vetoed the Southbank's planning application (Borden 2019: 266). Legal matters were also at play as Simon Ricketts; a planning lawyer assisted in having the Undercroft designated an '*Asset of Community Value'* and then sought further rights for the space as a '*Town or Village Green'* within the Commons Act 2006. The leadership of the Southbank Centre finally surrendered unconditionally as they realised that they faced turmoil legally, politically, and publicly. In January 2014, they signed a planning agreement with Lambeth Borough Council to secure the Undercroft as the long-term home of skateboarding in perpetuity (Borden 2019: 268).

The Undercroft was not just an episode that represents a victory for skateboarding but also our understanding of public spaces and what people value in their cities. The space was enjoyed by non-skateboarders and skaters because of its unique combination of street-level spontaneity and skating in a city that is becoming more and more sanitized by branded shops, chain restaurants and coffee outlets (Borden 2019: 268). It raises larger questions of how people can enjoy cities in different ways, not just in the way city planners or property speculators provide but in ways which challenge and comfort us and provide things that we expect but sometimes we cannot anticipate. Skateboarding at the London Southbank Centre demonstrates that space in the city can be emotional, physical, and changing too.

Chapter 3. Govanhill Baths

3.1 Introduction

This case study will explore the 'value' of Govanhill Baths to the individuals who used the facility, the community that it served and wider society. Through interviews, the personal and social value of the Baths as a public space where people from all walks of life could interact will be illuminated. The cultural value of the Baths will also be

demonstrated through the long and arduous campaign to save the building from demolition. Moreover, the important sporting heritage value will be illustrated by the narratives of competitive swimmers and trainers who made the swimming team one of the best in Scotland.

3.2 Historical Background

3.2.1 Swimming in Glasgow

Swimming was a popular pastime on the River Clyde in pre-industrial Glasgow, as no specialist equipment was required, and it was cost-free (Bilsborough 1983:10). The busiest spot on the river was the Fleshers' Haugh section of Glasgow Green as it had a grassy bank that led down to the edge of the water, which was shallow at this point. Better swimmers would head a few yards further down to Dominie's Hole as it was deep enough for a good plunge. The Gorbals was another favoured swimming location as the local cotton mill poured out hot water into the Clyde allowing a free hot bath for the bathers.

By 1850 the river became the dumping site for waste from the factories of the rapidly industrialised city, and the River Clyde became polluted on a large scale; moreover, bathing sites were made unsafe by the removal of the weir which now made the sites near Glasgow Green tidal and fast flowing (Millar 2015:44). Swimming in the River Clyde was discouraged by the Glasgow Corporation and in 1872 laws were issued which would not only stop the common practise of nude bathing but also confine swimmers to specific locations. The local police were instructed that these new laws had to be strictly enforced. By 1877 swimming was further deterred by removing all the river's springboards. After 1878, the establishment of public and private indoor swimming pools provided a safer and more attractive alternative to the now overly polluted open water sites.

3.2.2 Washhouses

In the annals of Glasgow, it is recorded that the first washhouse was built in Glasgow Green in 1730 near where the Nelson monument is located; machinery pumped water from a lead watercourse in the Camalachie Burn. There was also the North Parish Washing Green Society

which had a public washhouse near Glasgow Cathedral (Downie 2021:5). Prior to this the washing of clothes would be done in wells, streams, and rivers; this was usually done by women, and it was particularly hard work as they had to tread the clothes with their bare feet. However, Glasgow had a rising population from the industrial revolution and the water pumped from a river near Glasgow Cathedral was no longer sufficient for purpose. In 1848 and in 1855, after Glasgow had suffered deadly cholera outbreaks, the Town Council started work building the Loch Katrine aqueduct which would by 1859 bring over 50 million gallons of water into the city daily, although most homes in the city did not benefit from this as they did not have the necessary infrastructure to accommodate this process.

The need for clean water and improved sanitation was also recognised by Edwin Chadwick, the Secretary of the Poor Law Board, in the 1846 Baths and Washhouses Act (Lewis 1952:36). This legislation did not apply in Scotland, but Glasgow Town Council followed a range of legislations which became known as municipal socialism; they believed that citizens that participated in health-related leisure activities would help industry and business thrive in the city (Campbell 1993:20). Between 1868 and 1914, 20 washhouses and baths were built in Scotland; it made practical and financial sense to combine recreational swimming alongside washing and bathing facilities in the same building (Downie 2021:10). It took around 50 years to build these facilities in every major district of Glasgow, and these buildings were the state of the art in modern technology and luxury. Many of these baths and washhouses became the cherished heart of their communities for many decades to come.

3.2.3 Govanhill Baths and Washhouse

Govanhill's population was over forty thousand by 1911, and the surrounding districts of Langside and Cathcart now had a population of nearly a hundred thousand which was served by only two public baths and washhouses (Downie 2021:14). It was not feasible to supply homes with tin baths as there was not a sufficient supply of hot water, and lighting a fire to heat water was a dangerous pursuit for the people living in tenement buildings. Therefore, it was more practical to build public baths and washhouses that would be convenient for Govanhill residents to use.

The Govanhill Baths and Washhouse were the best equipped in the city when they opened on the 9th of March 1917 (*see Figure 8*).

Figure 8. Govanhill Baths on Calder Street, circa 1917. Image: Glasgow City Heritage Trust.

Construction costs were £35,000 which in today's terms would be approximately £2.5 million which demonstrates the post-war investment made by Glasgow Corporation. The building, in Calder Street resembles a stately structure in the Edwardian Baroque style with its red ashlar frontage (Purse 2015:33). The inside of the building focused on new world engineering and technology; visitors to the baths were clearly reminded of the ingenuity of the Forth Rail Bridge by the colour and form of the red arches above the swimming pool. Also, the viewing galleries had red-painted high-back chairs that not only echoed the colour of the ribs but also paid tribute to the great Scottish architect and designer, Charles Rennie Mackintosh (see Figure 9).

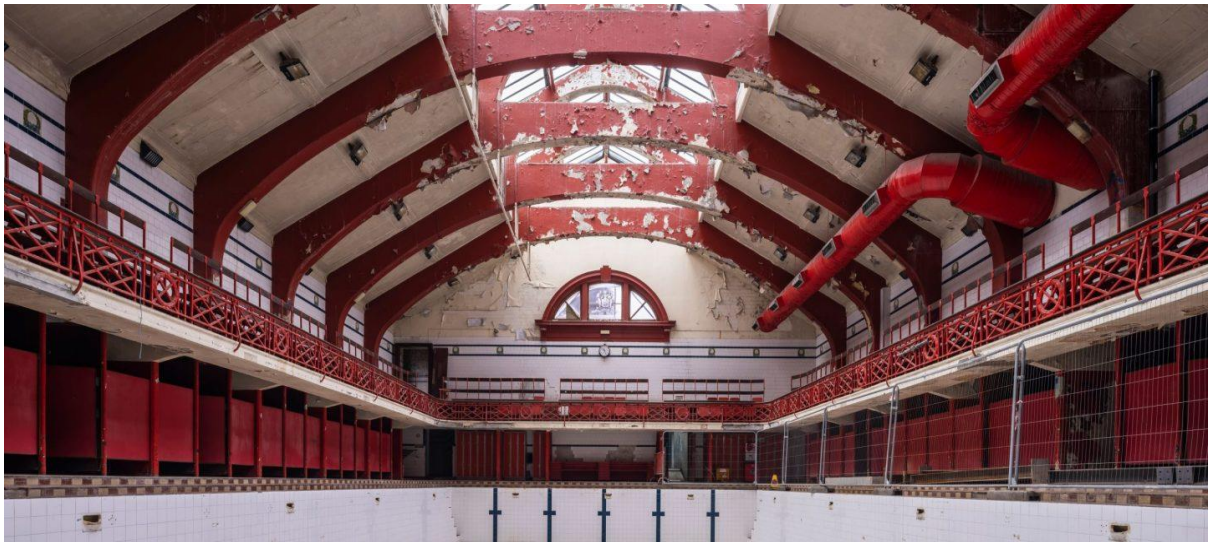

Figure 9. The main pool at Govanhill Baths. Image: Glasgow Times

The full-sized swimming pool was 75 by 35 feet (22.9 by 10.7 meters) but the building which covered an area of 3,155 square yards (962 square meters) also allowed for a pool for learners which was 25 by 12 feet (7.6 by 3.7 meters). Importantly there was a 50 by 25 feet (15.2 by 7.6 meters) swimming area which was dedicated for ladies only to swim in which was an important asset for local religious and ethnic groups (Downie 2021:18). Guests using Govanhill Baths could enjoy many of the luxurious amenities that were available in the private baths such as the Arlington in the upper-class areas of the west end of Glasgow. There were modern showers, a sauna and cooling room and a Russian bathhouseIt was particularly well equipped with sixty-eight individual wash stalls and state-of-the-art modern technology such as hydroextractors which allowed quick and effective drying of larger items such as bed linen. Guests using Govanhill Baths could enjoy many of the luxurious amenities that were available in the private baths such as the Arlington in the upper-class areas of the west end of Glasgow.

3.2.4 The Govanhill Baths Community

Govanhill is a unique area of Glasgow that has been influenced historically by a wide range of different cultural groups. The farmland which became the Borough of Govanhill in 1877 was developed by William Dixon who invested in a substantial building program driven by Glasgow's economic buoyancy which was fuelled by the industrial revolution (Lynch 2015: 62). The new housing provided homes for workers at Dixon's Ironworks. William Dixon valued cohesion and social relations and therefore gifted Dixon Hall as a community space for the Govanhill citizens to use.

Some of the first residents to the newly built tenements were Irish Catholic migrants who were forced to leave Ireland to escape the potato famine of 1845 (Pacione 2005:2). Glasgow's growing Southside industry became an attractive offer for many Irish people, and the cultural impact can still be seen in Govanhill which still hosts a large Catholic secondary school, two catholic primary schools and several lively Irish pubs. The Church of Holy Cross and its large local membership is further evidence of the lasting impact of the Irish diaspora. The area also attracted Italian migrants in the 1800s who were escaping the poverty caused by unemployment and drought. They too have made a distinct social and contribution and popular places to eat such as Queen's Café and the Unique Restaurant are indebted to the Italian migration.

Govanhill also became home to Jewish people who fled from the mass murders in Russia in the late 1800, and then Hitler's Nazism in the 1930's. Like all the migrant groups before them, they were initially distrusted and faced hostility; over time they established businesses in the area and one of the first synagogues in Glasgow was built in Dixon Avenue. In the 1920s to the 1970s there was a major migrant movement to people from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh (Mann 1992:176). Initially, many worked on merchant ships as cheap labour and those who settled here encouraged other family members to come to Scotland to enjoy the prosperous opportunities. Govanhill was established as home for many South Asians and these citizens greatly contributed to the local economy through grocery shops and local businesses.

Unrestricted movement between member European states (before Brexit) gave an opportunity for those living in some of the newer member states to relocate to Britain in search of better employment possibilities. This included the '*Roma*' people who are a traditionally nomadic ethnic European group living across the boundaries of nation states (Poole and Adamson, 2008: 6). Documentation of their poor treatment across Europe and the difficulties they have endured are extensive, just like previous migrants their cultural differences have created tensions. Moreover, significant poverty has greatly impacted the choice of lifestyle in Govanhill which has included exploitation and overcrowding by ruthless landlords who financially benefit from the Roma people's economic limitations.

Govanhill is a melting pot of many different cultures and the Baths, for over a century have been a space for all these diverse groups to connect with each other without the need to 'develop' or 'plan' a space for their community (Lynch 2015: 67). This space allowed people to move freely between different groups without having to conform to any specific group identity. The Baths are a benchmark for all that is positive about social, cultural, and religious differences in Govanhill; it also inclusive of the old, the young, people with different sexual orientations, people with different abilities and people of different ethnicities. Moreover,

Govanhill Baths have met the differing needs of people at different times throughout their history: the hot baths were used by men who worked in heavy industry who did not have baths in their own homes; mother and child swimming groups; orthodox Jewish men's swimming nights; swimming sessions for people with disabilities; training sessions for Kingston, Queen's Park, and Zenith Swimming Clubs and many more. Every migrant and cultural group coming to Govanhill has mingled alongside each other to find a harmonious way to co-exist. The history of the area clearly demonstrates that tensions can be overcome despite the various hardships and difficulties, and that sport can play a positive role here. In fact, it is the multiple differences of the area that have strengthened Govanhill; it would be the unspoken connection that they share which would help mobilise them into a collective action group to save the Baths and sustain this important space that accommodated all their needs.

3.3 Competitive Swimming

Competitive swimming has been recorded in Glasgow since 1824 when Glasgow and Clydeside Rowing Club's annual regatta would include a swimming competition (Downie 2021:4). By 1840 the Glasgow Swimming Society had been formed, and medals were offered to those who swam for the title of 'Glasgow Championship'. The race from Flesher's Haugh, on the river Clyde, to the Floating Bath close to St. Andrew's Suspension Bridge gained an estimated audience of 25,000 and covered around 960 yards. In 1866, the West of Scotland Swimming Club was established in Glasgow with the aims of the members to learn to swim, improve stoke technique and participate in racing. Members tended to be owners of local businesses or skilled tradesmen with money and time to go to weekday evening or Saturday afternoon training sessions (Bilsborough 2000:229). Competitions were popular with swimmers and spectators and crowds enjoyed betting on swimming races, distance plunging and object diving. There would also be displays of ornamental swimming, mock drownings, and rescues. Soon 'open races' against other clubs also became popular which eventually became known as the 'Scottish Championships'. By 1873, clubs in Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh were holding their 'Quarter Mile Championship of Scotland'. The need to regulate the Scottish Championships lead to the establishment of The Associated Swimming Clubs of Scotland (ASCS) in 1875. This organisation only established rules for one race, which was the 'Half Mile Championship of Scotland' an annual race which would rotate between Aberdeen, Dundee, Glasgow and Edinburgh (Bilsbrough 2000: 231). However, in 1881, the

championships stopped and the ASCS suffered a demise as it had failed to attract sufficient funds or expand its membership.

Glasgow had at least 16 indoor swimming clubs by 1885 and over 45 by 1900; they were geographically and financially accessible to the public, therefore had no problem in attracting membership. To control the regulations between professionals and amateurs the Associate Swimming Clubs of Glasgow (ASCG) ruled in 1885 that only amateur swimmers would be able to compete in competitions organised by member clubs (Bilsbrough 2000: 237). The organisation took steps to expand and consolidate competitive swimming by introducing a set of binding rules to guarantee fair play and consistency and subsequently inaugurated annual swimming championships. Importantly, it also gained better rates of hire and favourable times for club's practise times from Glasgow Corporation Baths Committee.

By 1888, the Scottish Amateur Swimming Association, was constituted as swimming development, was expanding around Scotland and therefore a need to formalise competition rules was becoming a necessity; some were taken from ASCG but there were many new rules and regulations. National and international fixtures were planned and the association selected officials and recorded results which would eventually be published. Significantly, it established 'bath committees' at local and national level which produced guidelines for the dimensions of swimming pools and adequate space for spectators.

The first modern Olympic Games in Athens, in 1896 included international swimming. Thirteen nations competed in three freestyle events which were held in the port of Piraeus, in open water (Bilsbrough 2000:239). However, there would be no British competitors until the second Olympiad which was held in Paris in 1900; a different swimming programme was organised to take place in the river Seine which included an underwater endurance swimming contest and 4000-metres freestyle event. The English swimmer John Jarvis won gold medals in 100-metres, 1000-metres and the 4000-metres events (Bilsbrough 2000:239). By the time of the 1908 Olympiad in London the Fédération Internationale de Natation Amateur (FINA) had been established to create a set of rules which would not only be applicable to the Olympic Games but all other similar type competitions. The Olympic Games were a stage for international comparison; the British swimmers won five out of the eight events. This success has never been repeated in any subsequent history of the Games to date.

3.3.1 The Zenith Swimming Club

Govanhill Baths became an important venue locally and nationally as competitive swimming became more popular; moreover, it not only had good travel links but also the most modern swimming pool (Downie 202:42). Established in 1934, the Zenith Swimming Club which was based at Govanhill Baths became one of the most successful clubs on the circuit (Baumann interview). Initially, it was a female-only club initiated by Ellen King, who was one of Scotland's best female competitive swimmers. Ellen had broken the world record at the 200-yard backstroke in 1927 and gained a silver medal at the Olympic Games in 1928 in the 100-meter backstroke; she also gained an additional silver medal in the 4 x 100-meter freestyle relay (Bilsborough 2000:241). Ellen set up the club in response to the treatment she and other females had received at the Warrender Club in Edinburgh; this male-dominated club refused equal opportunities to swim competitively so the women founded their own club in which they could have more control over swimming practise and competitive involvement (Baumann interview).

By 1955, the second Zenith club was now organised by Mrs McGuffie who decided that the club should now include male membership. David Baumann, who lived in Calder Street, in a tenement right across from the Baths, remembers fondly being an eleven-year-old boy who was just the third male to join the mostly girls swimming club. In an interview with myself he revealed how leaning to swim at the Baths led to his career as a swimming trainer: *'My dad took me and left me there, l told him l didn't want to go back when he collected me but, in those days, you did what your parent's told you.'* (Baumann interview). It would be many years later when David's father revealed that his insistence for his children to learn from a young age was due to him witnessing his best friend drowning in a rowing boat accident when he was only eight years old.

David Baumann became an important figure in pushing the team towards being one of the best in Glasgow. He still clearly remembers the day in 1958 when they won the West of Scotland's boys' 13- to 14-year-old league which was against ten other teams. It was an unlikely win as the final was against Falkirk, whose team included Bobby McGregor, a young rising star who was the British record holder for his age group at the time. The 4 x 50-meter medley was the final race, and Baumann knew he had to try and beat his personal best of 36 seconds if they were in with any kind of chance of winning. Just as he was about to prepare for the race when he overheard one of the Falkirk swimming coaches doubt his swimming capabilities: *'Something snapped in me, I have never felt such feelings of anger but harnessed it into my swimming'* (Baumann interview). David swam a new personal best of 34.9 seconds which secured a win for the Zenith team: *'Bobby McGregor's father and Falkirk swimming*

coach was outraged that we had won and never congratulated the team, the normal code of conduct at a swimming gala. It would be a month before he would apologise for his behaviour, however he also invited the Zenith team to regular training sessions at Falkirk which was a great boost for our ego.' (Baumann interview).

The Zenith team continued to produce some of the best swimmers in the country; in 1964, Neil Downie won the British 110-yard breaststroke championship, beating Alan Kimber who had swam at two Olympic Games for Britain. Neil became Scottish Schools and British Schools champion and won the W.G Todd trophy for best junior in Scotland. David Baumann retired from amateur swimming when he was 19 but soon took a place on the club's committee *'I was aware of the discrimination and wanted it eradicated from the club, entry to any team should be based on ability only, regardless of what religion you were or where you lived'* (Baumann interview). David worked alongside coach Robert Jackson to establish three different teams which trained free of charge, every morning Monday to Friday at Govanhill Baths (see figure 10).

Figure 10. David Baumann with a swimming group in the 1960s. Image: Glasgow Herald

There were also additional evening sessions at Queen's Park Secondary School, Summertown Baths, and Holyrood Secondary School. David's job as a salesman was also used to his advantage as he managed to secure swimming sessions at Kinning Park in exchange for the racy Pirelli calendars which were difficult to get hold of at that time.

By 1971, the Zenith Swimming Club had some of the best teams in Britain and the best Scottish swimmers. This included Yvonne Perry who, in 1973, won the 50 metres freestyle

Scottish title and seven more Scottish titles throughout her swimming career. David also welcomed youngsters with social problems into the club: *'Swimming is a discipline filled with etiquette and good manners. The local priest brought along a young boy who was experiencing family life problems and asked me to take him under my wing. Trying to stop the bad language was not easy. Soon the boy was a regular swimmer at the early morning sessions. I remember many years later being stopped in George Square by a well-dressed man in a suit, that little boy was now a top accountant for a Glasgow company. He thanked me for all l had done for him and said that the regime of the club had changed his life'* (Baumann interview).

In 1974, it was announced by the manager of the Baths Department, that Glasgow Corporation was forming the City of Glasgow Swimming Team and that the Zenith Swimming Club would lose the resources they once enjoyed. Swimming sessions would now be limited to a Tuesday night at the Govanhill Baths. This was the beginning of the end for the Zenith Swimming Club as they could no longer offer the intensive swimming training that was now available elsewhere. Zenith's great success was never matched by the new City of Glasgow Swimming Team *'There is no doubt that if the club had continued it would have been winning competitions and producing competitive swimmers for a long time'* (Baumann interview).[21]

3.4 South Asian Women's Group

The swimming pool was not just instrumental in developing Scottish competitive swimming but also an important social space where South Asian women could meet and use the women-only swimming, sauna, and Turkish baths. At a special event which was held Govanhill Bath's temporary residence, The Deep End for International Women's Day 2024, Zamard Zahid read her collection of memoirs titled '*Resistance and Community: Govanhill Pool and my Mother's Fabric Shop'*. [22] It was a fascinating insight into her own experiences at the baths as a child and how this facility shaped the life of her mother and the South Asian community of women of Glasgow.

In her talk, Zamard fondly remembered her now deceased mother's time spent at Govanhill Pool and how the Wednesday Ladies-only swim days were a place where '*doweries were*

[21] David now dedicates one day a week to working at the Archives in the Govanhill Baths Community Trust. His aim is to contribute to the catalogue which will make accessible the unique collection of materials which reflect the varied and wide activities which have taken place in the Baths over the past century

[22] Zamard Zahid, https://scottishbpocwritersnetwork.org/resistance-and-community-govanhill-pool-my-mothers-fabric-shop/

discussed, weddings arranged, deaths and births noted, and the heartbreak of wayward children openly discussed. It was a safe space for fusion, cohesion, and interaction'. The stories of some of the women's experience of camaraderie because of the Baths were uplifting. For example, Bibi, from Pakistan, who arrived in Govanhill in the 1960s with her husband but was widowed soon after having her three children. Unfortunately, Bibi was an easy target for racism as she was born with a curved spine. However, despite the problem of climbing down the stairs of her tenement close, the highlight of her week was her weekly Wednesday night out to Govanhill Baths. Over the years she developed friendships with two older local women and although she was fiercely independent, she allowed the ladies to help her in and out the pool which helped ease her back pain. After Bibi's daughter tragically died of cancer, her health declined and after a stroke she was no longer able to talk, the women would visit her in her home. She died in her home in Govanhill, refusing to leave the close-knit community she had found by her weekly visits to the pool.

The Baths were also important for Sunna from Pakistan, as it was a place where she could escape with her children from her husband's domestic violence. He eventually abducted the children to Pakistan under the pretence that he was taking them there on holiday to visit his family. It would be three years before her children would be returned to her after a Scottish woman at Govanhill Pool connected her to a friend who was a lawyer that helped fight her case.

Wednesday Ladies-only swimming days at the Baths meant freedom from cultural and societal expectations for the Asian women; connections crossed boundaries and prejudices disappeared. Govanhill Baths still importantly stands as a place that represents the power of the community and their resistance to control. It honours their perseverance and fighting spirit and the many stories that have been told that still must be told about their lives.

3.5 The Community Shows Its Strength: The Closure of the Baths

Local rumours regarding the closure of Govanhill Baths were circulating around the grapevine in 1999 when a report *'Sport for Life for You'*[23] revealed Glasgow Council's intention of reviewing the remaining traditional baths and creating new facilities elsewhere in Glasgow (Downie 2021:78). Members of the Kingston Club (the only competitive, multi-racial

[23] Sport For Life for you, https://sportforlife.org.uk/

swimming club in Scotland) suspected the council wanted to shut down the Baths as only months before, Pollokshaws Baths, another Edwardian pool situated to the south of Govanhill had been closed. Moreover, the Govanhill citizens were wary as important local services such as the breast screening clinic and social security offices had been recently suspended despite a recent report from The Scottish Council Foundation 'Insecure Scotland' (2000), which had identified the chronic lack of services and social deprivation in the area. Officials denied the council were planning to close the Baths, however rumours in the community remained that the council's real agenda was to discontinue with the required maintenance and then close it when the repairs became too costly.

Their fears were confirmed when a letter was left at the reception desk for the Queen's Park Ladies Swimming Club on the 5th of January 2001 (Sherry 2015:79). It informed them that the council would be shutting the pool on the 31st of March 2001. Immediately, Cath Sinclair, a Kingston Club parent representative contacted the local MP, David Marshall, who in turn wrote to the Council, citing important reasons for retaining the pool and questioning the lack of consultation of the many users of the facility. He was given a response by the Bailie, Liz Cameron, on the 11th of January 2001, in which she claimed the pool was past its useful lifespan and that over £750,000 was required to repair and refurbish the building which was an uneconomic proposition. Moreover, the council's argued that Govanhill Baths users could use the new pool located in the Gorbals area of Glasgow.

The Govanhill community was outraged by this casual and secretive approach and also the lack of any public consultation. Numerous meetings took place in the following weeks in local venues such as McNeil's pub and the Daisy Street Neighbourhood Centre and very quickly, by the 17th of January 2001, the *'Save Our Pool'* group was established and a petition which would eventually raise over 30,000 signatures was initiated (Downie 2021:78). The group argued that Govanhill Baths had a catchment area of over 70,000 people and still over 800 homes within that area still were without a bath or any clothes washing facilities. Also travelling to the new leisure facilities such as the Gorbals or Bellahouston was not a practical option as these places were just too far away unless you had the use of a car; Govanhill has the lowest rate of car ownership in the city (Mooney and Fyfe 2006:141). Importantly, these new swimming facilities had not taken account of ethnic minority needs when they were built and did not provide the privacy required for Muslim women in the traditional bathhouses. The decision to close the Baths was verified at a council meeting on the 5th of February 2001, by Council Leader Charlie Gordon without any further negotiations. Two weeks before the closure, on the 17th of March 2001, 600 people marched from Queen's Park to Govanhill Park, calling on the Council to stop

the immediate closure and on the 20th of March 2001, parents lobbied Charlie Gordon at his surgery, but he declined to meet them.

3.5.1 The Campaign and Occupation

Many of the residents of Govanhill were employed in heavy industry within Glasgow, including shipbuilding, therefore they were aware of what options were available to them, moreover they knew how to rally and organise support (Sherry 2015:82). Only four years earlier at the Glacier Engineering factory on Calder Street the workers held a sit-in occupation for eight weeks which improved conditions and saved jobs and 30 years ago there was a Work-In at the Upper Clyde Shipyard. Despite a full-order book the workers faced the threat of redundancy, and so the workers took possession of the shipyard and fulfilled the orders which saved jobs by forcing government intervention. Also in Greenock, in 1981, the workers at the Lee Jeans factory forced the management to reverse their decision to relocate to Northern Ireland by barricading themselves within the factory (Downie 2021: 80). Premises occupation has been a legitimate and effective form of protest taken up in many countries since the 1940s and is a tested way to advocate for a change of policy.

Users of Govanhill Baths knew they had to act but kept the decision to occupy the baths a closely kept secret so that measures could not be taken by the police or Glasgow Council. Some campaigners came to the baths for the evening swimming session on Wednesday 21st March 2001, which was ten days before the proposed closure of the building; they chained themselves to the cubicles and told the Manager that they would not leave until assurances of a feasibility study were given to them. The police arrived shortly after but said there would be no intervention if there was no damage to public property (Sherry 2015:82). Supporters of the campaign held a candlelight vigil outside the baths that evening and the next day £200 was handed in from workers from a local glazing firm towards the cause. Local restaurants, shops and ordinary people demonstrated their support by donating food on a regular basis.

Police and council officials arrived a week after the occupation and turned off the boiler, cut off the electricity and drained the pools which was clearly designed to make conditions in the premises very difficult to live in (Fryer 2021:80). Moreover, they prevented sleeping bags, food, and personal hygiene products from reaching the occupiers; demands which are legal in any legitimate occupation. However, the security guards who were on particularly low wages allowed food to be sneaked in by protesters as they realised that if the protest ended, they would be out of a job. It would eventually be revealed that the council used over £15, 000 of taxpayers'

money to employ the security firm for each month that the protest ensued (Uygun 2015:82). Alongside the policing costs, the money could have been used to keep the pool open.

3.5.2 The Picket Line

The occupation may be what history remembers as it had the important role of keeping possession of the building however the picket line was the vital public face of the campaign. The activity outside the building was operated 24 hours a day, and ordinary people like Nessa Meechan, an elderly lady, would show up for her shift every morning at 6am before walking into town to work at Poundstretcher's (Alderslowe 2021:81). The picket line was an arena of community spirit, energy, and exuberance; leaflets were widely distributed appealing for local support of the occupation and to join the 24-hour picket line (*see Figure 11*). There were campaign meetings every Monday and every Wednesday the community would get together outside the pool for a candlelight vigil and a singsong (Downie 2021:81).

Figure 11. The picket line outside Govanhill Baths, 2001. Image by Govanhill Baths Community Trust

Within a few weeks, the dark grey and black fences of Govanhill were decorated in rainbow colours and those occupying the picket line would gather signatures for the petition and collect donations which would contribute to the legal costs. Passing cars were encouraged to sound their horns in support and local business demonstrated their support by donating food and

drinks. Over 600 people came to the gala day which coincided with the closure date for the pool, Calder Street was closed off and a stage was built for concerts and speeches (Sherry 2015: 83). A street party celebrated the one hundredth day of the occupation and over a thousand people marched from Queens Park to Calder Street ending in entertainment and music. At the huge anti-G8 protest march in Genoa in July, the '*Save Our Pool'* banner was seen carrying the slogan '*Think Global-Act Local'.*

The picket line was a place where folk of all walks of life could come together: unemployed people, professional people, homeless people, and many of the local ethnic communities (Downie 2021: 82). They found a sense of shared purpose and a sense of solidarity by working together to save the pool. The interactions of those occupying the picket line with the public informed the campaign and provided the template that shaped the campaign thereafter. It became more than just saving a building and a pool, it was a campaign to provide opportunities and services for people that would ultimately revitalise the community. In addition to what the Baths had come to mean to the people of Govanhill and beyond at this time it was now becoming clear that a much broader campaign was needed.

3.5.3 The Battle of Calder Street

The campaigners were aware that Glasgow Council was determined to reclaim the building and thus various strategies, and game plans were put in place to prevent this action. The police and sheriff officers in the early hours of the 7th of August 2001, arrived in force with hundreds of police officers, additional mounted police and two helicopters hoping to get the job done quickly by catching the campaigners off guard (Uygun 2021:87).

Hundreds of locals quickly gathered around the building and tried to block off roads to save the Baths. The seventeen hour *'Battle of Calder Street'* finally ended when 250 police officers eventually ringed off the building and allowed workmen to enter, smash the windows and erect screens (*see Figure 12*). The protesters fell silent in disbelief, but this was turned to anger when the police and mounted police with raised batons rushed the crowd and drove them off the street.

Figure 12. Strathclyde Police evict the occupiers of Govanhill Baths on 7th August 2001. Image: BBC News.

The next day, 200 locals protested at the closure by marching into George Square and staged a sit-down outside the City Chambers. They lodged a list of complaints against the police including assault and racism (Uygun 2021:88). The police secured all television coverage of the events and reported that five officers had been injured by a violent minority of agitators who had orchestrated a riot. The police attempt to criminalise the campaign continued into 2003, however all the 13 arrests made collapsed in the courtroom. It is estimated that the vast sums of public money that were spent pursuing closure of the building, which included policing, court proceedings, security, and Fife Constabulary's lengthy investigation into Strathclyde police cost more than £250,000 which Glasgow Council had previously estimated was needed to keep Govanhill Baths open (Uygun 2021:88).

3.6 The Future for Govanhill Baths

The *'Save Our Pool'* campaign refused to be defeated and kept the fight in the news by continuing the daily picket line (until May 2002) and launching a 46-mile bike ride around Glasgow and high-profile figures such as Baroness Helena Kennedy (who learned to swim at the Baths) offered support by wishing the campaign success (Sherry 2015:90). However, in 2004, it was announced that the building was surplus to requirements by the council; this was quickly vetoed by Historic Scotland (now Historic Environment Scotland) who rejected the move to change and develop the use of the site.

Support from a Manchester group who had fought and won the case to save their own historic pool, the Victoria Baths and inspired the Scottish *'Save Our Pool'* campaign to apply to become a Charitable Trust. In 2005, the campaign formed The Govanhill Baths Community Trust (GBCT) which would run the building on a not-for-profit basis (Monaghan 2015:122). The aim of the Trust is the reopening of the Govanhill Baths as a Wellbeing Centre, a community resource that fully caters for the locals physical, mental, and social health. Not only will the swimming pools and Turkish baths be restored to their former glory, but a permanent arts and events space will be created, and the roof and upper floor of the building will have indoor and outdoor gardens.

In the meantime, the Trust is based at *'The Deep End'* in Nithsdale Street and offers a wide range of activities which reflect the social, cultural, and ethnic diversity of the area (Monaghan 2015:121). This includes a range of craft groups; religious meetings and an advice partnership with Castlemilk Law Centre which provides advice on financial and welfare matters.

In 2021, the Trust celebrated their 20th anniversary the occupation of the Govanhill Baths and its return to public ownership by holding a two-day conference which offered various perspectives of sit-ins and the political importance of claiming space and identity for communities. The talks brought together locals, academics and people who had been involved in previous industrial sit-ins. Scotland has had 17 different occupations from the 1940s to 2020s. One of the most famous was the 1971 Upper Clyde Shipbuilding protest which was revolutionary as rather than participating in traditional style strikes the workers organised a 'work-in' to demonstrate that the work did exist and unemployment a political choice.[24]

On 13th May 2021, the collective strength of the community was once again demonstrated when two neighbours, Sumit Sehdev and Lakhvir Singh, were taken from their home in the middle of Eid al-Fitr and detained in a van on the street by the Home Office.[25]

In quick response, the neighbourhood showed their anti-racist solidarity by organising a spontaneous sit in protest of around a thousand people, which occupied the street and surrounded the van for nearly eight hours (*see Figure 13*). It was a victory for the community and anti-racist campaigners across Scotland when the men were released. For the past two years the community has organised a festival to celebrate the remarkable achievements of the neighbourhood to work together against racism.

[24] https://www.govanhillbaths.com/archive/occupy-2/
[25] https://www.govanhillbaths.com/archive/occupy-2/

Figure 13. Protests against the immigration raid on Kenmure Street 13 May 2021. Image: STV News.

3.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, Govanhill Baths has a composite of heritage values. The sporting heritage value lies in its original function as a public swimming facility for the local population, many of whom lived without private bathing facilities in their tenement buildings. The Baths hosted many swimming lessons, training sessions and galas which promoted physical health and often nurtured local talent into competitive sport. On a personal level, it was a place where friendships were forged, and generations learned to swim and look after their physical and mental health. Culturally, it is an iconic Edwardian architectural landmark with a long history of the narratives of the daily lives and cultural practises of working-class people in Glasgow. However, the social value of Govanhill Baths one of the most important and enduring aspects. The building fostered a sense of community by providing a shared civic space where everyone could interact. The campaign to save the building galvanised the community in a common cause and this collective effort built new networks, strengthened social bonds and empowered the people to take ownership of their heritage.

Govanhill Baths Community Trust is presently situated at the temporary location at The Deep End, Pollockshields, Glasgow until the reopening of Govanhill Baths soon. It delivers a range

of community-based social enterprise, wellbeing, and arts projects that have grown out of the aspirations and need of the local community and includes as just some of the ongoing activities: a youth club; a textile studio; a wellbeing programme and a ceramics studio. Govanhill Carnival and Festival is held in the first two weeks of August, and the free festival includes talks, walks, the Carnival and a film festival. The Trust has also started The Food Pantry[26] which aims to address the acute food poverty in some parts of Govanhill by providing dignified and equal access to affordable culturally nutritious food. It's business model that works by collecting food from the local supermarkets that was destined for landfill and taking it to The Pantry and has directly helped 4,000 members facing food insecurity in the first year and intends to increase this to 20,000 in the second year of operating by providing good quality food at a significantly subsidised price.

Soon Govanhill Baths will be a health and leisure facility for the community and new generations thereafter (*see figure 14*), but there will also be a museum in the new building. It will be filled with collected objects, oral histories and handwritten testimonies which will allow the Govanhill community a chance to retell its own story of how their sporting heritage led to the fight for social justice.

Figure 14. Visualisation of the new main entrance. Image: Hall, Black and Douglas Architects.

In the meanwhile, the Trust engage the wider public by sharing their unique history in Glasgow Doors Open Day 2024[27], an event which first took place in Glasgow in 1990 and

[26] The Food Pantry, https://www.govanhillbaths.com/pantry/leaflet/
[27] Glasgow Doors Open Day 2024, https://glasgowdoorsopendays.org.uk/

formed part of the city's celebrations as European City of Culture that year. This year they presented a photo exhibition of the Phase 1B development of Govanhill Baths and a display of the original Slipper Bath doors dating back to the 1940s which are covered with fascinating and occasionally provocative graffiti. Additionally, the Trust has just celebrated the eighth edition of the Govanhill International Festival and Carnival[28], which showcases the community's rich cultural diversity. This year's festival involved over 50 organisations coming together to celebrate Roma culture, amplifying Palestinian voices and preserving Scottish and Irish cultural heritage alongside fostering healing and wellbeing. Although it is not particularly themed towards sporting heritage it does reflect the cultural diversity of the neighbourhood that were united against closure of Govanhill Baths and are now united towards a holistic approach towards health and wellbeing, which is aim of all sporting communities. It has just been announced that swimming is one of the 10 sports to be included in the Glasgow Commonwealth Games 2026, and 500,000 tickets will be made available for spectators visiting the city for the sporting competition. Govanhill Baths Community Trust has demonstrated from its participation in Doors Open Day and by producing its own Internation Festival the ability to engage the wider public and therefore deserves to find a place in sporting policy initiatives within the competition as its exceptional and extraordinary social history and heritage deserve to be shared on the world stage.

[28] Govanhill International Festival and Carnival, https://www.govanhillbaths.com/festival/

Chapter 4. Glasgow Green and the Renovation of West Boathouse

4.1 Introduction

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This case study will investigate the ‘value’ of Glasgow Green and the West Boathouse. The Green holds significant value as the oldest public park in Glasgow, and this thesis will investigate how the physical landscape with proximity to the river and open fields witnessed the evolution of numerous sports thus making it a valuable living museum of sporting heritage (see Figure 15). The cultural and political value will also be highlighted, as they were often intertwined with each other, temperance societies would organise sporting events to promote physical activity with moral integrity. The value of the Green as a social gathering place will also be explored as it has historically been a place for social gatherings, annual fairs and demonstrations. Often these were spectacles that drew large crowds which are now a part of Glasgow’s narrative.

This case study will also include the ‘value’ of the West Boathouse and the recent renovation. It has a unique architectural and historical value as the building represents a particular period of Edwardian construction which showcases specific design elements and original features which are no longer commonly used. It will highlight the personal value to the individuals who

discovered a lifelong love for rowing, and the personalities who became national champions and Olympic athletes. It will demonstrate the cultural value and its significance within the sporting landscape; the traditions associated with the Boathouse which included annual events and training rituals. Also, the cultural wealth of memorabilia which includes photographs, equipment, medals and trophies which continue to tell the story of past achievements and the people who contributed towards them. The social value will also be evaluated as the West Boathouse has served as a gathering place for rowers over the generations; promoting discipline, teamwork and strong social bonds among individuals. This social value will further be revealed in the account of the recent rejuvenation of the building which has widened accessibility of the boathouse making water sports available to a broader sector of the community.

Figure 15. Aerial view of Glasgow Green. Image: Richard Johnson, Getty Images

4.2 The History of Glasgow Green

Glasgow Green is the oldest public park in Scotland, and its 56 acres of parkland was established in 1450 when King James II granted it to Bishop William Turnbull and the citizens of Glasgow (O'Brien 2010: 26). At this time, the area was mostly used for washing and drying clothes, grazing animals, and drying fishing nets as it was a marshy and rough terrain which was split by the Molendinar and Camlachie into four areas which became known as the Gallowgate and Calton Greens and the Low and High Greens. In 1792 the size of the park was increased to its current size of 136 acres by purchasing the land at the east which was known as Fleshers' Haugh and since then the park has not altered in size and the form has remained unchanged from the early 19th century (Scotland 1803: 155). Some of the original features of the park are long gone, such as the washhouse which historical documents show was located close to the Camlachie Burn, however other evidence that the Green was used for cleaning laundry can be found in the washing poles which still stand opposite Templeton's Carpet Factory which used to have a public washhouse. The Herd House, which shepherds once used as a shelter when Glasgow Green was primarily grazing land has also been lost to redevelopment over the centuries (Reid 1864: 60). However, the Glasgow Humane Society House remains in the exact location from when it originated in 1790. The society was established to rescue people from the river at a time when there were many ferries crossing the Clyde and by 1865 some 600 people were saved from drowning (Williams 1999: 69). The society had initially been funded by a donation of £500 from the Glasgow merchant, Mr Coulter, and by 1859 a full-time officer was appointed. Ben Parsonage is a particularly well-remembered officer as during his service to the society between 1932-1979, he saved over one thousand people from drowning in the Clyde.

The park has been in continuous use since it was created, and its large open space has provided a place for public events such as the Glasgow Fair, which from the early eighteenth century was a week-long celebration held in July (Williams 1999: 62). The painting (1832) by John Knox which is titled *'Glasgow Fair'* demonstrates the events that would provide entertainment and escapism for the people of the city (see Figure 16). For that week the park hosted traders eager to sell their goods to the public, entertainment would include curiosity shows and circuses, to theatres and boxing booths. Stalls would sell a various assortment of goods, as well as alcohol and food. The event also included sporting activities and the Burgh records of the 3rd of April 1675, note that roping of the green would occur for a running race which would be three times round the park for a first prize of 20s sterling. Glasgow Green was also used for other events such as political meetings, military events and training and sporting events but not all the people agreed with using it for public events and the records of the Glasgow City

Corporation show numerous complaints because of the damage and disruption it caused (Skillen et al, 2022).

Figure 16. Glasgow Fair, 1832, by John Knox Image: Flickr.com

In 1806 Britain's first monument to Lord Nelson (1758-1805) was erected to commemorate his naval victories, and the base of the 44m high monument documents the names of famous triumphs such as Aboukir (1758). Copenhagen (1801) and Trafalgar (1805), where he lost his life. The monument was struck by lightning only four years after it was built which knocked 6m off the top and is now fitted with a lightning conductor and the damage caused is still visible today (Williams 1999: 63). This was followed by a programme of landscaping, planting, and drainage from 1813- 26 by the town's first Superintendent of Public Works, James Cleland. He employed weavers who were unemployed by the depression caused by the toll of the Napoleonic Wars (O'Brien 2010: 26). The work programme included the culverting of Camlachie Burn and the levelling of large areas and a park ranger was then employed in 1814 to protect this area and stop any games which would damage the park. In 1890, the elaborate Doulton Fountain, which was originally made for the Glasgow International Festival, was moved to the park (Williams 1999: 63). It has an imperial theme, with Queen Victoria at the top holding her orb and sceptre and below her are intricate figures representing her empire of

Canada, South Africa, Australia, and India. Her important military are also represented by a sailor and soldiers from the Black Watch, Royal Irish Fusiliers, and Grenadier Guards. The temperance movement is also commemorated by the Collins Fountain (1881) which is located near the Green's entrance. Glasgow had many pubs in the older parts of the city and was well known for its struggle with alcoholic beverages. Sir William Collins (1789-1853), nicknamed Water Willie, used his successful publishing business to produce ant-drinking literature and founded organisations such as the Glasgow Abstainers Union and Scottish Band of Hope which showed propaganda films and in 1842 organised a temperance march which attracted 50,000 people to Glasgow Green (Williams 1999: 62). His fountain monument is inscribed with the words '*Erected by temperance reformers in recognition of valuable services rendered to the temperance cause by Sir William Collins.'* His bust is on the side of the fountain and is topped with the figure of a girl holding a water pitcher. Other modifications to the park include the building of an Olympic-sized open-air swimming which was situated north-east of Nelson's Monument (O'Brien 2010: 29). This was only discovered by the excavations carried out by the University of Glasgow Archaeology Department in the 1990s into the air raid shelters built during the war and they found the foundation of the pool which started getting built in 1938 but was filled in and forgotten about when World War II broke out in September 1939.

The People's Palace was opened in 1898 (see Figure 17), and the tall red sandstone structure built in the French Renaissance style was conceived originally as a museum for everybody in the city rather than just the wealthy who frequented the West End galleries (Williams 1999: 65). The city's coat of arms decorates the entrance and the statues on the first floor celebrate the unique strengths of the city: *Mathematics and Science, Shipbuilding, Sculpture, Painting, Art and Science, and Textiles and Engineering.* Enormous changes were taking place within the city at the time of construction and important artefacts were rescued from buildings and used in displays to celebrate the unique way of life of the Glasgow people and how they have evolved.[29] A wide variety of displays have included '*I belong to Glasgow*' which shows the many ethnic groups which have, over the centuries, made Glasgow their home; '*The Patter,'* which demonstrates the city's rich dialect and '*Doon the Watter,'* which celebrates days gone by of the steamer trips down the river Clyde.

[29] The People's Palace, https://www.glasgowlive.co.uk/news/history/peoples-palace-barras-museum-21581063

Figure 17. People's Place with Doulton Fountain in the fireground. Image: GlasgowLive

There is also a Victorian glass conservatory at the rear of the building which provides some escapism to more tropical climes and views of rare and tropical plant life Unfortunately, the Winter Gardens and People's Palace are presently closed to the public for extensive refurbishment and hope to reopen in 2027.

It is interesting to note that the Green's survival has been in jeopardy several times over the centuries. The main geological feature of the park is coal and in the mid-nineteenth century the threat of coalmining for the council to raise money to build the West End Park in the prosperous suburbs almost became a reality (Williams 1999: 65). The vigorous fight to save the Green included a poem by Airn John (1858) who addressed it to John McDowall, the councillor who intended to lease the mineral rights:

'If ye maun sink a pit John. / Sink it in George's Square, / Or sink it in the Cresents John, / Amang the rich folk there, / An' they'll be highly pleased, John, / To see sic noble wark, / Gaun on amang thesel's, John, / To pay the west-end park.'

Over the past hundred years other threats to the Green have included proposals to drive a motorway and a railway through it. However, the park has survived the many threats of changing times and has importantly also played an essential role in our sporting heritage.

4.3 Sporting Activities at Glasgow Green

4.3.1 Football on the Green

As the Green was very flat, near people's houses and had areas which were the size of a modern pitch, it was perfect for football (Skillen et al, 2022). The Burgh minutes from 1575 noted that the Glasgow Magistrates encouraged and promoted football as it was considered an *'innocent recreation'* and it was also recorded in these Minutes that footballs were made by the Cordiners (leather workers) of the city and could be purchased for two pence. Just as football was about to become a popularised sport, the Thomas Sulman Map was published in 1864 (see Figure 16), and this map of Glasgow shows the areas where football was being played. This is important as it documents that at this time the three areas where the games were being played were Glasgow Green, Glasgow Barracks, and Glasgow University (Skillen et al, 2022). Glaswegians have been documented playing football on the Green between 1450 and 1792 and when Flesher's Haugh became part of the park in the 1860s it was a popular spot for organised teams to play on. In January 1873, it was recorded that Eastern beat Celtic 4-0, not connected to the *'new'* Celtic which would not be established till 1887 by Irish immigrants living around the Carlton. Glasgow Green drew in immigrants and migrants and records show that Orkney exiles played a game there on 12th January 1866 and that Queen's Park FC of Glasgow was founded in 1867 and their first game was against the Drummond Club. Also, there were Perthshire migrants who always wore Clan Drummond Tartan caps and founded the Glasgow Perthshire Junior FC in 1890 and had their headquarters on Glasgow Green. In a book on Queen's Park which was published in 1919, the author documented that the team *'played a roughish game; tripping and charging were their strong points'* (Skillen et al, 2022). Most football teams at this time did not survive for long, such as The Thistle Club Glasgow Green who are recorded as playing Queen's Park in July 1868 but had disappeared from the record by 1873. It is thought that they merged into the Eastern Club and moved to a pitch on Dalmarnock Road by 1875 (Skillen et al, 2022).

Figure 18. Glasgow Green in the Thomas Sulman Map, 1864. Image: Glasgow Heritage

Glasgow Green was the place where some of the famous teams we have today were formed; for example, Glasgow Rangers were founded in 1872 and played their first game against Callander. Interestingly, some of the various founding members of Celtic and Rangers were youths who rowed on the River Clyde in the 1870s (O'Brien 2010: 33). Tom Vallance, who was one of the first great Ranger's players was originally from Cardross and came to football through being a member of the Clyde Rowing Club and Clydesdale Harriers and his best friends were Peter and Moses McNeil who founded Rangers. Willie and Tom Maley were also members of the Clydesdale Harriers and famously co-founded Celtic in 1887. However, there were lots of teams playing on Glasgow Green, fighting for space to play, and getting in one another's way which made ambitious clubs like Rangers find other places to play such as the large football pitch at Glasgow University Old College. When football became more official in the 1860s, the university built a shed in front of the Hunterian Museum where fans could shelter in poor weather; a photograph of this pitch is possibly the oldest known image of a football stand. The other place that football was being played at this time was Glasgow Barracks drill grounds, which was to the north of Glasgow Green and east of the Old College.

Football and golf were the people's game and was equally popular '*amongst all classes-men and women, boys' and girls' (*McBrearty, 2024). Thomas Lipton, who founded the Lipton Tea empire, regularly played football on Glasgow Green between 1853 and 1863 as he studied at

St. Andrew's Parish School, on Greendyke Street which was just across from the park. Lipton loved football, and as his tea empire grew, he spread football around the world and helped found Argentine and Uruguayan football with his football competition Copa Lipton. Importantly as open space was limited in the city, Glasgow Green provided the ideal playing area for many other sports.

4.3.2 Golf and other sporting activities on the Green

The game of golf was first referenced in Scotland in 1457, when King James II issued a ban on '*ye futbawe and ye golf*'; this was then compromised in 1502 when James IV took up the sport (O'Brien 2010: 124). It is not clear exactly what the term '*golf*' meant, as there is evidence that there was a short game of golf which consisted of hitting targets such as doors and trees, however there was also a long game played in winter, on farmland when the grass was at its shortest. Glasgow Green was a popular place to play golf, and it is mentioned in the 1721 poem *'Glotta'* by James Arbuckle, about the River Clyde. His description of the golfers that he comes across on Glasgow Green suggest that the game is quite like the way it is played nowadays:

'*In winter too, when hoary frosts o'erspread/ The verdant turf, and naked lay the mead,/ The vig'rous youth commence the sportive war,/ And arm'd with lead, their jointed clubs prepare;/ The timber curve to leathern orbs apply,/ Compact, elastic, to pervade the sky:/ These to the distant /hole direct they drive ;/ They claim the stakes who thither first arrive./ Intent his ball the eager gamester eyes,/ His muscles strains, and various postures tries,/ Th' impelling blow to strike with greater force,/ And shape the motive orb's projectile course.'* (O'Brien 2010: 125).

The game of golf was still being played on Glasgow Green in 1765 as it is also referenced in the story of the inventor James Watt who regularly walked in the Green (O'Brien 2010: 28). In his own writing he describes how he was thinking of ways to make the steam engine more efficient and came up with the answer by the time he reached the golf course. The earliest known golf club on the Green was formed in 1787 and by 1792 the council had built a two-room structure and rented out one of the rooms for £10 per annum to the club who used it as their headquarters. It is thought that the council was persuaded to sanction the club due to the great importance of its members which included the Church of Scotland minister, ten tobacco

merchants and four army officers and by 1800 the membership of the club had increased to 48 and included the city chamberlain. However, by 1835, the club on the Green was closed and in 1870 a club with the same name started afresh at Queen's Park. There were several reasons that golf was no longer a desirable game to play on the Green as there was intense industrial pollution from nearby factories. Moreover, the Council's programme of work which started in 1813 and consisted of levelling of large tracts had this affected the golf course and forced players to find alternative places to enjoy the game.

Space in the city of Glasgow was limited therefore the open space that the Green provided was ideal for many sports. Migrants from the Highlands could often be seen playing shinty in the park. The Glasgow Cowal Shinty Club was established in 1876 and became one of the best-known clubs to play on the Green (Skillen et al, 2022). Also, an outdoor gymnasium was given to the city by D.G. Fleming in 1860 at a cost of £300. It was introduced to give '*much amusement and healthful recreation to large numbers of boys and young men*' and was unique as it was the only one in Glasgow. It was a complex structure that included horizontal ladders, German hoop swing and trapeze bars and the opening event was a very grand affair with a display of how equipment could be used and speeches from local dignitaries. The frame of the gym can still be found today on Glasgow Green. Over the years the park tried to control how the space was used and in 1878 the Glasgow Public Parks Act was introduced to make it more formulised, nevertheless, as some sports were now moving to new locations the Green and the River Clyde that flowed through gained popularity in the sport of amateur rowing.

4.3.3 Rowing on the Clyde in Glasgow Green

During the industrial revolution, the River Clyde was bustling with boats, which are richly documented in Sulman's 1864 aerial map view of the river at Glasgow Green (Skillen et al, 2022). The map shows multiple examples of ferries, barges, skiffs, small sailing boats and steam dredgers, and it is also possible to see the hulls of racing shells (see Figure 19). Competitive rowing became popular from the 1840s onwards, especially among people in the trade sector and this resulted in the police, tailors, carpenters, potters, printers, and many others all having their own clubs, although only a few have survived over time (Shearer and Cross, 2023). The oldest surviving club on the Clyde is Clydesdale Gentleman's Amateur Rowing Club which was founded in 1856 and is now known as Clydesdale Amateur Rowing Club as women have been allowed to join as full members since 1979. Gillian Lindsay, who was a

member of the club, became an Olympic silver medallist and world champion and is acknowledged as the most successful woman sculler of her time until her retirement in 2001. The club has produced outstanding coaches and athletes over the years and include former alumnus Harry Leask who won a bronze medal in the double scull at the 2018 European Championships and more recently, silver at the Tokyo Olympic Games.

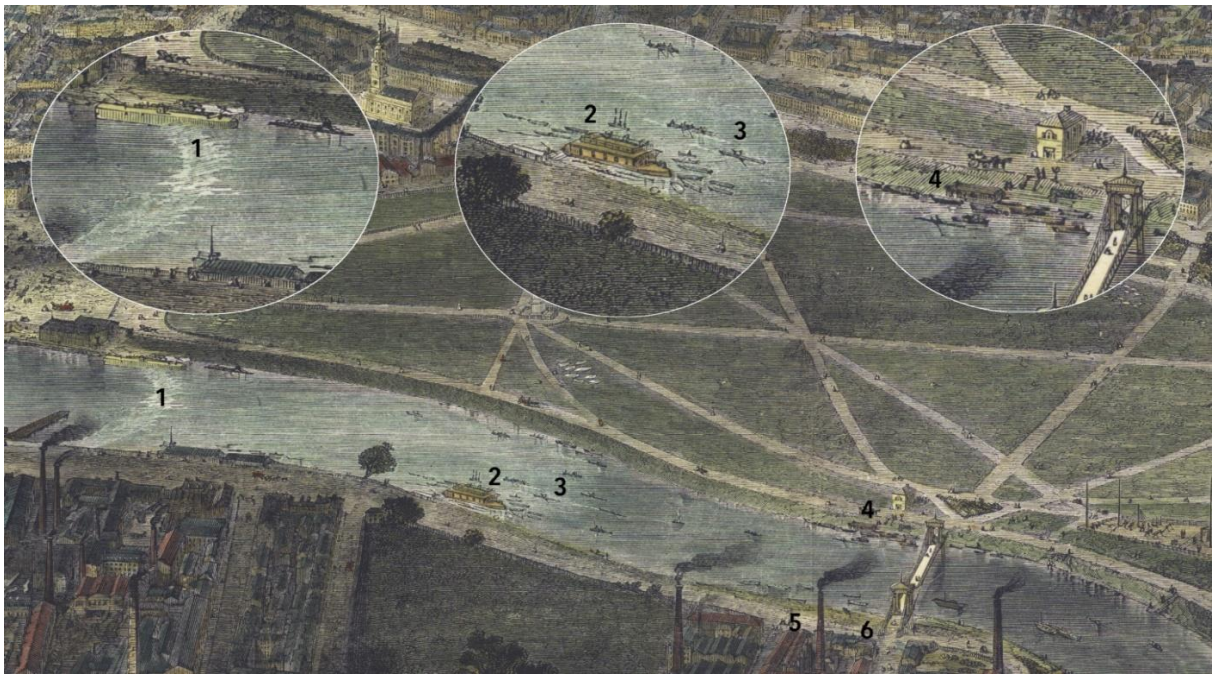

Figure 19. Extract from Sulman's map of 1864, with rowing related sites and detail insets.
1: 1852 Navigation lock and tidal weir. 2: John McWhirter's 'Aquatic Saloon'. McWhirter was a boat hirer. 3: Racing shells. 4: Glasgow Humane Society boathouse. 5 and 6: Clyde and Clydesdale Amateur Rowing Clubs hired sheds Image: Glasgow Heritage

The other rowing club that still survives since being founded in April 1865 is Clyde Amateur Rowing Club which initially held their meeting in the Clutha Boathouse with a membership of thirty people. They held their first annual regatta in the same year and a party in December at the Mechanics Hall in Carlton which was reported by *The Sportsman newspaper* as a lively event where *'members, assisted by a number of friends, enlivened the company with some capital singing; afterwards a ball took place, which was kept up with great zest until morning'* (Shearer and Cross, 2023). In 1884, the club was forced to move to new premises east of the Suspension Bridge due to the rising membership which was now over seventy people and by 1886 celebrated its twenty-first regatta. This event was often subject to the Scottish weather as traditionally it was held in September and one year it was postponed a month to accommodate

the Dumbarton Regatta and by the time it came to their own event not a single rower from Dumbarton turned up for the event. To add further insult to injury they were badly beaten by their greatest rivals, Clydesdale ARC. There have been periods over the years that the club has faced extinction, especially after WWI when they struggled to rebuild their membership and then again in the 1990s when membership numbers dropped. However, they have managed to survive by sharing their facilities with other clubs such as Strathclyde and Glasgow University Boat Clubs which was a good investment as many of the students became members of Clyde once they had graduated from university *(*Shearer and Cross, 2023). Some people from the club have become local celebrities such as the Penny brothers whom the Riverside Museum in Glasgow dedicated an exhibition in 2014. Brothers Laurie, Sandy, Tom, Bill, and Jimmy were members of the club during the late 1920s and 30s and took the junior Scottish title in 1929 and 1930 and then won the senior race in 1931. They became known as the '*Fourpence Ha'ppeny Crew'* because 10-year-old Jimmy the youngest and smallest of the crew acted as the team cox. The club was given a further boost in 1979 when women were allowed to join and team member Imogen Welsh would go on to become one of the most successful lightweight rowers in Britain winning medals in both the European and World Cup stages. Despite being great city rivals in rowing competitions, both Clyde and Clydesdale Amateur Rowing Club would go on to share the facilities that the West Boathouse on the Clyde had to offer.

4.4 The West Boathouse in Glasgow Green

4.4.1 History of the West Boathouse

As rowing grew more popular, clubs struggled to find suitable premises close to the river to store gym equipment and boats. (Shearer and Cross, 2023). The first purpose-built boathouse on the River Clyde was the Clutha Boathouse which was built in 1854 and located at Silverfir Street in Hutchisontown. It served a dual function as it was the business premises for boatbuilder James Banks McNeil and was the boathouse for the Glasgow Regatta Club. Downstairs was for boat storage and office space for Mr. McNeil and upstairs was the social space which had excellent views up the river from the flat-roofed turret. In 1890, Clyde and Clydesdale Amateur Rowing Clubs began to lobby Glasgow Corporation for their own boathouse as they only had a temporary rental in sheds from a carpet manufacturer on Adelphi Street (Shearer and Cross, 2023).

In 1905, the clubs got their wish for a premise close to the river as the West Boathouse opened at a cost of £1,333, which would roughly be the sum of £166,000 in monetary terms today. It was paid for by Glasgow Corporation; however, it was acknowledged that a founding member of Clydesdale Amateur, a local wine merchant, James Henry Roger gave a very generous donation and in exchange Clydesdale was given the preferred eastern half of the Boathouse (Shearer and Cross, 2023). It was a unique practical and picturesque addition to the Green as when viewed from the water the structure rises dramatically from the banks of the Clyde, with large arched windows and elegant cantilevered balconies. It was built by A. B. McDonald and the financial investment in the boathouse demonstrates the popularity of rowing at this period. Many of the club members were men of influence in Glasgow and thus able to exert pressure to get a boathouse on the best spot of the Clyde. Moreover, rowing regattas attracted crowds of thousands and betting on races was a big draw for the spectators (Skillen et al, 2022). It was the most popular spectator sport (until football took over), and the Glasgow Herald newspaper regularly reported of crowds of over 30,000 watching the action from the riverbanks.

However, by the 1990s there was serious concerns regarding the condition of the West Boathouse; ultimately the building had only survived to date because of the deep timber piles which pinned it to the riverbank and allowed it to flex with the water's movement (Shearer and Cross, 2023). Although Glasgow City Council owned the building, the clubs had always paid for maintenance and repairs, but it was now evident that the building was now facing serious structural problems (see figure 20). Glasgow Building Preservation Trust, which is a charity that rescues historic buildings began working with Glasgow City Council and the rowing clubs in 2015 to explore what options were available to save the building. Surveys of the boathouse unfortunately revealed that time was running short as the below-ground timber foundations were rapidly deteriorating and 28 of the original 30 timber foundation piles had rotted and the exterior cladding was in serious danger of collapsing at any time. Also, the interior facilities were outdated with poor accessibility by modern standards. In 2019, the West Boathouse Project started with £2.8 million funding from Glasgow City Council, Historic Environment Scotland, the National Lottery Heritage Fund, and many local charities (Shearer and Cross, 2023).

Figure 20. West Boathouse before renovation. Image: Glasgow Building Preservation Trust.

4.4.2 The Rejuvenation of the West Boathouse Project

The principle aims of the West Boathouse Project was to embrace new audiences and *'open up the River Clyde to all by removing barriers in order to enjoy and share the social, physical and psychological benefits of being part of a diverse river community'.*[30] As well as making the building fit for purpose and keeping it true to its origin, an extensive community engagement programme was put in place and included: celebrating the sporting heritage of the city's east end; developing nature walks and recording the rowing clubs' heritage collections.

Over the years rowing clubs have become associated with university students and graduates. The most prestigious and world's oldest rowing event is the Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race. The University of Oxford Boat Club was founded in 1829, just a year after the University of Cambridge Boat Club (1828). The annual race takes place in London on the River Thames (Shearer and Cross, 2023). The ancient universities of Scotland were later to form clubs with the University of Edinburgh formed in 1867 and Glasgow in 1877, this was followed shortly by the first intervarsity race which was held in July 1877 on the River Clyde (Shearer and Cross, 2023). The Glasgow Herald newspaper reported that spectators climbed on roofs and despite the Glasgow novices who had never rowed the 42-foot outrigger gigs, which made Edinburgh University the favourites, the Glasgow crew won over the course of 1 mile, 7 furlongs in a time of 10 minutes 45 seconds. This contest is still the third oldest university boat race. The club met in the University Union and was affiliated with the Glasgow University Athletics Club and in 1927 moved to the newly built East Boathouse on Glasgow Green. In

[30] Clydesdale Amateur Rowing Club, https://www.clydesdalearc.org.uk/west-boathouse-project/

that same year a team travelled to Oslo, Norway to compete against the university and by 1966, a women's section was established; by 1987 it had 40 members. The Ladies Boat Club united with Glasgow University Boat Club in 2004, which enabled teams to compete in the Henley, Home International Regattas and British University and College Sports (BUCS). In 2015-16, the men won the Scottish Universities Head Race and the women's team won the BUCS gold.

The West Boathouse Project wanted to include a diverse range of volunteers, including people from the rowing clubs, who had different motivations, needs and interests and in November 2019 Glasgow Disability Alliance worked with community boatbuilders Archipelago Folk School to build two Carvella skiffs in their backspace at the Briggait (Shearer and Cross, 2023). During the project volunteers learned about boatbuilding and how to use traditional boatbuilding tools, and they also gained firsthand experience working with different materials and wood to make oars and in return, the organisation learned how to adapt the process of boatbuilding to make it suitable for people with different abilities. Additionally, the project commissioned a Dratsie, which is a small traditional rowing skiff, from the community boatbuilders GalGael Trust (see Figure 21). Since the boat was launched it has carried the Lord Provost down the Clyde, delivered a flag for Glasgow Women's Library and participated in lots of river litter picks. Glasgow Disability Alliance members (GDA) worked on many other projects which included online workshops about local heritage and history and creating nature walks around the Clyde.

Figure 21. The 'Dratsie' under construction at GalGael. Image: West Boathouse collection.

Another important part of the project was working through the heritage collections of Clyde Amateur Rowing Club and Clydesdale Amateur Rowing Club before they moved into the renovated West Boathouse. Before the renovations, the Boathouse was full of memorabilia such as medals, pennants, vintage boat oars and photographs, both clubs had long histories which stretched from the 1860s to the present day but very little of the collections had been recorded or catalogued before now. Therefore, when the material was taken to the Glasgow Building Preservation Trust offices for safe keeping, it was an excellent opportunity to work through the artefacts (Shearer and Cross, 2023). Volunteers included me, and other students from Glasgow University Archaeology MSc course, some members of the rowing club and three interns from Glasgow University Museums Studies and Information Management Master's courses. Working with the collection gave everyone an opportunity to learn how to engage with the care, curation and recording of objects. Volunteers received training in basic photography and lighting, handling artefacts, labelling and packing and using the cataloguing system. Also, an inventory was undertaken to work out the scale of the project, a rapid, systematic system was used on a room-by-room basis; the types of items, their condition and numbers were noted as was where they were displayed or stored or if they had any ownership. Moreover, sketch plans and rapid photographic survey was completed to support the survey and confirm location and the amount of physical memorabilia. There were also film and photographs and digital surrogates of photographs from club members own collections to be considered too. A lot of time was spent testing and evaluating software options for cataloguing and sharing the collection and the main challenge was finding a software package that suited the diverse nature of a rowing collection (Shearer and Cross, 2023). Eventually, it was decided to develop a system that used a Google Forms user interface which publishes to a spreadsheet which would make the cataloguing process straight forward for volunteers while allowing a degree of standardisation of terminology and description. At the end of the process the collection was published in eHive[31] and the experience was shared with other clubs who wished to embark on a similar journey. Using a collection is a great way to engage with members and visitors and it is hoped that working through the West Boathouse collection and creating an accessible model which was practical and affordable will give other sport clubs an idea of where to start when tackling their heritage collections.

[31] West Boathouse eHive Collection, https://ehive.com/collections/9195/west-boathouse

Figure 22. Renovated West Boathouse Image: Glasgow Building Preservation Trust

While the community engagement and volunteer projects were taking place the renovation of the Boathouse was also materialising (see Figure 20). Making the old building fit for purpose and keeping it as true to the original structure as possible is a difficult balancing act as it involves extensive consultation between heritage bodies, regulatory authorities, builders and the design team.[32] Together, the team built a picture of the original materials and construction techniques by looking into archival sources such as architectural drawings, old photographs, the original 1904 Bill of Works and the rowing club's minute books. However, before any work could start feasibility studies and fabric investigation and analysis was needed for funders to fully commit to any grants as this was a building that needed extensive construction and alteration. For example, the timber piles needed replaced without dismantling the original frame structure; the external wall frame had been re-clad at least twice with heavy cement render which resulted in the loss of the original harling on lath and the central wall dividing the clubs and wooden stairs needed to be removed to make an accessible entrance and lift facilities. Rowers at the two clubs had also highlighted their priorities for the renovated building which included a better boat-store raking system which would allow them the capacity to store an 8-person boat without dismantling it; provision of a pontoon for safe access to the river rather than using the timber steps to get the boats into the water; good comfortable changing rooms with toilet and shower facilities and an area for spectator viewing in order to support and enjoy regatta days.

[32] West Boathouse, https://www.gbpt.org/west-boathouse.html

The reopening of the West Boathouse on Sunday 14th May 2023 was a day of celebration as over 250 people joined Tokyo Olympic silver medallist Harry Leask, the rowing community, funders and project partners to officially reopen the building. A specially commissioned flag was carried by a flotilla of boats down the River Clyde and was then raised 118 years after the boathouse had first opened its doors (see Figure 23).

Figure 23. Celebrating the reopening of the West Boathouse. Image: West Boathouse Collection

There was a packed day of special events along the Clyde which included talks, walks, rowing demonstrations and an appearance from Clota, the ancient River Goddess of the Clyde. The Chair of Glasgow Building Preservation Trust, Liz Davidson, gave a speech that commended the community activities that gave an opportunity for people to learn more about sporting history and the River Clyde. The renovated West Boathouse was now a hub for rowing but also for other activities for generations to come. The National Lottery Heritage Fund Scotland Director, Caroline Clark, communicated the same idea that the project not only preserved important sporting heritage but also encouraged wider engagement with the river. The final speech from the Head of Grants at Historic Environment Scotland echoed the same principles as those who had spoken before her, again emphasizing that the new improved accessibility

would mean that more people would be able to enjoy access to this important part of our heritage.

4.5 Discussion

The West Boathouse contrasts with Govanhill Baths as the community did not have to fight for the sporting heritage structure to be preserved. However, like Govanhill Baths the unique 1905 building needed significant renovation to make it fit for purpose. Moreover, the building was in immediate danger of sinking into the River Clyde as the timber foundations were deteriorating rapidly and the exterior cladding was in danger of collapsing which would have resulted in the loss of this historic structure (Shearer and Cross, 2023).

Ingrid Shearer, the Heritage Engagement Officer for Glasgow Building Preservation Trust, which is a charity that rescues and repairs buildings, sometimes repurposing them for the benefit of the community worked closely with the West Boathouse project and had a very clear vision of the aims for the new building. These included engaging new audiences, encouraging new users and having a hireable space for community groups. Through regular blogs she not only updated the public on the progress of the boathouse rejuvenation but also communicated her journey to a better understanding of the importance of sporting heritage. She points out in her blog; sporting heritage is everywhere and even found in some of our Glasgow Street names such as *'Bowling Green Road'* and *'Curling Cresent'* it is a vital part of our shared past and reflects broader societal changes. In a recent lecture *'It Will be Great When it's Finished! Reflections on Glasgow's Built Heritage,'*[33] she reflected on her work with the West Boathouse Project:

"*Why should money be spent on a sport with so few athletes? It does have an image problem and is known as an elite sport, but l can't really do anything about rowing. The clubs have done a lot of work trying to address divesity and make it more accessible to new members. That was not my priority, that was for them to deal with. For me it was all about the river. So, l took the six kilometres along the East End of Glasgow which doesn't get much attention and worked with communities. It is packed full of stories and doesn't get a lot of attention from the heritage sector. So, sporting heritage did form a large part of the project, but it really was about the river. One of the things that became very important, partly because of Covid was trying to address the dysfunctional relationship that Glaswegians have with the river, it is still seen as*

[33] Ingrid Shearer, 'It+Will+be+Great+When+it's+Finished!+Reflections+on+Glasgow's+Built+Heritage'/

dead, dirty and dangerous. The river is in recovery and fighting back from 150 years of industrial abuse and pollution and while there are still a lot of problems there are actually over 30 species of fish living in the river. I have seen seals, herons, cormorants and even an otter right up at the West Boathouse, the city centre!" (Ingrid Shearer, 2024).

It is now a year later, and perhaps not enough time has gone by to fully reflect if the project has been a success. Both rowing clubs quickly produced new 'welcome packs' to encourage new members and their mission statements are to *'make all the fun of rowing accessible and inclusive.'*[34] Many ways in which they aim to reduce barriers for people to participate in rowing is by maintaining low membership rates which are £20 a month for juniors, £35 a month for seniors and £15 for unemployed. Also, different levels of participation are encouraged such as free trails made available for those who want to try out rowing without committing to taking on the membership monthly fees.

Interestingly, the rowers that most of the writer spoke to at the West Boathouse were recent members of the club and were unable to reflect on how life had changed with the renovation of the building which suggests that both clubs had been successful in encouraging new members. However, it was also evident that the locals who used Glasgow Green had mixed feelings about the boathouse. I interviewed several local people from the surrounding areas to find out their views regarding the West Boathouse and if they were personally involved with it. One dog walker who lives in the locality told me:

"Sometimes I come down here really early in the morning with the dog, as early as 6 am and there are already rowers out on the water. If I were younger, I would like to give it a go. Wasn't aware that it had been renovated recently. The problem is the front of the building faces the river so you can't really see what's going on. But I still think it adds to the Green, and I like to watch the rowers".[35]

Another local dog walker who regularly walked in the park told me:

"*My problem with the Boathouse is that parent's bringing their kids drive right through the park, sometimes far too fast, a couple of times my dog has run out in front of a car, one day it*

[34] Clydesdale Amateur Rowing Club, https://www.clydesdalearc.org.uk/join-the-club/
[35] Dog Walker 1 interview at Glasgow Green, May 2024

could be a kid, and they could get killed. I don't think the people from the boathouse care about the people who live here, I don't know anyone from here who is a member, they don't advertise it. There're loads of kids who live around here that have nothing to do and would benefit from a bit of sport, but they never get the chance".[36]

Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the rowing clubs' policies of equality, diversity and inclusion are relatively new, and it will take time for good practise to change some people's attitude towards rowing.

The project also gave the opportunity for the rowing clubs to review environmental practise and a group of volunteers from the clubs designed a survey for all Scottish rowing club members to suggest ways improving practise and thinking of ways they could play an active role in safeguarding the River Clyde.[37] Rowing is reliant on clean water as it is an aquatic sport and despite great improvements in the River Clyde's water quality there still problems littering and pollution which can affect the health of the rowers and the wildlife of the river. The result of the survey formed a new West Boathouse Green Policy which collaborates with Keep Scotland Beautiful and the Marine Conservation Society to undertake collaborative litter picks and run eco-friendly events such as *'Up the Watter'*[38] which was one of the boathouses opening events.

4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, the 'value' of the renovated West Boathouse is profound as it not only safeguards the physical structure but also its role in preserving and promoting Glasgow's rich rowing tradition. The project retained original features while integrating modern amenities and this blend of old and new aesthetically contributes to the appeal of Glasgow Green and the way it changes to meet societal needs. By providing state-of-the-art gyms, changing facilities and boat storage, the Boathouse will support the development of a new generation of rowers and its enhanced accessibility features ensure that individuals with disabilities can fully participate. The presence of the rejuvenated Boathouse also enhances the social value of Glasgow green as it augments the overall vibrancy of the park, encouraging more visitors and creating a sense of community ownership and pride to the area.

[36] Dog Walker 2 interview at Glasgow Green, May 2024
[37] Safeguarding the River Clyde, https://westboathouse.org.uk/greening-the-west-boathouse/
[38] Up the Watter, https://westboathouse.org.uk/up-the-watter/

The West Boathouse Project included a diverse range of volunteers, including people from the rowing clubs, the local community and students from the University of Glasgow to engage in a wide range of activities under the umbrella of the rejuvenation of the boathouse. Some endeavours of the project were intergenerational and allowed younger members of the community to learn about the River Clyde and the rowing clubs from senior members. A study by Richard Haynes (2020) suggests that this bottom-up way of sharing information and experience not only fosters better ties between clubs and young people and encourages stronger links with the local communities and can often motivate people to become members of a sports club. Some parts of the West Boathouse Project are still ongoing such as The Living River which records the flora and fauna and animal life along the 6km section of the Clyde from Glasgow Green to the Cuningar Loop. Volunteers submit images of their observations to a link which records the observations and already the results are demonstrating that the post-industrial landscape is in recovery as the banks of the river are teeming with wildlife including deer, badgers and otters and the river now hosts over 30 species of fish. The collaborative community editing project *'Play Like a Lassie*' is also still running and 15 new editors are researching and creating new articles relating to women's sporting history stories on Wikipedia as presently they are under-represented. The aim is to tackle the gender bias relating to woman's sport in Scotland while creating opportunities for volunteers to learn how to contribute to the Wikimedia Commons archive.

Figure 24. Advert for West boathouse in the Glasgow Doors Open Festival. Image: The West Boathouse Collection

Since its reopening, the West Boathouse rowing clubs have participated in Glasgow Doors Open Festival.[39] The programme included guided tours around the historic building from club members and a chance to enjoy a tea break in the club room and watch rowing demonstrations from the balcony. There was also a children's programme where 12-year-olds and older can participate in rowing taster sessions lasting around 45 minutes (see Figure 24).

Rowing is not one of the 10 sports included in the Commonwealth Games 2026; the sport has not been included in the Games since Edinburgh 1980. However, there is no reason for sporting heritage initiatives to strictly reflect the sporting events of any competition. Importantly, the rejuvenated West Boathouse is situated within Glasgow Green which boasts the birthplace to five of Glasgow's oldest sporting clubs (O'Brien 2010: 26). Glasgow City Council has produced an excellent Heritage Trail[40] of the Green which can be downloaded as a pdf or walking app for phones. The trail takes approximately one and a half hours and although it is

[39] Glasgow Doors Open Festival, https://glasgowdoorsopenday.com/event/west-boathouse
[40]Glasgow Green Heritage Trail,
https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/media/3639/Glasgow-Green-HT/pdf/Glasgow_Green_HT.pdf?m=1678976554403

not inclusively aimed at the sporting heritage of the park, it does include information on the 1675 foot 'raices' and the creation of the 'Rangers' and 'Celtic' football clubs which can be traced back to individuals who played other sports on the Green.

The People's Palace will be closed to the public for refurbishment till 2027 but as demonstrated by the Benny Lynch[41] exhibition which it hosted before the closure, it is the perfect arena to showcase Glasgow's sporting heritage. A collection of rare artefacts relating to Benny Lynch's boxing career documented the rise and fall of 1935 world flyweight champion. It was the first time that some of the items which included championship belts, trophies and Lynches boxing gloves had ever been on public display and Lynch's family also donated tickets and programmes from some of the most important boxing competitions which further retold the sporting history story. The exhibition was on permanent display for two years and its popularity allowed the *'Statue for Benny'* campaign to raise £30,000 towards a statue in his honour, which will be displayed in the Gorbals area of the city where Lynch was born and raised in his honour.

As demonstrated by this research, Glasgow Green and the West Boathouse are presently involved in various aspects of public engagement and tourism – one of the stops for the popular Glasgow Hop-On Hop-Off City Sightseeing Tour includes the People's Palace and as previously mentioned, a comprehensive heritage guide to the Green is already available. Ramshaw and Gammon argue that sport tourism tends to rely on nostalgia and often the true value of the sporting heritage site or artefact can be distorted (Ramshaw and Gammon, 2005: 230). However, the renovation of the West Boathouse and the heritage guide to Glasgow Green were developed without the purpose of sporting heritage tourism therefore, they already offer the visitor a local history and development of sport rather than nostalgic symbols of prestige and accomplishments.

[41] Benny Lynch exhibition at People's Palace, https://www.glasgowlife.org.uk/news/benny-lynch-exhibition-opens-at-peoples-palace

Chapter 5. Skateboarding: From Subculture Rebels to Heritage Listing.

5.1 Introduction.

This case study will explore the 'value' of skateboarding. The sporting heritage value will be explored by tracing its origins in California in the 1950s through to its inclusion as an Olympic sport. The cultural value of skateboarding and its impact on urban landscapes will be investigated as the sport has influenced urban planning and the design of public spaces leading to the creation of skate parks and skate-friendly environments. Moreover, the cultural value of listing skateparks and recognising them as a unique form of urban design and engineering will be discussed. Also, the social value of skateboarding and its role as a space for youth development and community identity will also be considered. Through an interview with Jamie Blair the personal value of skating Glasgow's 1978 Kelvingrove Skatepark will be highlighted, demonstrating the value of the sport to the Glasgow skateboarding community.

5.2 History of Skateboarding:

5.2.1 The Beginning of Skateboarding: The First Wave.

Larry Stevenson was involved in the California surf scene, which was booming in the late 1950's and early 1960's and realised that it was possible to replicate the feeling of surfing on water by using a scooter minus the handle to ride the side of drained swimming pools (Brooke 1999: 23). He thought this could be part of surf culture and began writing articles regarding the similarity of skateboarding duplicating the sensation of surfing the waves which lured surfers into this new potential sport. Surfing originated in Hawaii and French Polynesia but now had a large following in Florida, California and Australia which meant that there were lots of potential surfers ready to skateboard for similar experiences. Surfing in the 1960's was controversial as it was about exploring and daring to be different and a way to say *'no'* to societal desires for the way you lived your life (see Figure 25). It was not just a hobby but a way of life which involved exploring coastlines for undiscovered waves, and there was a

sacredness to surfing that was unique for this time (Ford and Brown, 2006: 25). Skateboarding directly compared itself to surfing by using terms such as '*hanging ten*' and '*walking the board*' and some of the first skateboarders described it as the same as riding imaginary waves and daring to be different.

Figure 25. Surfers in L.A. in 1960s. Image: University of Southern California. Libraries.

In 1963 Stevenson created Makaha Skateboards which was named after the Makaha Surfing Championship, and he deliberately shaped them like surfboards to further strengthen the connection between the surfing worlds. By the end of 1965 orders of Makaha skateboards grew to over 10,000 per day and four million dollars' worth of boards were sold (Borden 2019: 11). It was also starting to gain appeal internationally, particularly when British news excitedly reported on the new Australian sport of *'roller boarding'* from Bondi in 1964. Surf centres such as St. Ives in Cornwall and Langland in South Wales were also enjoying getting into the skateboarding scene which the UK's *Daily Mirror* declared to be the new craze. Many celebrities of the 1960's also provided promotional fuel when they were photographed skateboarding – John Lennon in the Bahamas, Tom Jones in London and Katharine Hepburn in Beverly Hills (Borden 2019: 9). Also, it was now being popularised by film with *Skatedater* which won Best Short Film at the Cannes Film Festival in 1966.

However, the new youth culture was considered a medical menace by The California Medical Association as skateboarders were dodging cars and pedestrians which included numerous accidents causing broken bones and even reports of deaths (Brooke 1999: 24). Shops were advised not to sell skateboards in the interest of public safety and by the end of 1965 over twenty cities in America had banned the sport from the streets. By 1967, skateboarding on a national level was finished and the sport was only participated in by a few loyal skaters.

5.2.2 The Second Wave (1973 – 1980).

The revival of the sport in the 1970's was mainly due to a breakthrough in skateboarding technology and the creation of urethane wheels by Frank Nasworthy rather than clay which were prone to stoppage and instability due to the terrain (Willing and Pappalardo, 2023: 36). Additionally, innovations were also being made with graphite-loaded boards which allowed skaters to slide over objects easily. An extended drought in California in 1976 meant that many people did not fill their pools for years which allowed skaters to reclaim these and re-enact the sense of being on an ocean wave (see Figure 26). This was popularised by the Z-Boys from Venice Beach, who became iconic by inventing *'vert skating'* which was the art of vertical skateboarding in abandoned urban areas and empty swimming pools thus pushing the boundaries of what was before possible on a skateboard (Borden 2001: 31).

Figure 26. Z-Boy skating empty pool, 1977. Image: CoololdSchool.

The skateboarding industry recognised the need to build facilities that were specifically dedicated to skateboarding. The first official skatepark opened in Port Orange, Florida in 1976

and was followed a week later by Carlsbad Park in California. Initially the parks mimicked the reservoirs and ditches that skaters enjoyed riding but then elements were introduced to meet the demands for vert riding (Quinn & Borden, 2023: 139). This included moguls and a snake run and deep, steep-sided bowls which allowed skaters, for just a moment, to defy gravity. Both became very successful and were soon followed by parks in Australia and Japan where more advanced methods and materials in the construction were applied, such as gunite and shotcrete concrete applications and a white marbellite ultra-smooth finish, usually used for swimming pools. Skateboard Parks were expensive to build, Carlsbad Park cost over $250,000 in the 1970's, however businessmen were keen to cash-in in their popularity as the sport was booming (Brooke 1999: 66). Nevertheless, it soon became problematic to own a skateboard park as legal issues regarding insurance became increasingly high for owners to pay and there were many lawsuits from many parents and skaters suing for injury. By 1978 the extinction of these parks was being predicted as liability insurance was unaffordable for the owners despite skaters enjoying the new challenges these landscapes provided. Most parks eventually were demolished by 1981 and the sport, once again, went underground or into skater's backyards.

5.2.3 The Third Wave (1983 – 1991).

Skateboarding was kept alive by a core of hardcore skaters who were given information about the scene by *Thrasher* magazine which was written by skateboarders for skateboarders (Brooke 1999: 93). The sport was propelled into new levels of popularity with new styles of skating such as launch ramps, street-style skating and vert riding. Also videos for example *'Bones Brigade'* were being created by Powell Peralta which encouraged a new era of skaters to try it out. Furthermore, freestyle, and vertical competitions became popular as they offered high earnings to professional skaters. The National Skateboarding Association was holding numerous competitions in America which soon developed worldwide and evolved the culture of the sport (Willing and Pappalardo, 2023: 36). Street-style skating encouraged a skate fashion to emerge which was enormously popular, even among non-skaters. Lots of new manufacturers were only too willing to cash in on the scene with '*Vision'* becoming one of the biggest companies to emerge in the past 40 years. The skate shorts, named Mad Rats were durable and worn by top skaters which promoted the shorts and made them popular. Fashion also was important when it came to the boards that skaters were riding, the incredible imagery of the Ray 'Bones' Rodrigues deck which featured skulls became a huge success in the skateboarding

world. Punk and skateboarding became intertwined which gave rise to rebellious innovative aesthetics and punk skate bands (Brooke 1999: 105). However, a worldwide recession hit in 1991, and the skateboarding industry was greatly affected. Moreover, skateboarding had a new nemesis to contend with – Rollerblading.

5.2.4 The Fourth Wave (1993 to Present Day).

The internet and the growth of satellite TV and cable led to a greater awareness of skateboarding, and it was gaining exposure through new ventures such as the 1995 ESPN 2 Extreme Games. However, there were also challenges as the sport faced regulatory restrictions in places because of public nuisance complaints and safety concerns (Brooke 1999: 138). Despite this backlash skateboarding continued to adapt and evolve and people who had taken up skateboarding in the 1970's now had children of their own and were eager to pass on the fun and liberation of the sport. It was these '*baby boomlets'* (the baby boomer's offspring) who were not only hitting their rebellious teens but also had significant spending power that led the fourth wave of skateboarding. Also, many of the parents of the younger generation were inspired to dig out their old boards and get skating again. Skaters aged thirty or over were rare in the 1960's and 1970's but by 2014, it was reported that 19% of the people who visited Tampa Skate Park were over 40 years of age yet ten years earlier it was a mere one percent of that figure (Borden 2019: 36). Indeed, internet forums such as Old Kook Skating (USA) and Middle Age Shred (UK) suggest that skaters today are in their twenties and older.

Historically, skateboarding has had a reputation for being an all-male activity, however, there have always been famous female skaters since the sport started. Linda Benson, the legendary 1960's surfer had her own personally designed skateboard and Laura Turner, Wendy Bearer and Colleen Boyd gained television coverage in 1965, as competitors in the American National Skateboard Championship (Porter 2014: 63). By the 1990's, snowboarding had produced a new breed of women who were now turning to skateboarding and preforming favourably alongside their male counterparts; Elissa Steamer was just one of the women of that era who had turned professional, she won X Games titles and appeared in Tony Hawk's Pro Skater Games. Magazines and websites such as Skirtboarder also promoted female skating as did the first female skate film documentary *Live and Let Ride* (Tara Copper, 1999), moreover male dominance has been countered by all female events like *Girl Skate Out* (UK) and *Ride Like a Girl* (Canada). The 2020 Tokyo Olympics and the 2024 Paris Olympics gave equal weight to

women's and men's events which has further cemented their place in the world of sport (see Figure 27).

Figure 27. Skye Brown representing Britain at the Paris Olympics 2024. Image: Garry Jones Photography

Despite the various technological advances over the years, the skateboard remains a basic piece of equipment and is relatively easy to understand (Borden 2019: 22). It requires little maintenance, and the only skill needed is movement and balance. The attraction is straightforward: *'A skateboard is a skateboard. They haven't changed. It's the same idea, right? You get on, you go'* (Shaft 1986: 59). For this reason, and many more skateboarding has become a global phenomenon even in countries in the Northern hemisphere where weather conditions are not always as glamorous as California.

5.3 Skateboard Parks as Urban Culture and Heritage Sites.

The public attitude towards the Undercroft as a skateboarding space that was part of their urban culture was not only felt in London as skateboarding was now becoming embedded within the national identity (Harvey 2013: 939). The Rom Skatepark in Essex, which was constructed in 1978 was first recommended for listing status in 2013 to Historic England who have a national policy with general principles applied to decide if a building is of historic or architectural interest. It was designed by Adrian Rolt and built by Skate Park Construction and

is considered one of the best examples of a 'Second Wave' park in Britain (Borden 2019: 133). Features include three vert arenas: a pool, a halfpipe and performance bowl, classic 1970s features such as moguls, downhill slalom run, moguls and a snake run. Like a few American and British parks, the Rom also had a trough-like, straight-sided halfpipe with vert extensions and white marbellite with blue tiles which paid tribute to the pre-skatepark days of riding in empty swimming pools in California (Quinn & Borden, 2023: 145). For the experienced riders there was a performance bowl which was a vast subterranean concrete hemisphere with a vert extension above the ground. Initially, when the Rom opened in August 1978, it was a private enterprise, but as it never made the finances expected it was soon sold to the Greenwood family who still own it presently. The survival of the park has at times been challenging but the BMX boom of the early to mid-1980s helped, as did famous visitors which included the world's top skateboarding team *'Bones Brigade'* and Bob Haro, the best BMX freestyler. Simon Inglis, who wrote the *'Played in London'* project (2014), a study of the architectural sporting history of London believed that one of the city's skateparks from the 70s should be considered for heritage listing and contacted Historic England (then called English Heritage).

On 11 September 2014, the Rom was granted Grade II listing status which made it the first European skatepark to be awarded with this historic preservation status (Inglis 2014: 152). The organisation agreed on the award as it was an example of one of the best-preserved purpose-built skate parks surviving from the start of British era of skateboarding. Additionally, many of the design and technical structures such as the twin-lobed bowl perfectly reflected the kidney shaped swimming pools in the gardens of Los Angeles where the sport first started (Historic England, 2014). The preservation order attracted lots of media attention and an article in *'The Guardian'*[42] newspaper praised the engaging charms and obdurate survival of the skatepark. There was also substantial news coverage by ITV and BBC, which demonstrated how the Rom and skateboarding was part cultural and national identity (Borden 1999: 268). This unique listing had at last considered *'communal value,'* one of the six conversation principles to define *'the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it, or for whom it figures in their collective experience or memory'* (Historic England 2008, 7). Moreover, Historic England included the Rom and street-skating in the *'Welcome to Historic England Video'* (2015), alongside St. Paul's Cathedral and other iconic English places, which demonstrated an acknowledgement of

[42]The Guardian Newspaper article on the Rom Skateparks Listed status, https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2014/oct/29/the-rom-hornchurch-first-skatepark-europe-listed-status

contemporary youth culture. Skateboarding was now part of the official narrative (see Figure 28).

Figure 28. '*The Rom*' Skatepark. Image: The Guardian Newspaper.

Scotland was also an enthusiastic player in the skate scene and the idea for a purpose-built skate park was proposed by skater Kenny Omond to Livingston Development Corporation. The large vert *'Rock 'n Roll'* Skate Park in Livingston New Town, West Lothian opened in 1981. It was designed by architect Iain Urquhart, after extensive studies of US skateparks and discussions with skateboarders, it quickly achieved international recognition within the scene because of its ambition, scale, and quality (C20 Society, 2024). The 'Livi,' as it became better known as, is acclaimed for its very deep double bowl and tuned transitions and Omond designed an extension in 1992, which again reflected the skate culture of 1970's – 1980's (see Figure 29). The park stands as a testament to the mix of athleticism and artistry where skateboarders, rollerbladers and BMX riders push the boundaries of their sport, and individuals seamlessly blend artistic flair with skill to carve their mark on the concrete. However, it is more than just a recreational facility to many of its patrons, it is also a cultural hub where a passion for skateboarding and urban culture can be shared and in turn fosters a sense of camaraderie and belonging. Moreover, the park nurtures the next generation of athletes through its competitions, community events and workshops and even attracted the American professional skater Tony Hawk in 1991 who described it as a *'legend place'* (Sky News, 2024).

Figure 29. Livingston Skatepark *'the Livi.'* Image: Concrete Connect.

In 2022 Historic Environment Scotland (HES) received an application from West Lothian Council to designate the 'Livi' skatepark as it was the 40th anniversary year of the area and importantly it needed strategic intervention to restore it to a facility of international status once again. Following a consultation exercise and online survey with the public, the park was duly designated as a listed structure at category B. This award will not only protect an important part of our historic environment but will also play an important role in telling Scotland's story of the built environment (HES, 2024). It is a testament to the creativity and resilience of a community that refused to let their passion die. Skateboarding has come a long way from its unpretentious beginnings as pavement surfing to a global phenomenon. It is not just a sport but also an art form and urban culture that has inspired generations of skateboarders and will continue to inspire riders to push the boundaries and freedom of their boards.

5.4 Kelvingrove Skate Park, Glasgow 1978.

As Skateboarding grew in popularity during the mid-1970s, purpose built skating facilities were being constructed to cash in on the phenomenon, as well to keep the enormous amount of skaters off the streets. Hundreds of skateparks were built over a four-year period across America and the rest of the world including England and before long Scotland wanted to be part of the scene despite its less favourable weather (Quinn and Borden, 2023: 2). Glasgow District Council announced in 1977 that a Skatepark was going to be constructed in

Kelvingrove park in the West End of the city which would be designed by Richard S Wigley who had earlier been responsible for designing *'Rolling Thunder'*, an indoor skatepark in West London. £50,000 was pledged by the council for the building of the skatepark and a further £50,000 was also provided for the landscaping, outbuildings and fencing.[43] It was to be a park that was state of the art for Glasgow as it replicated features that were popular in worldwide skateparks of that era such as a snake run, moguls, half pipe and deep sided bowls. A pre-existing 1950s Roller Rink was to be made into the freestyle area, and the existence of this concrete floor is thought to be the principal reason this part of the park was chosen for the new development.

Jamie Blair[44] who was a young boy living in Glasgow when the skatepark was being built remembers this time and during an interview shared his memories with me. There is short film clips included within the interview which were filmed by Max Breckenridge, the digital and social media co-ordinator at the University of Glasgow and show Jamie taking myself and Kenny Brophy around the Kelvingrove 1978 skatepark:

"It was 1976, l was 13 and my mate got a skateboard from California. Before that we had been riding our own wee home-built skateboards, but they were sawed in half roller skates, and this was a proper little red skateboard. We just tore around the neighbourhood for weeks on end. I told my Gran that I really needed to get a skateboard. Granny managed to get one, a wee crappy skateboard from Lewis's department store, which I loved. So that was the summer of 1976, and went through the winter of 1976/77 bombing the hills, terrorising the Grannies, and having all sorts of fun times. And then we heard in 1977 that the old roller-skating rink at Kelvingrove from the 1950s, originally a dance floor and great for skateboarding, smooth concrete…anyway that was where all the original skateboarders tended to congregate cause you didn't get any hassle because it was enclosed, and the council were happy. So, because all the skateboarders were gathering there, that's what probably fired up Glasgow Council to build the skateboard park here as there already was a flat piece of concrete for the free style area which is a flat piece of terrain (see Video 1 in footnotes).[45] They decided to build across the road that ran through the park, which could be a slalom run as well, the hills people could cruise down, then they dug the skatepark across the road. Hewden Contracts were employed, and it

[43] Kelvingrove 1978 Skatepark, https://www.northskatemag.com/blogs/north-latest/kelvingrove
[44] Oral History Interview about Kelvingrove Skatepark, 1978. Interviewed by L. Cummings student at University of Glasgow for MPhil thesis, 7 June, Clan Skate Shop
[45] Video 1, *https://youtu.be/rmuGMoC5Z5A*

was fifty grand which was a grand sum in 1977 at that time for the concreting and fifty grand for the flower beds and all that. This was a big thing! We used to raid it as they had built the bowls, but there was no drainage so there was mud everywhere, when the workies went off for lunch, climb over the fences or run across the road and skate the bowls for the first ever time, learn to do kick turns and carves, all the basics. I learned to do all the basic fundamentals of skateboarding (see Video 2 in footnotes).[46]

Figure 30. Kelvingrove Skate Park, Glasgow 1978 Image: Iain Urquhart.

And then it opened in May 1978. It was all bells and whistles, and a councillor opened it, cut the tape, there were hundreds of kids there. It was the height of skateboarding, they brought some professional skateboarders up from London and Brighton, Jock Patterson, who was a famous skateboarder at that point, he had won the British and Nationwide championship, and a boy called Roger Harvey who became a good friend of mine over the years, great skateboarder, came up from London, amazing skateboarder doing great things. I pretty much learned from him, just skated in the park all the time and got on the team pretty quick and got sponsored from a company called Nevis Sport who had a shop up town in Sauchiehall street,

[46] Video 2, *https://youtu.be/rk3M5o1okYAm*

which was my first sponsor and free skateboard decks. Then the park team was formed, *'Kelvin Wheelies,'* I don't know who came up with that name, probably some Councillor. And that was it, we were off to the races, we used to compete in the whole crazy 1978/79/80 learning tricks, skateboarding was changing. Riding the park, at first it was all individual runs and nets everywhere, but soon they took the nets down cause people's wheels got stuck in the nets causing slams and as soon as the nets came down, we could start doing other tricks into other bowls and travelling around the park (see Figure 30). And we just had a whale of a time at fourteen, fifteen – hanging out in the skate park. People came from all over the west of Scotland, pretty much –from down south to Aberdeen. For the first time you were meeting people from your own country from different cities. It was brilliant fun, and I haven't really stopped, it led on to me opening a skate shop, one of the oldest in Britain I opened that skateboard shop in 1988, so it has given me a career and a life. It led onto some professional skateboarding.

Skateboarding disappeared for a while, that's why Kelvingrove got closed. We fought it for a while, but they weren't listening. So, they covered it all up, they filled it in, smashed it up a bit but there is some stuff there that could be dug out for sure. Some of it has been destroyed, they smashed the *'lips'* and threw them into the bowls, and they filled up the bowls. They drove pathways through some of it but there are existing things. Some of it could be dug out and skated, l have no doubt.

It's an Olympic sport now, which we only dreamt about in the seventies and then it became like a joke. To a lot of skateboarders, it is still a bit of a joke.

The *Livi* is protected now, I hate to say it but if the *Livi,* and l loved the *Livi* and skated it a lot, but if *Livi* hadn't been built it's possible that Kelvingrove would never have got knocked down, cause skateboarding would have continued, all be it on a smaller scale.

But the *Livi* was genius, Iain Urquhart designed something that was futuristic at the time for skateboarding and allowed skateboarding to progress in a way it would never have done in Kelvingrove. We would have progressed, but the *Livi* helped to push Scottish skateboarding because it was an original design ahead of the game. He used to drive us about in the minibus and take us to competitions. I clearly remember him getting the tape measure out. He went out the States, spoke to world famous skateboarders, got feedback from them, and saw what they were doing and brought it back but added a few of his own wee thoughts as well which were great moves, he produced something which was ahead of its time. But that's another skate park, we are talking about Kelvingrove.

Kelvingrove was the home of the West of Scotland skateboarding, because of the original roller skater rink, although l have heard it was originally a dance floor there is now a newish skate park built there now, albeit a postage stamp compared to what we used to have (see Video 3 footnotes).[47] But skateboarding is still there because of that. The original park is still there if in spirit only'' (Jamie Blair interview)

5.5 Discussion

Kelvingrove Skatepark belongs to the original *'Second Wave'* of the late 1970s and early 1980s skateboarding scene that became a youth movement and a form of creative expression. The Californian surf-inspired culture created a phenomenon which was a daring alternative to other leisure activities (Borden 2019: 47). This culture and the development of street skateboarding in the 1980s and 1990s have influenced music, fashion and even vocabulary which can be seen today with the popularity of televised skating, trendy skateboarding clothing and its recent inclusion in the Olympic Games. An important part of this new cultural package has been skateparks which gave a social space which allowed skateboarding to transition from its surf origins into something more self-defined and distinctive (Quinn & Borden, 2023: 156). Unfortunately, these concrete and asphalt skateparks of the late 1970s and early 1980s are now unique and rare sporting heritage structures as they have now disappeared from the landscape- it is estimated that there are less than 5% worldwide, that remain in use. To understand the value and significance of *'Second Wave'* skateparks it is important to consider Historic Environment Scotland's four categories heritage values: '*social/spiritual,*' *'aesthetic,' 'historical'* and *'evidential'* (HES 2019: 13).

Within a few years of American purpose-built concrete skate structures appearing, the countries worldwide followed suit with several hundred similar skateparks and as previously mentioned very few of these now survive. As few as four original skateparks which were on a large scale with multiple bowls and multicomponent survive worldwide which makes these places hold *'evidential value'* as they are now rare examples of an architecture which would have seemed progressive and modern when they were constructed (Quinn & Borden, 2023: 156). Also, as the physical remains of these parks are functional sports arenas it gives extra

[47] Video 3, *https://youtu.be/M5C7446WNE0*

evidential value as skateboarders can directly have an experience in the same way that riders in the 1970s would have done.

The skateparks that remain are places where *'past people, events and aspects of life can be connected through a place to the present'* (Drury and McPherson 2008: 28), therefore they are of important *'historical value'*. They affected the lives of many young people because they were new and exciting and it must not be underestimated the positive impact that they made in Britain in the 1970s in economically depressed areas (Quinn & Borden, 2023: 156). Early skateparks differ aesthetically in several ways from their modern counterparts as the first parks were purposely designed for the laid-back surf style of riding with open, mellow structural design which are not present in many modern skateparks which tend to have deeper, more aggressive transitions. Therefore, there is an *'aesthetic value'* to the earliest runs and bowls as they offer a different riding experience to modern parks which are inclined to be built with street based or aerial manoeuvres. Most modern facilities do not include moguls, snake runs, the halfpipes without the flat bottom, downhill slalom runs or the incorporated vert elements which are still components of The *Rom* skatepark which have survived and are still ridable (Quinn & Borden, 2023: 157).

For many riders and their community, skating represents more than just a pastime and the early skateparks are sites of significant cultural expression. Riders travel considerable distances to landmark destinations which have gained a collective aura. Sometimes this is specific built skateparks or *'found space'* such as a smooth long road, handrails or banked walls meant for other purposes. Many of these have significant *'social value'* within the skating world such the *Undercroft* in London's South Bank Centre. Originally it was an unused space which since the late 1970s became the British *'Mecca'* for skateboarders (Brooke 1999: 43) and through the community driven *'Long Live Southbank'* campaign' was successfully saved as a park. Sporting heritage, at a general level, is an important ingredient of cities and towns wider cultural landscape and the *'historic value'* of football stadiums, racetracks, courts and clubhouses is being increasingly recognised (Inglis 2014: 13, 27, 98). These cherished locations, which is a growing field in research, channel an *'intense sense of identity and keenly distinctive aspect of place'* for people who watched or participated in the sports in these places (Wood 2005: 143).

The concrete skateparks of the 1970s are under threat for a wide range of reasons, including a lack of appreciation of their cultural and architectural importance; the value of the urban landscape on which they were built; non-existent or poorly thought-out conservation strategies and a lack of protective legislation. To protect these rare larger *'Second Wave'* skateparks it is important to act now using a combination of documentation and raising awareness of their

heritage value to policy makers. I have recently given a short talk at the Clyde Valley Archaeological Research Framework (CVARF) Symposium outlining the historical significance of Kelvingrove 1978 Skatepark and presented reasons why it should be included in the future archaeological research framework. Although heritage designation may not be useful for fragmentary remains, local or national listing is necessary for structures with significant historic significance. This in turn will conserve asphalt and concrete facilities, and allow them to function as skateparks and ensure they can be appreciated and experienced by future generations.

5.6 Conclusion

Skateboarding has had to fight to find its legitimate place in society rather than being perceived as a pastime for the teenage white male subculture rebel. Today it is now recognised as an important part of our culture and recently has been incorporated into both the Tokyo Olympics in 2021 and the recent Paris Olympics in 2024. The problem is that despite hundreds of concrete skateparks being built worldwide in the late 1970s and early 1980s most of these examples of skateboarding' s *'Second Wave'* historic structures have now been lost. The few that do survive from this key period are under threat of destruction without any regard of their rare architecture or historic significance. The resurgence of skateboarding in the 1970s was due to the introduction of the urethane wheel which allowed a smoother and faster grippier ride which allowed the skater to explore new terrain such as drained swimming pools, banked concrete drainage ditches and reservoirs (Borden 2019: 44). Additionally, the urethane allowed the skaters to develop their skating from flat land ballet-like movements into surf styled carving, kick turns and athletic airs which was captured in documentaries by Peralta such as Z-Boys and Dogtown. Purpose-built facilities were constructed to cash in on the new phenomenon and their features mimicked the reservoirs, pools and ditches that the skaters had already been riding. Soon other elements such as moguls and snake runs were added to meet the demand for vert riding and more advanced materials were used to create the white smooth marbellite finish which resembled swimming pools.

However, very few of these original 1970s skateparks still exist as the sport lost popularity and other factors such as high insurance costs and increasingly expensive renewals resulted in the parks being redeveloped, filled in or demolished (Quinn & Borden, 2023: 145). Unfortunately, the 1970s concrete skateparks which remain are also under threat for a wide

range of reasons which include a lack of appreciation of their cultural significance outside and within the skateboarding community. Presently, there is an urgent need to assess the archaeology and heritage of Second Wave skateparks and fully document what has been lost; what is still in use and what is buried or dormant. The asphalt and concrete skateparks built in the late 1970s and early 1980s are now rare sporting heritage structures and it is important to act now by using local or national listings to protect the few which remain and increase awareness of their potential heritage value. This might not always be possible in some cases as in some cases only fragmentary remains still survive however, each skatepark needs to be considered on a case-by-case basis and consider the state of preservation, fabric and the park's history. Also, consideration needs to be given to its present and future use as a place to skateboard or solely as a heritage site to enable them to be appreciated and experienced not just by skateboarders but also for future generations of people who are not skateboarders.

In conclusion, the value of skateboarding is multifaceted and encompasses many cultural, social and sporting heritage dimensions. Skateboarding offers profound social values by fostering strong community bonds where skaters are drawn together by a shared passion of the triumphs and challenges inherent in the activity. The sporting heritage value is increasingly recognised as it quickly evolved from a simple 1950s and 60s pastime into a competitive global sport and is now included as an Olympic sport. Importantly, listing skateparks acknowledges their historical and architectural importance. Listed parks serve as a tangible reminder of skateboarding's impact on society and how it has contributed to the diverse tapestry of the urban landscape.

Chapter 6. Conclusion: What Value does Sporting Heritage Hold?

Bringing my research to a conclusion, I will now draw together some specific and high-level observations based on my research, consider the future of my three case-study locales, and make some recommendations for the future of sporting heritage and archaeology.

6.1 Evolution of Govanhill's Community Cohesion and Identity

Govanhill Baths threat of closure emerged from the Labour-controlled review of local services to 'upgrade' the sport's facilities in Glasgow and provide 'best value' services by developing new swimming and leisure facilities in the Gorbals and Bellahouston Park area (Mooney and Fyfe, 2006: 142). When the closure date was announced for the end of March 2001, the council maintained that the £750,000 needed for immediate repairs was too expensive and estimated that to bring it back to adequate standards would cost at least £3 million; they also argued that the number of people now using Govanhill pool had declined over recent years.

Interestingly, this was a time when the New Labour policy arena and objective was the 'rediscovery of community' and encouraging the development of the active community which focused on empowering communities to be responsible for their own welfare by taking voluntary action. This, they believed would reconstruct and reconceptualise Britian's citizens and that a socially inclusive society was developed from stable communities where people were

engaged in activities that were 'orderly' (Johnstone and Whitehead 2004: 10). Community 'engagement' and 'empowerment' were now the key words promoted and in 1998 the Home Office set up The Active Community Unit to develop new ways of promoting self-help in the community and encourage more volunteering. This was part of a wider strategy of what became termed 'civil renewal' which had been inspired by Robert Putnam's argument on social capital and the development community regeneration programmes which were area based; building social capital was considered by new Labour as an important part of responding to the problems of social exclusion and disadvantaged communities, and the Prime Minister, Tony Blair argued: 'Such inter-connected communities have lower crime, better education results, better care for the vulnerable' (Blair 2002: 11-12).

Immediately after the closure of the pool had been announced public meetings against the decision were held by people who used Govanhill Baths, and the 'Save Our Pool' campaign was launched quickly in order to not just keep the pool open but make it into a health and wellbeing centre for all the local citizens

Today, Govanhill Baths Community Trust, an activist-based organisation which started off as a campaign to save their sporting heritage, now also delivers a variety of workshops for the local community. 'The Deep End' has been developed into an arts and social enterprise and includes workshop spaces, artist studios and a fully equipped ceramics studio. Moreover, many of the activities have helped to transform the area of Govanhill, such as strategies to improve greenspaces which have included art projects with local schools to enhance playgrounds and setting up the People's Pantry in response to the food poverty in the community.[48] Importantly, the Trust also collaborates with other communities who are trying to preserve their sporting heritage. The Mosely Road Baths team from Birmingham visited Glasgow to learn firsthand about the Govanhill Baths restoration journey as they both have a commonality in that activism saved their heritage. The Mosely Road Baths are also an Edwardian listed building which serve a large South Asian Community in Birmingham's Balsall Heath area, and the visitors were eager to witness how to maintain a presence and deliver programmes in their community while the Mosley Road Baths were being renovated. The productive visit resulted in a collaboration for the Young Curator project and the artwork music and poetry commissioned was displayed at the 'Bathcast'[49] launch in 2022. The Trust also works with community groups within Govanhill and the wider Glasgow area to provide resources and solidarity to groups who are

[48] Fatima Uygun, https://bristoluniversitypressdigital.com/view/journals/crsw/10/3/article-p398.xml
[49] Bathcast, https://moseleyroadbaths.org.uk/event/bathcasts-launch-event/

fighting closures and cuts and want to improve services. The annual Govanhill anti-racist festival is now in its eighth year and now the biggest of its kind in Scotland.

6.2 Skateboarding and Kelvingrove 1978 Skatepark: Future Archaeological Research

On a positive note, there are a few Second Wave skateparks in Britain that are now protected by national listing, and these include 'The Rom' which was granted Grade II listing status 7 on September 2014. Scotland is also starting to recognise these unique structures and protect its historic built environment with Historic Environment Scotland recently awarding the 'Rock 'n Roll' skatepark in Livingston New Town a listed structure a Category B.

Glasgow also has a Second Wave skatepark which was built in 1978 in Kelvingrove Park in the West End. It was covered over by 1981, but a walkover survey revealed that it was hiding in plain sight as the lips of some bowls were clearly still preserved. Jamie Blair who was a skater in the original park accompanied us on the walkover, showing vintage pictures of the park and the exact location of features such as the snake run, half pipe and the bowls. He is convinced that it would be possible to use an archaeological dig to uncover some of the features especially the snake run which unlike some parts of the park were not smashed up by the Council to stop eager boarders skating on them. Unfortunately, the 1978 skatepark has been mostly covered over and trees obscure it from the view of most people visiting the park; the plaque celebrating the opening of the skatepark by Lord Provost David Hodge is too scratched to be readable. The writer has been raising awareness of the skatepark, and the other sporting heritage sites within this thesis, by giving talks at various heritage events including the Clyde Valley Archaeological Research Framework (CVARF) Symposium. The event involved short talks and group discussions to address what research priorities should be for the area in the future and a survey was created by the CVARF team to assess what people from the Clyde Valley region would like to see in the framework. This research framework[50] process across eight local authorities in the West Central Scotland seeks to better understand the potential archaeology in the area and what future research it can deliver in partnership with the University of Glasgow, Archaeology Scotland, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and West of Scotland Archaeology Service.

[50] https://scarf.scot/regional/cvarf/

My talk was an opportunity to highlight the wealth of sporting heritage sites that existed in the Clyde Valley area, and particularly the research potential of the Kelvingrove 1978 skatepark. The idea of regarding skateboarding as part of our built heritage is still relatively new but it is important that action is taken quickly to save the very few 'Second Wave' skateparks that are left from being demolished or destroyed. Glasgow can play an important role as Kelvingrove Park has an example of one of these treasured skateparks which could be excavated and perhaps made even rideable again in parts. There are examples of archaeological digs at skateparks in other countries. In 2009, Spain's first skatepark in Areny de Munt which was built in 1979 was partially uncovered when local skaters alongside archaeologists dug an exploratory trench in 'Skatepark Arenys'. The park was once the centre of the Catalan skate scene and hosted Spain's first skateboard competition (Quinn & Borden, 2023: 152). Over the course of two years of excavation they found the concrete position of one of the bowls and it was completely intact and still rideable. The dig was documented in the film *'Digging'* and was visited by the famous American skater Lance Mountain, providing exposure for the rejuvenated park. Nowadays the park is still skateable at times when the bowls do not fill with rainwater due to lack of fencing and it is hoped that with minor repairs and occasional cleaning that the park can survive for at least another 40 years.

Examples of this type of skateboarding archaeology and the walkover survey of the Kelvingrove 1978 skatepark have recently been presented to the team at Archaeology Scotland who have used sporting heritage previously for their 'New Audience' projects. In the past this unique project brought together asylum seekers and refugees in Glasgow to 'Find First Hampden' which was the first purpose-built football stadium in the world. Sport is an important part of our popular culture and is the perfect way to show people who are new to a city our local traditions and customs to enhance their cultural knowledge of a place. The programme was designed to provide training opportunities and respite to marginalised groups in the Glasgow area. The volunteers had the option of one- or two-week placements to work as part of a team of archaeologists to excavate the First Hampden site whilst learning various archaeology techniques. Archaeology and skateboarding might not sound like an obvious combination, but it has the potential to attract the younger generation who might feel excluded from the mainstream concepts of heritage and give them opportunities to meet locals and find out more about their new living environment. One consequence of my research, therefore, is to fulfil the potential for a community archaeology survey and excavation of the skatepark in Kelvingrove Park in 2025.

6.3 Sporting Heritage and Tourism

Sporting heritage has not always been fully represented in the heritage sector for several reasons; sport for the masses was the result of the industrial revolution and a way for the workers to enjoy time away from the factory's, therefore sporting heritage is a relatively recent area of research (Ramshaw 2021: 249). Also, the popularity of sport was perceived as trivial and sporting heritage was often dismissed, it is interesting to note how little sport is covered in The Scottish Archaeological Research Framework (ScARF) in general. However, recent years has seen the change of tide concerning the subject and sport heritage special issues have been recently published in the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* (2013) and the *Journal of Heritage Tourism* (2014). Tourism and sporting heritage and the relation that bonds them is an area of interest in the academic field as it has an international audience because of the financial accessibility of global travel, and it is a popular and emotive subject with sites which often exist within living memory. Moreover, it is a way of attracting global capital. According to the Glasgow Commonwealth Games Visitor Survey 2014,[51] 690,000 visitors attended the overall programme of Glasgow Games 2014 and Festival 2014 events, and it is estimated that the total expenditure by visitors between 23 July and 3 August 2014 was £228 million.

However, the financial gain that major sporting events can bring to a city is not the central concern of this research. More interesting to the investigation is the way that visitors spend their time when visiting a city for a sporting event. Higham and Hinch (2009) argue that visitors are often curious to experience a taste of a community's or country's authentic heritage, and it is an area of research that has received a lack of attention. People who come to sporting events are now looking for a more personalised and intimate interaction with the host's heritage which includes not just the sporting action but also traditions and behaviours of the home crowd. One only must observe the 'Tartan Army' when the Scotland football team is playing at Hampden to appreciate the spectacle that visitors will experience; the Scottish football fans wear the traditional Highland dress of kilts and are led into the stadium by musicians playing the bagpipes. The festival atmosphere they provide at major football tournaments has become legendary. Some visitors are attracted to sporting events because of the heritage element involved, for example Wimbledon tennis tournament and the Masters golf tournament which have a heritage component which has grown from their history and traditions (Ramshaw 2021: 249). Also, part of the appeal of the Olympics is the way that it pays homage to its heritage by

[51] Glasgow Commonwealth Games Visitor Survey, https://www.gov.scot/publications/xx-commonwealth-games-visitor-study-visitor-survey-results-report/pages/5/

lighting the Olympic flame, a tradition which dates back to the ancient games when the messengers were sent with the flaming torch as a sacred truce to announce the upcoming games and call for all hostilities to cease during the event (Gammon et al., 2013: 120).

As demonstrated by this research, Glasgow has a wealth of sporting heritage sites which are already being visited by tourists, in particular Glasgow Green which due to its city centre location is easily incorporated into a tour around Glasgow. Interestingly, The Lonely Planet[52] which is biggest selling travel guide in the world, names Glasgow Green and The People's Palace as the city's 'number 1 must-see attraction'. Similarly, VisitScotland[53] (formerly known as the Scottish Tourist Board), which is the executive non-departmental public body of the Scottish Government responsible for national tourism also highly recommend the 'refreshingly unpretentious' park and museum as part of an extensive tour of the East End of Glasgow.

6.4 Sporting Heritage and Scottish Archaeology Research Framework Recommendations

This thesis explores the underrepresented archaeological research of three sporting heritage sites within the Glasgow area, and the investigations addresses several key recommendations and priorities within the ScARF research framework.

Glasgow Green is a historic space with a rich legacy of sporting heritage activities. This research addresses ScARF's priorities into comprehending the role of public spaces in urban life and understanding the historic development of communities and how it reflects societal values and thus contributes to our contemporary Scottish identity. Also, the Edwardian West Boathouse situated within Glasgow Green represents an important example of Scottish engineering and architecture of the early 20th century and the city's close relationship to the River Clyde. This addresses ScARF's aims of understanding our built heritage as like many of our historical sporting structures it has faced the challenges of neglect and decay, and its preservation and restoration aligns with the frameworks recommendations of addressing heritage which is at risk and safeguarding it for future generations. Importantly, alongside the Boathouse restoration, an extensive community engagement programme was undertaken which

[52]Lonely Planet Travel Guide, https://www.lonelyplanet.com/scotland/glasgow/east-end/attractions/glasgow-green/a/poi-sig/1594133/1342322
[53]Visit Scotland, https://www.visitscotland.com/info/towns-villages/glasgow-east-end-p237551

addresses the frameworks priorities of engaging local communities in heritage projects and educational programmes which fulfils ScARF's goals of utilising archaeology as a tool for outreach and educational purposes. The rejuvenation of the West Boathouse is an excellent example of how historical structures can be adapted and continue to function as a recreational space which illustrates how heritage sites can remain active and relevant from Scotland's Edwardian past to present day thus supporting ScARF's vision of ensuring sustainable use of historical assets while making archaeology and heritage a meaningful part of contemporary life.

Similarly, the archaeological research on the Edwardian Govanhill Baths also addresses recommendations of the framework, particularly in terms of promoting collaboration and engaging with community heritage. The Govanhill community has played an important role in keeping the Baths open and preserving the site which aligns with the framework's focus of a participatory approach which encourages interdisciplinary collaboration. The ongoing struggle is a key example of grassroots heritage activism and demonstrates the cultural and social value of the Baths which addresses recommendations of integrating community well-being and sustainability into archaeological practise as well as demonstrating the importance of the Baths as a living heritage resource.

The Kelvingrove 1978 skatepark reflects the rise of skateboarding culture and is an important part of Scotland's modern urban heritage as it provides an insight into urban land use and the interplay between social needs, urban planning and public space utilisation, especially in the context of post-industrial Glasgow. Moreover, the research also involved oral histories from local skaters, in particular Jamie Blair who was a skateboarding enthusiast who explained the importance of the skatepark as part of Glasgow youth culture and community identity which aligns with ScARF's priorities to investigate more recent periods and focus on underrepresented aspects of our past such as alternative recreational practises and youth culture.

Therefore, this thesis highlights the importance of preserving and interpreting three Glasgow sporting heritage sites and provides a model for integrating this area of underexplored heritage into the wider narrative of Scotland's archaeological past, as recommended by ScARF.

6.5 Future Directions in Sporting Heritage

As demonstrated in this thesis Glasgow has a rich tapestry of sporting heritage which has the potential to be capitalised on at major sporting events. Other countries exploit their historic past with modern sporting events, for example many people from around the world participate in the Athens Annual Running Festival because of the historic sporting heritage value; the finishing line is within the 4th century BC Panathenaic Stadium, the site of the first modern Olympic Games in 1896 and the starting point of the Olympic flame torch relay.

Presently, Govanhill Baths and the West Boathouse are well-established hubs offering various engagement programs and partnerships which balance historical significance with contemporary needs however greater collaboration between Glasgow City Council, event managers and Sporting Heritage Scotland is needed to maximise the potential of the sites for contribution to larger sporting events and international cultural initiatives. Sporting Heritage Scotland is committed to increasing sporting heritage activity in Scotland and has a comprehensive Community Grants Programme which is supported by The National Lottery and The Heritage Fund which is aimed at helping organisations promote and share their sporting heritage however the lack of cross-sector collaboration means that there are no direct policies aimed at maximising cultural and heritage impact at major sporting events.

The future of sporting heritage sites like Govanhill Baths, West Boathouse, and Kelvingrove 1978 Skatepark in the context of major sporting events lies in their ability to merge the preservation of history with dynamic community engagement and modern sport practices. By collaborating with Sporting Heritage Scotland, these sites have the potential to benefit from support in areas such as funding, promotion, and program development, ensuring they remain relevant, sustainable, and positively impactful in the future. These collaborations will help maintain their status as important cultural landmarks while allowing them to be integrated into the larger narrative of Scotland's sporting legacy. By highlighting the sporting heritage of Govanhill Baths, the Kelvingrove 1978 Skatepark and Glasgow Green we will create an exciting narrative which connects our past sporting culture with the present and future demonstrating that Glasgow's sporting heritage continues to thrive as a living resource while safeguarding its legacy for future generations.

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