



Kirk, Neisha (2018) *The friendly games? Exploring inequality and discrimination during the 1986 Commonwealth Games*.
[Undergraduate Degree].

<http://endeavour.gla.ac.uk/311/>


Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author(s)

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author(s)

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, institution and date must be given



The Friendly Games? Exploring inequality and discrimination during the 1986 Commonwealth Games.

Dr Annmarie Hughes

Submitted for MA (Soc Sci) with Honours

Economic and Social History

University of Glasgow

January 2018

Word Count: 14, 975

Urkund ID: D34590414

Acknowledgments

I would firstly like to thank the Archives and Special Collections team at the University of Stirling for facilitating my access to the Commonwealth Games Scotland Collection. Their help in navigating this substantial body of material in order to pinpoint the 1986 Games archive was invaluable. I would also like to express my considerable gratitude to my dissertation supervisor Dr Annmarie Hughes for her insightful advice throughout the research process. Finally, thanks are due to my family for their ever-constant support and love.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	i.
1. Introduction.....	p. 1
2. Methodology.....	p. 5
3. Literature Review.....	p. 12
3.1 Women and Sport.....	p. 13
3.2 Postcolonialism and Sport.....	p. 17
3.3 1986 Commonwealth Games.....	p. 20
4. Women and Sport at the 1986 Commonwealth Games.....	p. 22
4.1 Historical Overview.....	p. 22
4.2 Facets of organisational discrimination against women during the 1986 Commonwealth Games.....	p. 24
4.3 Athleticism and the Female Body.....	p. 27
4.4 Inequity in Media representations of sportswomen.....	p. 35
4.5 Summary.....	p. 44
5 Boycotting Nations, Post Colonialism and the 1986 Commonwealth Games..	p. 46
5.1 Historical Overview.....	p. 46
5.2 Attacks on the Boycott- a postcolonial analysis	p. 48
5.3 Sympathetic Representations - an alternative view?	p.55
5.4 Summary.....	p. 57
6 Conclusion.....	p. 59
Bibliography.....	p. 65

Chapter 1

Introduction

‘Underlying every decision made by the CGF are three core values:

- HUMANITY- EQUALITY- DESTINY’.¹

The official motto endorsed by the Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF) encapsulates the principles and ethics that sport, as a whole, is expected to encompass, embody and exercise. ‘Embedding a culture of equality and diversity’ is an aim which is by no means sport specific, but one which resonates greatly to the long-standing, enduring, but *worthy* campaigns for equality within sport.² Sports and sporting events occupy a dominant presence in society, with their reaches extending worldwide and demanding audiences in their billions.³ Sport is therefore an integral feature within societal systems, reflecting ‘changes in society as a whole... [but also] where traditional values have been replaced by a new order’.⁴ Sport is a significant area of study because it is made to appear as though it is detached, isolated and separate from external, societal influences.⁵ Yet sport encompasses and greatly impacts a wealth of different areas, with the range and scope for historical and contemporary analysis remaining comprehensive and extensive. Identity, culture, politics, class, religion, ethnicity, globalisation,

¹ Commonwealth Games Federation, *The role of the CGF*, <https://www.thecgf.com/about/role.asp> [accessed 8/11/2017]

² sportscotland, *Equality at Sports Scotland*, 4 September 2017, <https://sportscotland.org.uk/about-us/equality-at-sportscotland/> [accessed 8/11/2017]

³ Sponsorship intelligence, *Games of the XXIX Olympiad*, Beijing 2008 Global Television and Online Media Report, 2009, https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/IOC/How_We_Do_It/Broadcasters/EN_Beijing_2008_Audience_Report.pdf [accessed 8/11/2017]

⁴ Tony Mason, *Sport in Britain: a social history*. (Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.363

⁵ Susan Birrell and Cheryl L. Cole. "Women, sport, and culture." (Human Kinetics, 1994), p. 3

race and gender are each implicit within sport and deserve a continual, in-depth and critical discussion from sport historians and scholars.⁶ Critical engagements with these themes are invaluable lines of inquiry, yet as a result of its broad and multifaceted nature, this dissertation will specifically focus on gender and race.

Sports history is an established sub-discipline of history, but until the 1970's was insufficient, lacking and 'scarce'.⁷ In order to bridge the substantial gender and racial gap, feminists and postcolonial scholars in the 1970's and 1980's embarked upon a 'sustained critique of historians' traditional ways of researching and writing about women [and race]'.⁸ This development and application of more critical insights during this time, such as sport feminism and postcolonial theory, helped revise and challenge cultural interpretations of women and ethnic minorities, alongside dominant patriarchal and hegemonic ideologies.

The 1986 Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh coincided with this period in sport history heralded by Costa and Guthrie as 'revolutionary'.⁹ The thirteenth 'Friendly Games' commenced in a social, political and economic context which was characterised by progress, but also regress. Tackling racism and encouraging women's participation in sport was high on the agenda for the GB Sports Council during the 1980's.¹⁰ Women's participation in indoor sport had increased by 1 million since 1983, alongside the fitness upsurge since the beginning of the decade, which had transformed the athletic female body into a 'cultural ideal and a rare validation of female masculinity in popular culture'.¹¹ A number of extraordinary

⁶ John Hargreaves, *Sport, power and culture. A social and historical analysis of popular sports in Britain*. (Polity Press, 1986).

⁷ James Anthony Mangan and Roberta J. Park, eds. *From fair sex to feminism: Sport and the socialization of women in the industrial and post-industrial eras*. (Routledge, 1987), p.1

⁸ Catriona M. Parratt, 'From the History of Women in Sport to Women's Sport History: A Research Agenda, in *Women and sport: Interdisciplinary perspectives*, ed. Costa, D. Margaret, and Sharon Ruth Guthrie. (Human Kinetics, 1994), p.6

⁹ Margaret D., Costa and Sharon Ruth Guthrie. *Women and sport: Interdisciplinary perspectives*. (Human Kinetics, 1994.), p. 1

¹⁰ Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting females: Critical issues in the history and sociology of women's sport*. (Routledge, 1994)

¹¹ Helena Tolvhed, "Sex Dilemmas, Amazons and Cyborgs: Feminist Cultural Studies and Sport." *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research* 5, no. 2 (2013), p. 2

accomplishments by Asian and black athletes (at a recreational and professional level) had been witnessed, and arguably Britain's 'sporting bastions of white colonial power and privilege [were] being changed from within'.¹² In the 1986 Games, female inclusion into former male only sporting events such as the 10,000m and judo were of significant importance, and increased visibility and participation of black and Asian athletes in the competing squads were marked.¹³ However, a discourse of inequality and discrimination pervaded the Games in a number of ways. Set also within the context of growing tensions surrounding the status of the Commonwealth due to the South African system of Apartheid, the subsequent boycotting of 32 former colonial states from the Games (and the reception of this stance) emphasised a racial undertone which existed in not only South Africa, but also the host country of the 'Friendly Games'. Coupled with a period of female activism and women's sporting rights expanding, the struggle for equity continued to persist, as evidence of trivialisation, stereotyping and marginalisation were identified within the event and its coverage. The 1986 Commonwealth Games, on reflection, exemplified and reproduced certain dominant and pervasive inequalities and discriminatory practises which existed within sport during this time, but also British society at large.

This dissertation therefore aims to uncover the 'hidden and devalued' features of the 1986 Games by firstly exploring themes of inequality and discrimination, as detailed within sport feminism, and critically evaluate their representation or emergence in the archival material. However, observing the progress and advancement evidenced from the sources in terms of empowerment and visibility will also be explored.¹⁴ Secondly, racial discrimination evidenced against boycotting countries will be investigated by applying postcolonial theory to evidence

¹² Ben Carrington and Ian McDonald, eds. *Race, sport and British society*. (Routledge, 2001), p.2

¹³ Derek Bateman and Derek Douglas. *Unfriendly Games: Boycotted and Broke: the Inside Story of the 1986 Commonwealth Games*. (Mainstream Publishing Projects and the Glasgow Herald, 1986).

¹⁴ Parratt, 'From the History of Women in Sport to Women's Sport History: A Research Agenda, p. 9

the violent and racial discourses which were interwoven not only throughout the sporting event and newspapers, but wider societal and institutional structures.

Sport therefore 'produces and reveals inequalities in terms of physicality and athletic performance' but in social terms, 'sport has often been considered the great social *leveller*'.¹⁵ Yet social divisions such as gender and race have become 'separatist, and [have failed] to acknowledge the connection between and within different forms of social inequality in sport'. Social historians of sport have 'stressed the continual interplay between change and continuity' in sport history, and hence Eitzen appears to epitomise the disposition that sport, past and present, encompasses: that of 'Sport Unites, Sport Divides'.¹⁶ Consequently then, the CGF's promising and inspiring slogan of 'humanity, equality and destiny' appears dubious, tentative and uncertain in the case of the 1986 'Friendly Games', and will be questioned in this dissertation.

¹⁵ Peter Donnelly, "Approaches to social inequality in the sociology of sport." *Quest* 48, no. 2 (1996), p. 221

¹⁶ Grant Jarvie, *Sport, culture and society: an introduction*. (Routledge, 2013), P. 45; Eitzen, D. Stanley. *Fair and foul: Beyond the myths and paradoxes of sport*. (Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), P.23

Chapter 2

Methodology

An extensive sporting archive was located at Stirling University in the form of the Commonwealth Games Archive, which houses over 100 years' worth of archival material to be freely accessed by any researcher upon archivist approval. After an initial and brief overview of the archive detailing Commonwealth material from 1930- 1990, and focusing on women and potential changes over time, the 1986 Commonwealth Games discerned an unusual, but strong line of analysis. Not only corresponding in time with a revolution in women's sport, alongside the rise of sports feminism, it also paralleled with a time of colonial unrest in relation to Apartheid, South Africa's system of institutionalised racism, which resulted in a boycott unprecedented in Commonwealth History. Heralded as the Friendly Games in 1970 in Edinburgh 16 years previously, the considerable tension and weakening of the 1986 Games, alongside the Commonwealth structure and identity at large, incited public attitudes at the time with a strong potential for study from a postcolonial perspective. Although inextricably bound to the history of the 1986 Games, the marginal focus on the social aspects of the Games was notable. Thereby, as both were actively under-represented groups in sports history until very recently, the analysis of women and boycotting nations within the 1986 Commonwealth Games became an apparent, worthy and potentially original line of research.

When gathering data from the 1986 Commonwealth Games archive, the research adhered to the archival guidance instructed by the archivist. The material extended from the initial bid for the Games in the 1970's to the organisation, execution and aftermath of the event, until the October of 1986. Presented through official documentation such as handbooks, manuals, pamphlets, rulebooks, reports and programmes coupled with complete and sequential newspapers from *The Games News* (the official 1986 Games newspaper) alongside the

Scotsman, the collection proved comprehensive. The archive was accessible and the quality of material was advantageous to researchers, with the material in good condition. The archive focused on primarily Scottish athletes, with the inclusion of other competitors, yet, despite the numerous areas of study into inequality within women's sport history (such as the disabled, sexual orientation and class), due to the sources provided, this study will be confined to an examination of the inequalities of the women visible within the 1986 Commonwealth Games, those of either white or ethnic race, and of professional athletic or organisational status. The newspapers also offered only a specific geographic Scottish perspective, yet in order to bridge this gap other sources were gathered from online archives, such as ProQuest and Google archive, which offered newspaper articles from the Guardian, Observer and Herald. YouTube was also sourced in order to gain official video footage of the coverage of the Games, to attain a more fulfilled understanding of the event.

Methodologies applied by historians for evaluation and interpretation of sources has, overtime, become more 'sensitive', and issues relating to 'language and discourse and the role of power in silencing some voices' are now central to debates and discussion.¹ Approaching visual images is also argued to have gone 'beyond the confines of the discipline of history'.² As a result, both methodological approaches have recently transformed into credible categories of historical analysis employed by historians, and will be used in this dissertation. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) helps us to understand the 'history encoded on the surfaces of the very files' and 'make social interactions transparent'.³ Texts are 'instantiations of socially regulated discourses...the processes of production and reception are socially constrained'.⁴

¹ Matthias, R. Kipping, Daniel Wadhvani and Marcelo Bucheli. "Analyzing and interpreting historical sources: A basic methodology." *Organizations in time: History, theory, methods* (Oxford University Press, 2014), p.311

² Ludmilla Jordanova, 'Approaching Visual Materials', in *Research methods for history*, ed. Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire, (Edinburgh University Press, 2016), p. 45

³ Ruth Wodak, "Critical discourse analysis at the end of the 20th century." *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 32, no. 1-2 (1999): p. 191

⁴ Hilary Janks, "Critical discourse analysis as a research tool." *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education* 18, no. 3 (1997), p.331

Thereby, texts construct ‘versions of reality’.⁵ Newspapers, for example, had been criticised for their ‘doubtful accuracy and their ephemeral nature’ by historians, yet the increasing scholarly interest in ‘language, representation and meaning’ undermines a denial of the value of newspaper content for understanding culture, politics and society.⁶

CDA is used to understand ‘how discourse is implicated in relations of power’ and requires researchers to consider the ‘social conditions that affect textual production’.⁷ Key questions include ‘how is the text positioned or positioning? Whose interests are served by this positioning? Whose interests are negated? What are the consequences of this positioning?’ These questions are applied in the interpretation and evaluation process.⁸ Yet, limitations of textual analysis are arguably its ‘heuristic’ approach, as ‘different readers can interpret different meanings from a textual source’.⁹ However, combined with contextual knowledge, this can be used to support interpretations which have been produced by researchers from the primary sources being examined.

Visual analysis also harbours restrictions, as images are not self-evident or ‘speak for themselves’.¹⁰ Instead they need to be understood ‘not as objective depictions of past reality...[but] artefacts produced by people with interests and agendas at a certain time and place, artefacts that are shaped as much by aesthetic conventions as by social norms’.¹¹ However, pictures can also enrich the research and analysis carried out by the historian as they are ‘active commentaries by their makers’ and can offer numerous opportunities and insights as ‘many theories, frameworks and ideas can be applied to photographs, prints, cartoons and

⁵ *ibid.*, pp.330-331

⁶ Adrian Bingham, ‘The digitization of newspaper archives: Opportunities and challenges for historians.’ *Twentieth Century British History* 21, no. 2 (Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 225

⁷ Wodak, ‘Critical discourse analysis at the end of the 20th century.’, pp.337-338

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ *ibid.*, p.333

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ Alexander Freund and Alistair Thomson, eds. *Oral history and photography*. Springer, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p.10

advertisements'.¹² Likewise, the 'basic' questions applied to historical sources (such as textual documents) still need to be applied to visual materials, as these questions generate 'descriptions that blossom into analysis'.¹³

Together with analysing inequalities and discrimination through CDA and visual analysis, informing this analysis will be the overarching themes of sports feminism and postcolonialism in the interpretations of the sources. When evaluating and analysing the material collected, sport feminist concepts of inequality, such as marginalisation, trivialisation and stereotyping (as identified in the literature) were discerned through the discourses and images, alongside postcolonial theories of discrimination through Said's Orientalism and Spivak's silencing of the Subaltern in regards to the boycotting nations.¹⁴ Utilising under-represented, but also emerging and promising approaches in terms of method *and* content seemed fitting and beneficial to the nature of this study.

However, when evaluating data, ethical and theoretical considerations have to be included in order to properly situate the analysis, and the frameworks in which evaluations and interpretations will be conducted but also confined. Archives as institutions are commonly viewed as 'passive resources to be exploited for various historical and cultural purposes'.¹⁵ Impartiality, neutrality, and objectivity seemingly characterise archives, but, as King emphasises, an 'archival matrix' instead exists, in which the 'confines of the archive and the ruling conventions of the archive prevail'.¹⁶ Through archives, the past is 'controlled...[and] certain stories are privileged and others marginalized'.¹⁷ Archives are 'non neutral

¹² Jordanova, 'Approaching Visual Materials', pp. 30-35

¹³ *ibid.*, p.30

¹⁴ Hargreaves, *Sporting females*, 1994; Said, Edward W. "Orientalism: Western Perceptions of the Orient." (Routledge and Kegan and Paul, 1978); Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "*Can the subaltern speak? Reflections on the history of an idea*" (Columbia University Press: 1988), pp. 21-78.

¹⁵ Joan M., Schwartz and Terry Cook. "Archives, records, and power: the making of modern memory." *Archival science* 2, no. 1-2 (Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), p.1

¹⁶ Michelle King, 'Working With/In the Archives', in *Research methods for history*, ed Lucy Faire and Simon Gunn (Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p. 13

¹⁷ *ibid.*

depositories...they are necessarily selective' and are 'socially constructed and dynamic'.¹⁸ Historical archives could be said to be a 'locus of power/knowledge' as detailed by Michael Foucault.¹⁹ This theory adopted by historians has aided in the recognition of 'how acts of producing, organising and classifying archival documents constitute forms of knowledge in and of themselves, while archival collections as a whole constrain the types of histories made possible and impossible through them'.²⁰ Archives, then, are 'not passive storehouses...but active sites where social power is negotiated, contested, confirmed... the power of archives, records, and archivists should no longer remain naturalized or denied, but opened to vital debate and transparent accountability.'²¹

The use of digitised newspaper archives were also included in this study, with varying methodological benefits, restrictions and theoretical considerations. Digitization arguably 'extends the reach of the traditional archive'.²² It removes the inconvenience of accessibility and difficulty in finding material amongst 'the sheer quantity of content published' by quickly and easily establishing whether newspapers contain material relevant to the research questions.²³ Digitisation increases the prospect of a far greater, and more sophisticated, engagement with newspaper content, as newspaper content can be 'explored far more rigorously and sensitively' due to articles being easily saved and printed.²⁴ Indeed, 'historians can be far more confident that content will not elude them'.²⁵ Nevertheless, it is important to consider some potential problems and hindrances. With a hard copy, although the researcher has to 'wade through lots of seemingly extraneous material', in doing so, they in fact obtain a

¹⁸ Penny Tinkler, *Using photographs in social and historical research*. (Sage, 2013), p. 107; Nicholas Clifford, Meghan Cope, Thomas Gillespie, and Shaun French, eds. *Key methods in geography*. (Sage, 2016), p.467

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.17

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ Schwartz and Cook, "Archives, records, and power: the making of modern memory.", p.1

²² Andrew Green, "The future of national libraries and archives.", in *Myths, Memories and Futures: The National Library and National Museum in the Story of Wales*, ed. John Osmond, (Sage, 2007), p. 24

²³ Bingham, 'The digitization of newspaper archives', p. 225

²⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 227-228

²⁵ *ibid.*

good sense of the structure and format of the newspapers being studied, and this is ‘much less likely using a digital archive’.²⁶ The research may also be distorted by the ‘availability of certain titles and the absence of others’.²⁷ In regards to this study, the fragmentary nature of newspaper articles in online archives was an issue which arose, however the sources gathered were nevertheless advantageous to the research of this dissertation, and the supplementation of these articles with the thorough newspaper archive located at Stirling, proved highly useful.

Varying techniques and approaches can therefore be applied for interpretation and analysis of historical sources, but ‘perfect historical objectivity’ can never be achieved.²⁸ Historians ‘live and work in their own present, and however much a historian may immerse her/himself in the period under investigation, that present will be evident in what gets written... the links between the past and the historian’s present are ultimately unavoidable’ and only partial understandings are ever yielded.²⁹ Gender, age, race, nationality, social status and socio-economic level together impact the research and its capabilities.³⁰ Elements, therefore, of framing, selectivity and bias must be included and acknowledged in the research, evaluation and interpretation processes. Yet, researchers must also ‘observe, reflect and question all sources’ in how they are selected, structured and shaped, alongside remaining ‘reflective...compassionate and responsible’.³¹

The potential of this dissertation is to provide an alternative, more socially orientated perspective of the 1986 Commonwealth Games, through non-traditional historical approaches, and questioning the hidden inequalities and discrimination implicit within the Games under

²⁶ *ibid.*, p.230

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.229

²⁸ Bucheli, Wadhvani, ‘Organizations in Time: History, Theory, Methods’, pp. 310-311

²⁹ Barrie Houlihan, ed. *Sport and society: a student introduction*. (Sage, 2007), pp.59-60; King, ‘Working with/in archives’ p. 21

³⁰ *ibid.*, p.19

³¹ Denise N. Morgan and Timothy V. Rasinski. "The power and potential of primary sources." *The Reading Teacher* 65, no. 8 (International Reading Association, 2012), p. 6; Jordanova, ‘Approaching visual materials in Research Methods’, p.31

wider theoretical frameworks of sports feminism and postcolonialism. However, this critical evaluation will also seek to highlight the progress and development made at the Games, such as improved visibility and empowerment. Nevertheless, overall, it is important to acknowledge that ‘the history of sport is not linear and is subject to interpretation’, and therefore this dissertation aims to ‘propose interpretations, rather than pronounce truths’.³²

³² Wodak, ‘Critical Discourse Analysis at the End of the 20th Century’, p.186

Chapter 3

Literature Review

During the 1960's the theorising of sports was deemed uncritical, with sports considered to have a 'life of their own' and separate from central aspects of the social world such as work, politics and economics.¹ Instead it was 'something intrinsically innocent, playful and liberating'.² However, a burgeoning shift was detailed in the 1970's in which a more investigative rather than descriptive body of literature was actively being created.³ Jarvie explains this alternative, but now widely accepted approach in the history of sport, not only 'helps to avoid a parochial or insular understanding of sport' but it offers the 'tools by which to evaluate change, whether it be social or otherwise... it warns against uncritical acceptance of sporting heritage, traditions and identities'.⁴ The history of sport adds 'plausibility and complexity to what we know about sport in the past and present'.⁵ Interestingly though, he also argues that the written histories of sport has 'literally given physical form' to debates surrounding the issues of class, the nation and the state, but also gender and ethnicity since 1945.⁶ Therefore the literature surrounding sport history in general has, and remains, valuable and perceptive, no longer 'outside real life'.⁷

Investigation into feminist and postcolonial areas of sport history therefore began in the 1970's, and was aided by first and second wave feminism alongside the rise in postcolonial studies inspired by influential theorists such as Edward Said. However, the applications of these theories remained, and continue to be considered alternative perspectives, rendering the study

¹ Hargreaves, '*Sporting Females*', p. 6

² *ibid.*

³ *ibid.*

⁴ Jarvie, '*Sport, culture and society*', p.61

⁵ *ibid.*, p.45

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 45

⁷ Birrell and Cole, '*Women, sport, culture*', p. 2

into ethnic minorities and the female sex in sport as ‘neglected areas in social history’.⁸ Despite this substantial lack within the wider historiography concerning both minority groups, Jarvie emphasises those who *have* contributed to the work regarding sport in postcolonial societies and women’s sporting experiences are vital, and together have ‘helped to illuminate what we know about sport, culture and society’.⁹ As Osbourne and Skillen proclaim, ‘recognition, therefore, is overdue’.¹⁰

3.1 Women and Sport History

Women’s sport history is ‘massively’ under-written, and so has ‘remained marginal to not only the over-arching and successful discipline of sports history itself, but also that of women’s history’.¹¹ Skillen and Osbourne describe a ‘double academic neglect...where women’s sport has been marginalised within British sport history, while leisure and sport are seldom the subjects of women’s and gender history’.¹² However, they also emphasise that the increasing evidence and quality of argument largely brought forward by female scholars has left a male-dominated discipline, characteristically focused on male sporting interests, with little choice but to ‘concede that the place of women within sports history is, firstly, not only worthy of greater consideration than hitherto given, but secondly, is more integral to the meanings attributed to sport in society than previously acknowledged’.¹³

Influential and regarded as a ‘foundational text’ for those researching gender and sport is Jennifer Hargreave’s ‘Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of

⁸ Mangan and Park, ‘From fair sex to feminism’, p. 6; Roger Levermore, “Sport-in-international development: Theoretical frameworks.” In *Sport and international development*, pp. 26-54. ed. Roger Levermore, (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2009)

⁹ Jarvie, ‘*Sport, culture and society*’, p.45

¹⁰ Carol A., Osbourne and Fiona Skillen, eds. *Women in sports history*. (Routledge, 2011), p.3

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 2

¹² *ibid.*, p. 6

¹³ *ibid.*, p. 656

Women's Sport'.¹⁴ The twentieth century witnessed a substantial change in patterns of consumption and leisure in relations between the sexes, and in prominence given to the body in western culture. Hargreaves charts these changes to bring women's sports more centrally onto the agenda, and shows the importance of using gender as a central category for analysis alongside exploring its complexities. Skillen and Osborne support this view, by understanding how despite a rise in female participation since the 20th century; sport still remained a 'resilient site of male power and gendered participation'.¹⁵ Njororai agrees, citing sport as a central force in creating and recreating 'ideological support of the superiority of men over women', with Costa and Guthrie maintaining that sports history has been structured around the institutionalisation of sport as a male-dominated practice.¹⁶ Messner also support the view that women in sport is a 'contested ideological terrain' but agree with Hargreaves that new understandings of gender relations in sport, such as the sport feminism approach, are timely.¹⁷

Although a 'late comer to the women's movement', which usually focused on legal, political and ideological importance rather than cultural issues such as sports and leisure, sport feminism centred on the efforts of practicing sportswomen to 'unmask discrimination and to equalize opportunities with men'.¹⁸ Sport feminism is important as it provides 'practical and symbolic challenges to male privilege.'¹⁹ For instance, Parrett considers the shaping of gender as empowering women in history as it casts women in the role of agents- ones who are in power,

¹⁴ Carol A., Osborne and Fiona Skillen. "Women in Sport." *Women's History Review* 24, no. 5 (Routledge, 2015), p. 660

¹⁵ Osborne and Skillen, 'Women in sports history', p. 2

¹⁶ Njororai, W. W. S. "Women athletes emerging from the shadow of men in Kenya: evidence from the Commonwealth, Olympic and World Athletics Championships." *Sport in Society* 19, no. 7 (Routledge, 2016), p.10676

¹⁷ Michael A. Messner, "Sports and male domination: The female athlete as contested ideological terrain." *Sociology of sport journal* 5, no. 3 (1988), p. 197

¹⁸ Hargreaves, 'Sporting Females', p. 25

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 26

and acknowledges their role in shaping themselves, their worlds and therefore a degree of autonomy. It is also instrumental in developing more nuanced accounts of their past.²⁰

Hargreaves also details the discrimination, exclusion and inequalities women in sport faced in twentieth century Britain, focusing on themes such as marginalisation, inferiorisation, misrepresentation and trivialisation as 'major process[es] through which the masculine hegemony of sport is maintained' through the constant, but at times subtle, belittling of women's sporting achievements, role and participation within sport. Multiple scholars' support this view, including Bandy, who explains how the unifying thread that runs throughout the literature on women in sport history are challenges that females face in the sporting world and the various 'strategies of exclusion' that have been used to maintain sport as a male preserve.²¹ Wiederkehr additionally identifies the naturalisation of gender binaries as a damaging and constant theme undermining women's efforts to overthrow this physical and ideological dominance.²² Women's athleticism was denied particularly through television commentary and media reporting, with the representations of athletes' bodies tending to highlight and exaggerate 'gendered body ideals', such as stereotyped femininity.²³ The media, as Bryson believes, 'reinforced a bias in favour of men and male sports', and according to Bernstein, the total exclusion of women from certain sports highlighted not only how this femininity influenced which sports were deemed acceptable for female participation but also effectively erased women from certain sporting histories.²⁴ Lavoie supports this idea, understanding these

²⁰ Parrett, 'From the History of Women', p. 10

²¹ Susan J. Bandy, "Gender and the 'cultural turn in the study of sport and physical cultures.'" *Sport in Society* 19, no. 5 (2016), p. 731

²² Stefan Wiederkehr, "'We shall never know the exact number of men who have competed in the Olympics posing as women': Sport, gender verification and the Cold War." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 4 (Routledge, 2009), pp.556-572. See also Susan Birrell and Nancy Theberge, 'Structural Constraints Facing Women in Sport' in *Women and sport: Interdisciplinary perspectives*, ed. Costa, D. Margaret, and Sharon Ruth Guthrie. (Human Kinetics, 1994), pp. 341-361;

²³ Christy Greenleaf and Trent A. Petrie. "Studying the athletic body." In *Gender relations in sport*, ed. Emily A. Roper, (SensePublishers, 2013), p.120

²⁴ Lois Bryson, "Sport and the oppression of women." *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology* 19, no. 3 (1983), p. 421; Alina Bernstein, "Is it time for a victory lap? Changes in the media coverage of women in sport." *International review for the sociology of sport* 37, no. 3-4 (2002), p. 415

(mis)representations and their intertwined relationships among sport, gender, and media as inherently power relations, rendering a female athlete ‘...the sum total of her physical assets—or invisible’.²⁵ These practises extended into the sphere of sports organisations, with Hargreaves and Njororai maintaining this arena to be ‘a sexual division of labour’ rooted in conventional beliefs about male and female capabilities and capacities.²⁶

Hargreaves and others capture how the female sporting body shows ‘some collapse of conventional points of reference, some acceptance of values which have previously been marginalised, and the emergence of new, radicalised images of female physicality’.²⁷ White expands on this, explaining the increased participation into male sports opposes the gender order, where ‘determined women have broken down the barriers and begun to create a new order assisted by enlightened men’.²⁸ Smith particularly advocated this view, understanding discrimination existed, but perceived sport to be a profoundly liberating force for women in history, as liberation for women ‘begins with their bodies’.²⁹ Sporting achievements are ‘concrete, visible, measurable’ proof of female athletes ‘repossessing their bodies’.³⁰

Pivotal to Hargreaves argument however was the understanding that women’s sporting histories are deeply contradictory - ‘women are manipulated *and* resistant’, but also no female experience was the same, as women are ‘not a homogenous group’.³¹ Thereby, due to this vast area of study which has until recently been under-explored, Hargreaves and others call for more perspectives or interpretations to be shared in order for the history of all sporting women to be told.

²⁵ Nicole M Lavoie, "Gender and sport media." In *Gender relations in sport*, pp. 39-52. ed. Emily A. Roper, (SensePublishers, 2013), pp. 39-40

²⁶ Hargreaves, ‘*Sporting Females*’, p. 200

²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 4

²⁸ Anita White, "3 Women and sport in the UK." *Sport and Women* (Routledge, 2003): 35, p. 50

²⁹ Lissa Smith, ed. *Nike is a goddess: The history of women in sports*, (Atlantic Monthly Press, 1999), p.x

³⁰ *ibid.*, p. x

³¹ Hargreaves, ‘*Sporting Females*’, p. 289

3.2 Postcolonialism and Sport

Comparable to literature surrounding gender and sport in history, incorporating the analysis of sport and postcolonial theory in historical contexts is a relatively new field of research.³² According to Young, postcolonialism ‘critically analyses the material and epistemological conditions of postcoloniality, and seeks to combat the continuing operation of an imperialist system of economic, political and cultural domination... [it] constitutes a critical response to the new world system installed after colonialism’.³³ Despite postcolonial theory remaining expansive in its potential for critical analysis across a variety of disciplines, in this dissertation the influential work of central scholars in postcolonial studies, such as Edward Said and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, will be used as theoretical parameters.

Edward Said’s ‘Orientalism’ is the founding text of post-colonial theory, with its basis arguing a fundamental difference between the West and the ‘Other’ exists. Said argues Western ‘representations of other culture, societies, histories...’ define the identity of these ‘Other’ countries through their differences to the West, rather than as having identities in their own right.³⁴ Said’s work argues along Foucauldian lines of thought, centring discourse as a powerful means through which Western colonial and imperial power can be maintained, reproduced and legitimised. However, despite this homogenisation of ‘other’ cultures and their people, the idea of worlding hides this discrimination or violence enacted by the West (contemporarily and historically) by the systematic denial of the complicit role of the West in the creation and maintenance of the ‘Other’, or developing countries. An issue of paternalism is also raised, with developing countries often deemed inferior, backwards and in need of guidance, which usually takes the form of a Western system or methods imposed upon cultures and their societies. Spivak draws upon Said’s work, but understands suppression through discourse to

³² John Bale, and Mike Cronin, eds. *Sport and postcolonialism*. (Oxford: Berg, 2003)

³³ Robert Young, *Postcolonialism: An historical introduction*. (John Wiley & Sons, 2016), p. 9

³⁴ Said, ‘*Orientalism*’, 1978

also manifest through the silencing of the subaltern.³⁵ The subaltern is never asked to speak, instead they are spoken for, but the voices projected are created and framed by a Western perspective. Spivak is critical of the narratives produced as the outcome of such practises renders the 'other' to lack self-representation, and are portrayed as passive, thereby further misrepresentations are preserved, with their voices translated into the language of the Oppressor. Combined, Said's and Spivak's work are important, as these modes of discrimination inexcusably influence the ways in which our understanding and knowledge of the 'Other' is shaped. However, postcolonialism attempts to challenge these unequal structures and address the imbalances in power.

In regards to postcolonialism and sport, Bale and Cronin are prominent scholars within the field, arguing 'sport per se is an eminently postcolonial phenomenon'.³⁶ They argue Said's and Spivak's work can 'clearly be applied to sports' and sport history.³⁷ The Western approach 'makes statements about other colonized regions, authorizing views of it, describing it by teaching it, speaking for it...[and] re-presenting the colonized world in a style suitable for dominating, restructuring and having authority over it.'³⁸ Therefore sports should be understood as 'symbolic power structures indicative of a continuing informal imperialism'.³⁹ Hylton agrees by explaining 'modes of exclusion, inferiorisation, subordination and exploitation' are legitimised and embedded in institutions like sport, but also become 'benign practises'.⁴⁰

Bale and Cronin acknowledge the 'dominance over the colonial world can come from writing... as much as from settling and ruling over it.... hence, texts can make worlds (often stating what

³⁵ Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', 1988

³⁶ Bale and Cronin, '*Sport and postcolonialism*', p. 4

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 6

³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 8

³⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁰ Kevin Hylton, '*Race and sport: critical race theory*. (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 3

they ought to be, rather than what they are) as much as representing them'.⁴¹ Besnier and Brownell agree, understanding the structure of sports often has the effect of 'circumscribing racial and other minority identities', but discrimination commonly takes more subtle forms, one being through discourse or rhetoric.⁴² Bale and Cronin draw on the central theme of postcolonial theory, that of the 'crisis of representation', specifically in regards to 'representation via the written word'.⁴³ They argue it 'has been crucial in colonial constructions of the colonized athlete'.⁴⁴ Darnell supports this view through utilising discourse analysis to unpack Orientalism the 'systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage the Orient' highlighting how this can enrich the study of sport and sport histories, which had before remained innocent from these critical perspectives.⁴⁵

The studies into the Commonwealth Games History in relation to Britain and postcolonial countries illustrate a common theme of tension surrounding their relationship. Dawson evidenced in his work into the 1966 Games in Jamaica, the first Commonwealth Games held out with the traditional hosts, a 'consistent sense of entitlement from the traditional host nations'.⁴⁶ Dawson reports one of his findings was that these Games reminded us that the Commonwealth Games have 'consistently featured a tension between official pronouncements and vernacular, or unofficial, rhetoric. In this case, claims of smooth operations and Commonwealth unity were challenged by charges of inefficiency and complaints of racial antagonism'.⁴⁷ Williams also found in his work into the notions of Representing Self, Community and Nation at the Empire and Commonwealth Games since their beginning's in

⁴¹ *ibid.*

⁴² Niko Besnier and Susan Brownell. "Sport, modernity, and the body." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (2012), p. 452

⁴³ Bale and Cronin, '*Sport and postcolonialism*', p. 5

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.5

⁴⁵ Simon C Darnell, "Orientalism through sport: towards a Said-ian analysis of imperialism and 'Sport for Development and Peace'." *Sport in society* 17, no. 8 (2014), p. 1003

⁴⁶ Michael Dawson, "Breaking away from the 'big boys'? Jamaican and 'White Commonwealth' expectations at the 1966 British Empire & Commonwealth Games." *Sport in History* 34, no. 3 (2014), p. 448

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 448

1930's that the Empire Games began 'increasingly to reflect the difficult nature of Britain's relationship with the emerging Commonwealth countries'.⁴⁸

Polley argues a 'lacuna' exists in the historiography concerning the Commonwealth Games, but this is due to competition from the global appeal of the Olympics.⁴⁹ With this restricted reach and audience, the Empire/Commonwealth Games have always been smaller commercial and media concerns than other mega-events. Nevertheless, Polley argues the 'relative absence of the Empire/Commonwealth Games from the historiography of both sport and empire is now in urgent need of attention'. These events are 'crying out for more research on a whole range of critical issues'.⁵⁰ Bale and Cronin site the 'unveiling' of the complicity of sport in the colonial domination, the examination of the 'nature of the representation of sport in colonial discourse' and considering the 'possibility and potential of sport as a form of (neo)colonial resistance' as fruitful lines of inquiry, which this dissertation will address.⁵¹

3.3 1986 Commonwealth Games

Tellingly, a similar dearth is therefore evidenced in relation to the 1986 Games, with only three works having been produced in relation to the event. Bateman and Douglas in particular were leading in their criticism of the event. Published in 1986, the writers were analytical in their approach to the Games, but, as with other works such as Magee, they were concerned with the political or economic difficulties hampering the Games.⁵² McDowell and Skillen have been the first to introduce the notion of discrimination at the Games. Focusing on the subject of the boycotts, Apartheid and the Empire, their work details the political and public reaction,

⁴⁸ Jean Williams, "Representing Self, Community and Nation: The Empire and Commonwealth Games Careers of Influential British Women Athletes 1930–1966." *Sport in History* 34, no. 3 (2014), p.478

⁴⁹ Martin Polley, "Introduction: The Empire and Commonwealth Games and the challenge of history." (Routledge, 2014), p. 385

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 386

⁵¹ Bale and Cronin, '*Sport and postcolonialism*', p. 8

⁵² Bateman and Douglas, '*Unfriendly Games*', 1986; Magee, Karl. "Boycotts and Bailouts: The Archives of the Commonwealth Games Council of Scotland." *African Research & Documentation* 116 (2011): 25.

unveiling a racial edge were produced throughout the newspapers at the Games.⁵³ The 1986 specific literature introduced the event in a critical fashion and was therefore instructive, but this lack of scholarly attention reveals the considerable dearth in this area.

⁵³ Matthew L McDowell and Fiona Skillen. "The 1986 Commonwealth Games: Scotland, South Africa, sporting boycotts, and the former British Empire." *Sport in Society* 20, no. 3 (2017): 384-397.

Chapter 4

Women and Sport at the 1986 Commonwealth Games

4.1 Historical Overview

Industrialisation and modernisation have been understood to be ‘moving forces’ during the 19th century in shaping the ‘material, ideological and political conditions for women’s emergence as a sporting population’.¹ Women and their involvement in sport in the interwar period was characterised by enhanced opportunities due to the ‘commercialisation of leisure, increased female employment and widespread municipal provision of subsidised sports facilities’.² The women’s liberation movement (first and second wave) resulted in a number of anti-discrimination laws alongside access to formerly male-dominated professions and ‘increased opportunities for career advancement’.³ However, as Hult argues, it also engendered important ‘psychological support’ for women in sport by dissolving the Victorian ‘cult of true womanhood’.⁴ Thereby, during the period of the 1986 Commonwealth Games, a more ‘flexible concept of what is feminine developed’ and existed, alongside the rejection of the idea that competitive athletics was ‘masculine in nature’.⁵ As Hult explains, the ‘influx of girls and women into the sports arena forced changes and redefinitions of the role and function of sport in British culture’.⁶ Women’s sporting choices opened up significantly during the twentieth century in Britain, with women’s sport opportunities in the seventies, eighties and nineties expanding ‘tremendously’ somewhat replacing a female sporting system profoundly hindered

¹ Parratt, ‘From the History of Women in Sport to Women’s Sport History,’ P.11

² Osborne and Skillen, ‘*Women in Sport*’, p. 657

³ Pamela C Laucella., Marie Hardin, Steve Bien-Aimé, and Dunja Antunovic. "Diversifying the sports department and covering women’s sports: A survey of sports editors." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* (Sage, 2016), p. 773

⁴ Joan S. Hult, ‘The Story of Women’s Athletics: Manipulating a Dream 1890-1985’, in *Women and sport: Interdisciplinary perspectives*, ed. Margaret D., Costa and Sharon Ruth Guthrie, (Human Kinetics, 1994.), p. 95

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ *ibid.*

by perceived biological incompetence, or defectiveness, alongside social, legal and economic constraints. As Smith proclaim, 'sport has freed women, and continues to free women, from restrictive dress, behaviours, laws, and customs...sports embody freedom'.⁷

However, the 1980's did not herald an entirely liberated sporting sphere for women. From 1900-1920 and post-World War II to the present, these periods have been identified as two key eras of a 'crisis in masculinity', with sport serving as an 'arena for struggle between the sexes'.⁸

Birrell and Theberge illustrate how it is also important to understand the process of exclusion is 'accomplished through ideological means'.⁹ As Bryson explains, a 'masculine hegemony [was] maintained in and through sport', and the historical social ideologies characterising the practise of women in sports remained persistent, and embedded within sporting culture.¹⁰

Applying a critical historical sports feminist stance therefore provides a 'powerful mode for reshaping women's sport history' as it can 'place women at the centre' and so potentially aid in the de-construction of the sporting 'male preserve' dominant at the time as 'sport is a social sphere in which gender cannot only be produced but also be de-constructed and changed'.¹¹

This chapter is therefore situated within this wider historical context and will utilise this broader, but underused, analytical approach to investigate the structural inequality and discrimination against women at the 1986 Commonwealth Games.

⁷ Smith, 'Nike is a goddess', p.xi

⁸ Birrell and Cole, 'Women, Sport and Culture', p.3

⁹ Susan Birrell and Nancy Theberge, 'Ideological Control of Women in Sport', in in *Women and sport: Interdisciplinary perspectives*, ed. Margaret D., Costa and Sharon Ruth Guthrie, (Human Kinetics, 1994.), p. 341

¹⁰ Lois Bryson, "Sport and the maintenance of masculine hegemony." In *Women's studies international forum*, vol. 10, no. 4 (Pergamon, 1987), p. 349

¹¹ Parratt, 'From the History of Women in Sport to Women's Sport History', p.6; Patricia A. Vertinsky, "Gender relations, women's history and sport history: A decade of changing enquiry, 1983-1993." *Journal of Sport History* 21, no. 1 (1994), p.7

4.2 Facets of organisational discrimination against women during the 1986 Commonwealth Games

In Britain, state action had been taken in order to outlaw discrimination in the ‘general contexts of employment and education’ in the form of the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act.¹² It was created to eliminate public forms of discrimination, but Hargreaves argues, it did not significantly impact sports. Unequal power relations between men and women were prevalent in the ‘staffing patterns of commercial, public and voluntary sports agencies’.¹³ Due to increased professionalization and bureaucratization in sports, women were losing some of the power they used to obtain, with their influence in sports leadership diminishing.¹⁴ Fewer women occupied influential and decision-making positions, and a noticeable trend was for men to hold posts of authority and for women to fill lower status positions.¹⁵ The administration and organization of sport was dominated by men, at both ‘institutional, national and international levels’.¹⁶

From the *Report by the Commonwealth Games Council for Scotland for the period 1983- 1986 containing results of the 1986 Games Edinburgh, Scotland and XII Commonwealth Games Scotland 1986: The Official History*, this imbalance, or gender inequality as discussed by Hargreaves and others, was evident across the organisational configuration of the Games.¹⁷ Firstly, the gendered composition of the Commonwealth Games Federation in the 1980’s was reflected in the exclusionary Commonwealth Games Organisation Committee 1986 in Scotland, with no females featured in the Committees apart from Queen Elizabeth II as patron

¹² Hargreaves, ‘*Sporting females*’, p. 175

¹³ Hargreaves, ‘*Sporting Women*’, p. 98

¹⁴ White, ‘3 Women and sport in the UK’, 2003

¹⁵ Hargreaves, ‘*Sporting Women*’, pp.198-99

¹⁶ Njororai, ‘Women athletes emerging from the shadow of men in Kenya’, p. 1069

¹⁷ *Report by the Commonwealth Games Council for Scotland for the period 1983- 1986 containing results of the 1986 Games Edinburgh- Scotland*, Stirling University Commonwealth Games Archive, pp. 1-65.; *XII Commonwealth Games Scotland 1986: The Official History*, 1986, Stirling University Commonwealth Games Archive.

of the Games.¹⁸ Every position of tremendous power from joint and vice chairman, chief executive, secretary and divisional chairman (administration, ceremonial, communications, finance, legal, media, support services, sports, venues and visitors) to the board of directors were, as Laucella et. all criticises, ‘primarily...White men’.¹⁹

Extending further down the organisational line to Administration and Control (including positions such as official reception, athletic control, and victory ceremonies to Anti Dope Control, Administration, Training and Media Liaison) there was a substantial fusion of women and men in this area of the Games. The results service, for example, included a team of four women out of a potential five positions alongside a balanced number of Anti-Doping control officials, Victory ceremony officials, Administrators, accreditation and Village services. However, at the top managerial level, or those of ‘Chief’ status within this facet of the organisational arrangement, again no women obtained this prominent role, with one only gaining the status of Deputy from an overall team of seventy-two.²⁰

There was also a lack of notable female presence with track officials at the Games, especially in the case of the Athletics technical and track officials, as only three women featured out of a division of twenty-two.²¹ In conjunction, female officials were entirely exempt from the organisational and operational sporting events such as boxing, weightlifting and cycling, alongside the salient lack of females in positions of ‘Chief’ status again being marked. Although the sports mentioned above remained all male sporting events, even the logistical elements of these events were evidenced to be gendered.²² This was further exemplified in the presence of coaches and team assistants, as from a potential fourteen positions of section

¹⁸ *Report by the Commonwealth Games Council for Scotland for the period 1983- 1986 containing results of the 1986 Games Edinburgh, Scotland*, Commonwealth Games Archive, Stirling University, pp. 2-4

¹⁹ *Ibid.*; Laucella, ‘Diversifying the Sports Department and Covering Women’s Sports’, p.774

²⁰ *Report by the Commonwealth Games Council for Scotland for the period 1983- 1986 containing results of the 1986 Games Edinburgh, Scotland*, Commonwealth Games Archive, Stirling University, pp. 3-5

²¹ *ibid.*

²² *ibid.*

manager of the teams only three were women, with head coaches for each event remaining a male dominated space. However, in the case of physiotherapists, especially in the Scottish team, there were a marked number of women. It is worth noting though the ratio of fifty-six male physiotherapists to thirty-one females- yet this disparity existed because of the total and persistent exclusion of female medical staff from male only sports such as wrestling, weightlifting, boxing and cycling.²³ It therefore again signifies not only exclusion physically but also organisationally.

Although in-roads were appearing to be made in terms of women being influential, or instrumental, in the organisation and execution of the Games at a base or ground level, the stark lack in the occupation of females in positions of power and authority from sectors such as finance, marketing and fundraising to communications, demonstrates women were clearly exempt from jobs with a high-level status. Yet, as Hargreaves details, there existed a widespread assumption that men were ‘better at managerial skills - taking the lead, making decisions, being forthright and instrumental’ and women were ‘better at doing support work because they are naturally expressive, co-operative and caring’.²⁴ A hierarchical and gendered structure therefore existed at the core of the 1986 Commonwealth Games’ organisation and management teams, but there was also ‘little incentive to change these structures’ and ‘to appreciate the special skills and experience of women could be used in prestigious positions in sports’.²⁵ Hargreaves is additionally critical of the ‘infiltration of women into the corridors of power’ in sports, as these ascensions may not be ‘inevitably beneficial’.²⁶ Men were inclined to be ‘authoritarian and aggressive’ in their approach to management and coaching, so when women were appointed to leadership positions it was usually because they had performed some

²³ *Report by the Commonwealth Games Council for Scotland for the period 1983- 1986 containing results of the 1986 Games Edinburgh, Scotland*, 1986, Commonwealth Games Archive, University of Stirling, p. 52

²⁴ Hargreaves, ‘*Sporting Females*’, p.203

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ *ibid.*, p.201

of those values that are ‘essentially masculinist and confrontational’.²⁷ In conjunction, although female coaches were present at the Games, and coaching female teams which could suggest a sense of empowerment or authority, Hargreaves argues this ‘separatism’ may be an significant form of ‘positive discrimination’ that is a ‘first step towards equality’, but in the long term can institutionalise gender divisions.²⁸

4.3 Athleticism and the Female Body

Masculinity and femininity are relative concepts which are socially and historically constructed, and as Cole explains, sport is consequently a ‘particularity powerful ideological mechanism because it is centred on the body’.²⁹ Notions therefore of sexual difference are constantly reproduced and legitimized here.³⁰ Yet, with women's rapid post-war movement into the labour force, alongside a revived feminist movement, what had been an ‘easily ignorable undercurrent of female athleticism from the 1930s through the 1960s’ grew into a inundation of female sports participation alongside demands for equity.³¹ Yet, society continued to force a choice between being an athlete and being feminine, suggesting there was still an active tension between ‘traditional prescriptions for femininity and the image presented by active, strong, even muscular women’.³² Histories of sports have been powerful sources of male imagery, with the physical body during the Victorian era symbolising a ‘fundamental representation of power relations between men and women’.³³ Women were more adventurous and athletic in the late twentieth century, but the gaining of strength, muscularity and athletic skill was still far less valued for women.³⁴

²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 201

²⁸ *ibid.*, p.208

²⁹ Birrell and Cole, ‘Women, Sport and Culture’, p. 3

³⁰ Tolvhed, ‘The Sports Woman as a Cultural Challenge’, 2012

³¹ Messner, ‘Sports and male domination’, p. 203

³² *ibid.*, p. 203

³³ *ibid.*, p.3

³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 146

The Commonwealth Games' sporting programmes had gender stereotyping as a core feature in their history, with arguments based on traditional notions of female ability having been used repeatedly to limit the number of Commonwealth events for women.³⁵ The 1986 Commonwealth Games consisted of ten events: swimming, athletics, badminton, bowls, boxing, cycling, rowing, shooting, weightlifting and wrestling. Despite sportswomen at this time potentially appearing more equal and openly accessible to opportunities, from the *1986 Commonwealth Games: The Official History*, sportswomen's exclusion from boxing, cycling, weightlifting and wrestling at the Games perpetuated the notion concurrent throughout the history of modern sport; that certain sports posed a 'danger to the female organism, deemed not to be suited for such demanding activity'.³⁶ The total exclusion from these events results in the continual but inequitable portrayal of the sporting male body as powerful, strong, aggressive and muscular, with the female body trivialised in comparison as powerless and inferior.³⁷ Therefore, the opportunities for skilled women athletes to pursue careers in certain professional sport remained restricted, and with sportswomen possibly viewed as excessively vulnerable, alongside being physically, mentally and emotionally incapable to compete in strength related sports highlights the discriminatory nature of the 1986 Games and its set-up. This assumption therefore 'underpins the policies that often-left women on the margins of sport engagement and development' and thus can be evidenced at the 1986 Games.

Further discriminatory practises were revealed through the compulsory gender verification tests undertaken by each female athlete at the 1986 Commonwealth Games. Before the 1960's, 'nude parades' were employed to determine and verify the gender of sportswomen.³⁸ However,

³⁵ Hargreaves, 'Sporting Females', p. 216

³⁶ James Hutchison, *XII Commonwealth Games Scotland, 1986: The Official History*, Routledge, 1986, p. 12; *ibid.*

³⁷ Hargreaves, 'Sporting Females', p. 216

³⁸ Sarah Jane Blithe and Jenna N. Hanchey. "The discursive emergence of gendered physiological discrimination in sex verification testing." *Women's Studies in Communication* 38, no. 4 (Routledge, 2015), p. 492

deemed ‘embarrassing and inappropriate’, a chromosome test was implemented known as the Barr Body Test.³⁹ Despite appearing less invasive it was proven to be controversial by proposing problematic ethical questions. Scholars, such as Heggie, have referred to this as a ‘glass ceiling’ for female athletes and their performance, as governing sports organizations do not necessitate male athletes to undergo such testing.⁴⁰ Blithe and Hanchey offer the phrase ‘gendered physiological discrimination’ to describe the ‘disciplining of bodies based on hormones, chromosomes, and other internal bodily processes’.⁴¹ It is a form of oppression, instead of a reliable solution to the problem of gender verification, with this form of testing in particular revealing a ‘complex intersection of multiple fields of power’ and endorsing the ‘cultural tendency to question the femininity of any woman who demonstrates too much of the very attributes that are prized in sport, like strength and speed’.⁴² Instead, these mandatory tests reinforced the naturalising of the severe male/female binary and ideology. Wiederkehr further expands on the discriminatory nature of these tests employed at the 1986 Games by stating there is a ‘striking asymmetry’ at the core of this practise.⁴³ It implies that ‘women can take part in men’s sport without being unfair’ - the point being that women would never out-compete men in the same sports, but men could enter women only events disguised as female athletes and dominate because of their presumed automatically superior sporting aptitude. This again displays the societal notion that women were unequivocally and indisputably (under sporting

³⁹ Ibid., p. 485

⁴⁰ Vanessa Heggie, "Testing sex and gender in sports; reinventing, reimagining and reconstructing histories." *Endeavour* 34, no. 4 (2010) in "The discursive emergence of gendered physiological discrimination in sex verification testing." *Women's Studies in Communication* ed. Blithe and Hanchey (Routledge, 2013), p. 492

⁴¹ Blithe and Hanchey, 'The discursive emergence of gendered physiological discrimination', p. 492

⁴² *ibid.*, p. 499

⁴³ Wiederkehr, "'We shall never know the exact number of men who have competed in the Olympics posing as women', p. 558

rule) inferior and unequal to men in terms of sporting ability.⁴⁴ Therefore, it is difficult to ignore the fact that ‘gender verification in sport openly discriminated against women’.⁴⁵

This inferiorisation was also interestingly mirrored in the official documentation or records detailing the male and female competitor’s jobs, taken from the *1986 Commonwealth Games Official Athletes Manuel*.⁴⁶ When listing the professions of the athletes, women who did not hold a paid job were labelled ‘housewife’, whereas males who were not employed were simply categorised as ‘unemployed’.⁴⁷ Within a societal context which continued to inscribe an ideological ideal of women as ultimately mothers, wives and family, although seemingly minor in detail, this characterisation could be seen to be problematic. Increasing numbers of women were in paid work, including those who were married and those with young children, but the *idea* that women’s proper place was in the home remained influential.⁴⁸ Also, in the pamphlet promoting the Games titled ‘The XII Commonwealth Games Scotland 1986 24th July- 2nd August An Action Replay’, all of the icons displayed above the descriptions of each sport were of sporting males.⁴⁹ The distribution of these pamphlets would reach the Scottish public, and potentially further, and so although perhaps subtle in its projection, it again reinforces the idea that women’s role is not within professional sports, and could suggest sportswomen cannot attain the presence or reputable status to signify or epitomise their sport.

We have seen thus far that ‘one of the most pervasive stereotypes related to sport and gender is the notion that there are “appropriate” and “inappropriate” sports for females and males.’⁵⁰

During the 1986 Commonwealth Games there was some movement on this issue, with female

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ Blithe and Hanchey, p. 557

⁴⁶ *1986 Commonwealth Games Official Athletes Manuel*, 1985, p. 34

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁸ Hargreaves, ‘*Sporting Females*’, 1994

⁴⁹ The XII Commonwealth Games Scotland 1986 24th July- 2nd August An Action Replay, 1986, pp. 1-6

⁵⁰ Karen M. Appleby and Elaine Foster. "Gender and sport participation." In *Gender relations in sport*, ed. Emily A. Roper (SensePublishers, 2013), p.5

inclusion into the 10,000m and judo introduced. Sport is an arena for constructing and legitimizing gender, but correspondingly also for 'gender troubling'.⁵¹ Sportswomen at this time were also making 'new displays of physical power, displaying not only femaleness but also physicality and athleticism'.⁵² The inclusion of females in endurance and strength related events could arguably mirror and reflect these ideals. Yet Bryson is critical of this view, arguing 'that equal participation will mean equality in the future...ignores a whole set of issues and assumes that sport is somehow homogenous and that all people experience such social activity in the same way'.⁵³ She goes on to describe the 'illogicality of assuming either, that equal numerical participation equals equality, or that the challenge to traditionally male areas by a few outstanding female performers heralds a new era'.⁵⁴

Although scholars have been largely critical in regards to the heralding of progress in women's sports histories, signs of development or alternative views of women were observed in the *Official Commonwealth Games Book, 1986*, where more radical views of women were portrayed - in action, athletic, and strong - as seen in following figures.⁵⁵ Bernstein argues men were framed as active subjects whereas women were framed as reactive objects.⁵⁶ Furthermore, while male athletes tended to be shown in terms of strengths, female athlete's physical strengths tended to be neutralised.

⁵¹ Tolvhed, 'The Sports Women as a Cultural Challenge', p.302

⁵² Hargreaves, '*Sporting Females*', p. 168

⁵³ Bryson, '*Sport and the Oppression of Women*', p. 416

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵ Peter Matthews and Stan Greenberg, *The Official 1986 Commonwealth Games Book*, Opax Publishing Ltd, 1986, pp 29-149

⁵⁶ Bernstein, 'Is it time for a victory lap?', p. 420

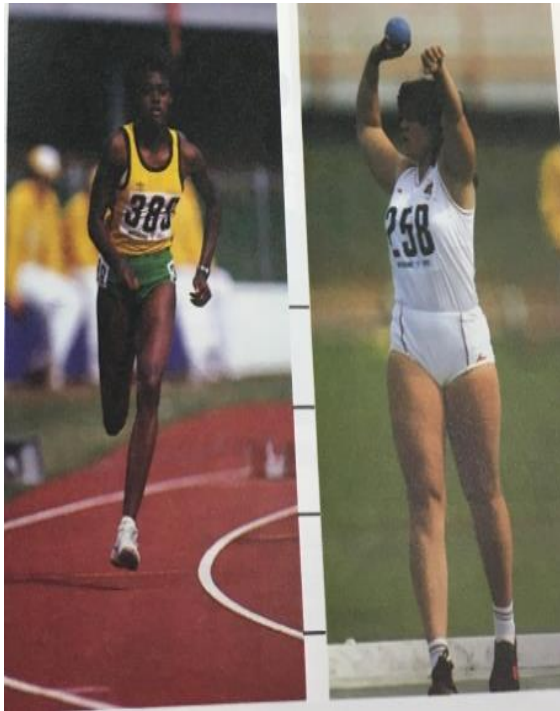


Figure 1: Merlene Ottey- Page and Judy Oakes at the 1986 Commonwealth Games, Official Commonwealth Book, 1986, p. 92

Figure 2: Sheila Sherwood competing in the long jump, Official Commonwealth Book, 1986, p. 149

Figure 3: Mary Peters competing in the high jump at the 1986 Commonwealth Games, Edinburgh. Taken from the Official Commonwealth Book, 1986, p. 132

Costa and Guthrie argue women's femininity, rather than female athleticism, was usually depicted in images of sportswomen.⁵⁷ Yet the images above evidence a break from the typical image captured of sporting women. Professional sports women were either photographed and published in static, emotional or posed modes, however the images shown capture and represent women in a competitive athletic state. From analysing the images their portrayal is a departure from the stereotyped femininity discussed, with these ideas challenged as their

⁵⁷ Costa and Guthrie 'Women and sport', 1994: see also Hargreaves, '*Sporting females*', 1994

muscular and powerful figures are made clearly visibly. They are pictured engaging in their sport, not posed, sexualised or passive, but exuding strength, muscle, determination and aggression. The athletes are also each displayed in specific context to their sport, not associated to their families, husbands or coaches and do not share their image space with male athletes. Often, strength related events such as shot put would be neglected in its coverage due to it remaining an inappropriate sport for women to compete in, but here Oakes's force, dominance and imposing stature is illustrated.⁵⁸ A sense of weakness or questioning of their athletic capabilities is therefore difficult to discern from the images. Furthermore, capturing disabled athletes alongside sportswomen of an ethnic minority, as seen in the images below, shows the diversity of the Games coverage and its cross cutting impact along those key gender lines. This is important to acknowledge, as the audience to which this official book would be distributed would cover a variety of ages, genders and class. Edited by Peter Matthews and Stan Greenberg (athletic broadcasters and commentators), costing £4.95 and existing as the only official publication for public sale being issued, the handbook was exceedingly accessible and publicised.⁵⁹ Also, through being created by men who had experience within sport, this alternative visibility of sportswomen may show a changing perception which was being applied

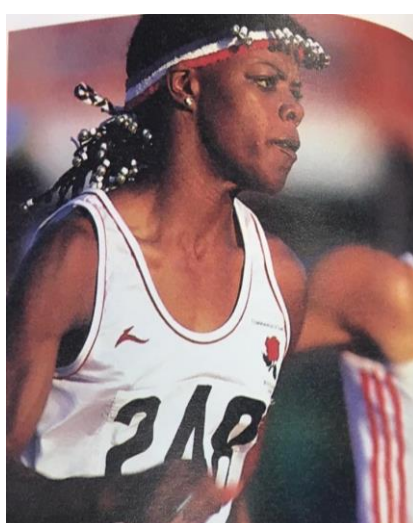


Figure 4: Neroi Fairhall, a New Zealand paraplegic athlete, taken from Official Commonwealth Book, p. 29

Figure 5: Judy Simpson, 1986 Commonwealth Heptathlete Gold Medallist, p. 32

⁵⁸ Hargreaves, 'Sporting Females', 1994

⁵⁹ Matthews and Greenberg, *Commonwealth Games Handbook*, 1986

within sporting spheres during this time.⁶⁰ It therefore could have impacted the stereotyped ideas of athletic females and may have helped or inspired a shift in the view of how women were portrayed in sport. Again, although the inclusion into certain male sports is problematic (as it suggests that women are an ‘after thought’) scholars such as Appleby and Foster believe the representation of women into these male sports is important, as it marks an apparent change from the previous gendered status quo.⁶¹ Professional sportswomen during this time were ‘actively redefining concepts of women’s sports...they blurred the traditional ideas of masculinity and femininity in sports and an enthusiasm and positivity transcended opposition based on mainstream heterosexual assumptions’.⁶² Participation provides women with an opportunity to focus on the ‘functional performance and capabilities of their bodies’ thus having the potential to ‘challenge or resist objectification’.⁶³ The inclusion of women into the 10,000 metre and judo therefore could highlight a shift from perceiving women as incapable to equal in a practical, but also ideological sense. Long distance running boomed after its introduction into the 1984 Olympics and 1986 Commonwealth Games, thereby illustrating representation in sport is important, and breaking down discriminatory boundaries based on gender and biology could be seen to be rewarding.⁶⁴ Although some women were creating radical ideas about female physicality, the assumption that it is ‘unwomanly’ to have a muscular physique was still widespread, yet gender is a ‘social construction that changes over time’ and so by entering, pioneering and displaying these alternative forms of femininity at the 1986 Games, this gender construction could be seen to have been contested.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ *The Games News*, no. 8 April 1986, p. 1

⁶¹ Appleby and Foster, ‘Gender and sport participation’, 2013: see also Hargreaves, ‘Sporting Females’, 1994

⁶² Hargreaves, ‘*Sporting Females*’, p. 274: in line with Greenleaf and Petrie, ‘*Studying the athletic body*’, ‘increasingly influential and respected in male sporting establishments’, p.121

⁶³ *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Hargreaves, ‘*Sporting Females*’, 1994

⁶⁵ Appleby and Foster, ‘Gender and sport participation’, p. 1

4.4 Inequity in Media representations of sportswomen

As noted above, during the 1986 Commonwealth Games more positive representations of sportswomen and their bodies existed, alongside increasing and unprecedented representation of sportswomen in endurance and strength related events. However, the notion of trivialisation and stereotyping of femininity could be seen to more unwaveringly persist in the media's accounts and coverage of female athletes as the media context at the time was one which was set within 'the commodification and sexualisation of women's physical activity... [which] was enhanced through health and fitness movement'.⁶⁶ Following and detailing the Games from April 1985 (for the *Games News*) and the remaining from the 24th to 2nd until August (the dates the sporting event was undertaken) the newspapers helped give a strong insight into the sporting event as they were selected in the archive due to their specific focus on the 1986 Games. Yet, in order to gain a wider perspective, accessible newspaper articles from *The Glasgow Herald*, *The Evening Times* and *Sunday Times* covering the Games were also analysed.

Trivialisation is a 'major process' through which the 'masculine hegemony of sport is maintained'.⁶⁷ The trivialising of women's sports can be evidenced through the framing of men's sports as 'dramatic spectacles of...significance' and subsequently relegating and under representing sportswomen's achievements and participation.⁶⁸ Using Liz Lynch as an example, the 10,000m record holder and gold medallist from Dundee was not only exempt from pictorial front-page status (bar the *Edinburgh Advertiser*) but also was relegated to share articles with two or more other competitors- those often being males. In the *Evening Times*, her success in the first female 10,000m event at any major sporting event was not covered until three days after her victory. However, coverage and debate surrounding Seb Coe, Steve Ovett, Steve

⁶⁶ Birrell and Theberge, 'Structural Constraints Facing Women in Sport', p. 332

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p. 348

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p.349

Burgess and Daley Thompson were regularly included in front page news, and across all the newspapers consulted.⁶⁹ In the *Herald*, a sizeable piece of writing was entirely dedicated to the Steve Cram (the ‘White knight of the track’) displaying an action picture and the connotations usually associated and celebrated with male athletes- that of strength, power and of an elevated status.⁷⁰ The subsequent departure of Seb Coe from the Games noticeably had more newspaper coverage than Lynch’s unprecedented success. Lynch was also frequently pictured either posed, as seen in figure 1.6, or with her coach, which is again problematic, Yet, figure 1.7 and 1.8, reported by the same journalist, were in stark contrast.⁷¹

⁶⁹ The *Evening Times*, July- August, 1986; *The Glasgow Herald*, July- August, 1986; *The Village View*, July- August, 1986; *The Games News*, July- August, 1986; *Edinburgh Advertiser*, July- August, 1986; *The Scotsman*, July- August, 1986

⁷⁰ Julie Davie, ‘White Knight of the Track’, *The Glasgow Herald*, 2nd August, 1986, p. 8, <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=GGgVawPscysC&dat=19860802&printsec=frontpage&hl=en> [accessed 3/10/2017]

⁷¹ Chick Young, ‘More to Come’, *Evening Times*, 29th July, 1986, p. 32 <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2mus-XyGPC0C&dat=19860729&printsec=frontpage&hl=en> [accessed 26/10/2017]; Chick Young, ‘The Metric Smilers’, *Evening Times* 2nd August, 1986, p. 2 <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2mus-XyGPC0C&dat=19860802&printsec=frontpage&hl=en> [accessed 26/10/2017]



Figure 6: Liz Lynch pictured in *Evening Times*, 29th July, 1986, p. 32

Figure 7: Steve Cram, the *Evening Times*, 4th August, 1986, p.2

Figure 8: Harry Lawson and Jim Moran competing in the heavyweight boxing final, the *Evening Times*, 4th August, 1986, p.2



The posed pictures similar to those of *The Evening Times* not only reproduce an image of stereotyped femininity, but, as Hargreaves explains, men are also usually portrayed as ‘advisors, mentors and facilitators of female sportswomen’ in the media.⁷² In the *Commonwealth Games Handbook*, this was portrayed, as seen in figure 1.9. Sportswomen’s ‘vulnerability and dependence on men are often the focus of sports pictures and reporting’ and so this also detracts from the sporting accomplishment Lynch and others achieved.

⁷² Hargreaves, ‘*Sporting Females*’, p. 163

Throughout each newspaper examined, sportswomen were noticeably absent in images in comparison to male athletes, with their articles also brief and none pictured a sporting female on the front cover. Titles such as ‘that record feeling’, ‘fastest man alive’ and ‘a saviour at last’ accompanied articles surrounding sportsmen and frequently pictured them in action, in comparison to ‘Kim gets in time for swim’.⁷³ Yet, as Laucella et. al, states, sports journalism historically ‘promotes and reinforces a bias in favour of men and male sports’.⁷⁴ Although articles focusing on sportswomen’s achievements existed, with not only Lynch’s, but also 100m runner Yvonne Murray and 400m swimmer Sharon Bowes, ‘the add-women-and-stir approach did not completely remove institutional barriers’ and ‘certainly did not result in a drastic change in the coverage of women’s sports’.⁷⁵ Trivialisation, as explored by Hargreaves, can also be disguised in the language or text which is produced by the media, and sportswomen’s inferior and lesser positions are reinforced by the media’s use of ‘girls’ in describing professional sporting females- ‘Call girls’ ‘Games-Line Girls’ and ‘Beaver Girls’.⁷⁶



Figure 9: Lisa Martin embraced by her coach at the Games, Official Commonwealth Games Book, p. 45

⁷³ Iain King, ‘that record feeling’ *Village View*, 28th July, p. 6; David Fotheringham, ‘Fastest man alive’, *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 2nd August, 1986, pp. 1-2; David Fotheringham, ‘A saviour at last’, 1st August, 1986, *Edinburgh Advertiser*, p. 3; Duncan Paterson ‘Kim Gets in Time for a Swim’ *The Games News*, 27th July, p.8

⁷⁴ Laucella, ‘Diversifying the Sports Department and Covering Women’s Sports’, p. 773

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p. 776

⁷⁶ Mandy Rhodes, ‘Games-Lines girls’, *Village View*, 19th July, p. 2; *ibid.*; Gordon Barr, ‘Canada to Quit’ Rumour Quashed, *Village View*, 24th July, p. 2

In the case of each of these articles, and among each issue of every newspaper consulted, sportswomen who were competing for Commonwealth champion positions were referred to frequently as ‘girls’. However, not once were the sporting males referred to as ‘boys’. This form of language is argued to be discriminatory, and de-values the status and experience of sporting professionals who are female to one of an inferior and perceived vulnerable position.

Further forms of trivialisation could be seen in the objectifying alongside the stereotyping of female athletes as, for example, emotional. In the article detailing the sporting hopes of the Canadian high jumper Debbie Brill in the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, the short article focused on her ‘lean and leggy’ character.⁷⁷ Devaluing her athleticism and instead objectifying her appearance was again a form of discrimination, as the publishing of this article legitimises and naturalises this prejudiced practise. In an article written by the *Sunday Times*, the high jumper was also subject to trivialised journalism by an article titled ‘Sad Debbie and other weepies’.⁷⁸ Fatima Whitbread was also covered as ‘feeling the pain’ with ‘tears flowing... sat on the sodden turf’.⁷⁹ Equally, in an article in the *Herald*, Whitbread was reported to be ‘never so sour as she stood on the medal podium, her face tear-stained...alongside her bitter most rival.... shining faced’. It continues, ‘it was all too much for Whitbread, she collapsed weeping...inconsolable....despite attention of friends and her mother she would not move for 10 minutes...[but later] plunged her face into her husband’s hair in an orgy of despair’.⁸⁰ Women’s emotions are ‘also a major focus of attention...in contrast to action shots of male athletes, we see athletes being embraced, crying with elation or disappointment’.⁸¹ Stereotyping of feminine attributes could again be argued to have been over stated, with

⁷⁷ David Fotheringham, *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 31st July 1986, p. 3

⁷⁸ Dudley Doust, 1986 Commonwealth Games: Sad Debbie and other weepies, *Sunday times* (London, England) Aug. 3, 1986, p. 3

<http://go.galegroup.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/ps/i.do?p=EAIM&u=glasuni&id=GALE%7CA117734382&v=2.1&it=r&sid=summon&authCount=1> [accessed 3/10/2017]

⁷⁹ David Fotheringham, *Edinburgh Advertiser*, August 1st, p. 2

⁸⁰ Doug Gillion, Whitbread’s bitter taste of defeat, *The Glasgow Herald*, August 1st, 1986, p. 23

⁸¹ Hargreaves, ‘*Sporting Females*’, p. 163

Whitbread instigating ‘public bitching and snarling’.⁸² This focus on her emotional state undervalues the silver medal she received, and pitting the women against each other also displays an idea that sportswomen’s competition cannot be strictly competitive, but has to be showcased as some form of a catfight. This unequal focus in journalism cements the gendered ideas circulating at the time of sporting women as ultimately remaining weaker, more sensitive and incapable in controlling their emotions than their male counterparts. However, it is important to acknowledge that most of the articles which covered the Games were written by male journalists, those of whom would employ a certain perspective, and most sport’s journalists are men even today. Arguably, in this instance, it could be one which treated sports women ‘ambivalently’, as ‘on the one hand they are news worthy for their athletic efforts and success... but because sports still pose a threat to ideas about femininity, readers are assured that they remain ‘real’ women’.⁸³

Finally, in a powerful cartoon published in *The Scotsman*, the patriarchal and sexist ideologies discussed above (and that permeated the sporting culture) could arguably be evidenced. Figure nine highlights how although objectifying images were most frequently observed in the tabloids, it could also be witnessed in quality newspapers.

⁸² Gillion, ‘Whitbread’s bitter taste’, p. 23

⁸³ Hargreaves, ‘*Sporting Females*’ p. 164

The image is not only degrading to females in general, but also the Games. Relating to the event in terms of scoring, but also by using the official mascot of the Edinburgh based Games, and the ‘femininity control’ potentially relating to the gender testing, the cartoon presents the sexualising of women and so contributes to the further naturalising of this practise within not only the 1986 Commonwealth games, but also society. The stereotyped femininity, as discussed within sport feminism, can be shown with the more muscular or athletic female receiving a low attractiveness score. This is not only discriminatory to the sportswomen by undermining athleticism, but it also damages the progress which had been made at the time. As Lavoï explains, ‘respectful coverage of sportswomen would...send a message to young girls and boys that physical attractiveness is less important than athletic prowess, which may help change gender socialization and lead to healthier self-perceptions for girls, as well as high quality professional and personal relationships’.⁸⁴ With a large audience, the image would have been widely disseminated, and by being represented through cartoon was also easily understandable to young people. Thereby it holds the potential to further entrench, authorise

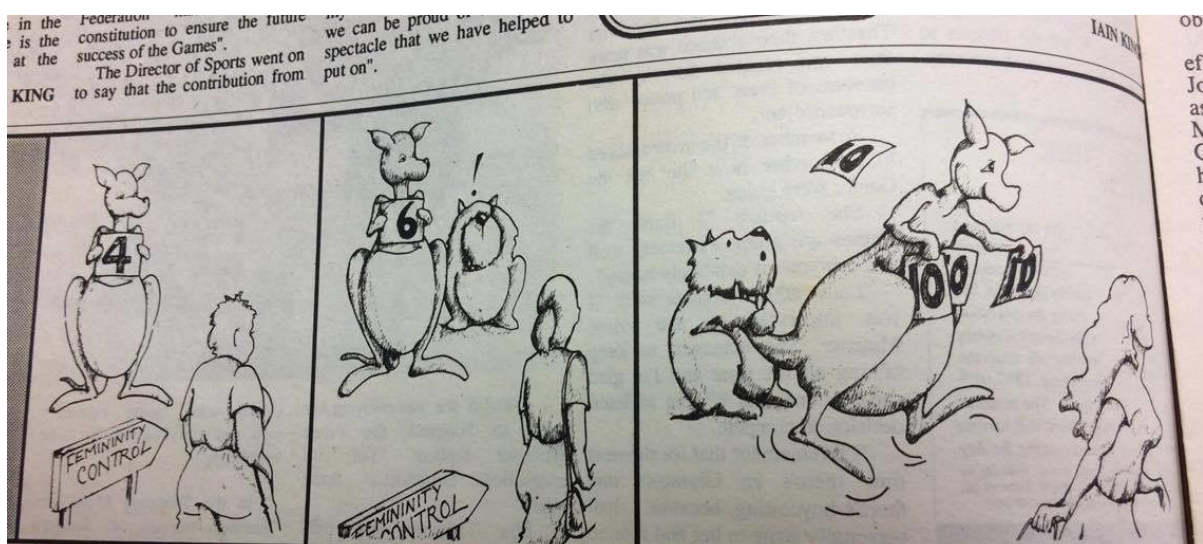


Figure 10: Cartoon extract from *The Scotsman* newspaper, 27th July, 1986, p. 4

⁸⁴ Lavoï, ‘Gender and sport media, p. 49

and legitimise the objectifying, stereotyping and sexualising of women but, as it was used in relation to the 1986 Games, also sportswomen.

Birrell and Theberge argue that the media is an inevitable ‘site of ideological power’.⁸⁵ This is significant as these newspapers may have reached a wider audience than the handbook due to their mass media status. Lavoie explains the notion of a sport-media complex existing, where ‘sport and media are inextricably linked, what and how athletes and sport are portrayed indicate and communicate to individuals in a particular society what is important, valued, relevant and known, and what is and who are not’.⁸⁶ Therefore, despite participation statistics for female athletes at the time improving, at all levels of competition, a ‘similar rise in the amount and quality of sport media coverage of female athletes and women’s sport had not occurred’.⁸⁷

Finally, the televised coverage of the Games was also discriminatory in regards to sporting women. In the official BBC 1986 Commonwealth Games opening titles, one sporting female was included.⁸⁸ Thereby, one of the first encounters the public would have with the Games would fundamentally eliminate the visibility of women. In addition, when comparing the BBC coverage of Steve Cram versus Liz Lynch, there was a significant disparity in the reporting, language and reaction to the races.⁸⁹ ‘...the fastest man in the field’, ‘the champion is back in the race’, ‘incredible’ ‘so, so powerful’ were used in in regards to Cram, with Lynch referred to as ‘she probably feels like she’s strong enough...feels like she’s good enough’ and ‘this is impressive by the Scot’s girl...she’s come from nowhere’.⁹⁰ In this coverage of Cram’s race, the reporters (who were male) displayed more emotive and complimentary commentary on his

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 345

⁸⁶ Lavoie, ‘Gender and sport media’, p.39

⁸⁷ *ibid.*

⁸⁸ BBC Commonwealth Games 1986 titles, YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v8JW_kna4X4, [accessed 13/11/2017]

⁸⁹ Steve Cram - Commonwealth Games 1500m Final, Edinburgh 1986, YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EKFZ7F7EWyU> [accessed, 13/11/2017]; 1986 Commonwealth - Edinburgh 10000m Women Final, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YwbO3YYexiE> [accessed 12/11/2017]

⁹⁰ *ibid.*

race, whereas Lynch's more brief coverage sustained inferiorisation and trivialisation, despite the historic importance of the first female 10,000m race to ever be held. The message this sends is one of men's sports are the 'real' thing, and women's sports as unimportant.⁹¹ The messages the sports media put out give the 'idea of objectivity some legitimacy' which in turn makes 'effective the way the media as a whole continues to reproduce popular and specially constructed ideas about what constitutes masculinity and femininity in sports'.⁹² The underrepresentation and misrepresentation of female athletes consequently 'harms women's chances for equal opportunities in sport'.⁹³

Taken together, 'these patterns of underrepresentation convey the cultural message that women are not a significant presence in sports' leading to sportswomen in the media being 'symbolically annihilated' by 'erasing sportswomen from our view and effectively [telling] us that women are not an important presence in our culture'.⁹⁴ Yet, Birrell and Theberge also argue against the overstated notion that 'text or message [has] enormous power to influence an audience' as it conceptualises the public, or readers, as a 'homogenous mass undifferentiated by gender, class, race or other identities'.⁹⁵ It overemphasises the power the media has to instil its message directly into the consciousness of a passive audience. Instead, historians should acknowledge that the impact or influence of the media is audience specific - they are 'individual agents who made conscious decisions about their own use of media and their own interpretations of the messages'.⁹⁶ However as Laucella et. al, states, most scholars, whatever their theoretical perspective, agree that 'limited coverage...not only trivialize female athletes,

⁹¹ Hargreaves, '*Sporting Females*', p. 166

⁹² Laucella, et. al., 'Diversifying the sports department', p. 166

⁹³ Hargreaves, '*Sporting Females*', p. 346

⁹⁴ Birrell and Theberge, 'Ideological Control', p. 348; *Ibid.*, p. 347

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p.345

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 345

but severely limits their ability to challenge or change men's ideological and institutional control of sport'.⁹⁷

4.5 Summary

As detailed in the historical overview, steps during this time were being taken specifically in relation to women and sport. Efforts by the local authorities, sports-governing bodies and other agencies to support programmes to encourage participation at all levels - community sports, elite sports, coaching and leadership - were being implemented. Yet, the strategy during the 1980's was more interested in quantitative change within the existing structures of sports, and thereby failed to address fundamental issues of discrimination implicit within the culture and traditional practises of sport.

The history of women in sports is one of an exceedingly contradictory nature, and also one which is firmly fixed and acts within wider societal structures in place at the time. In other words, it is one characterised by advancement but also one which is deeply prohibited. As Carnevali and Strange explain, gender was high on the political and cultural agenda at the time of the 1986 Commonwealth Games.⁹⁸ The historical context of a period with fast changing gender politics underpins the above discussion, and shapes its appreciation of norms such as stereotyping, trivialising, and marginalising in gender relations as well as, ultimately, the dual maintenance and challenging of sport as a male preserve. Both academically and within society, until the early 1980's these ideologies had not been comprehensively engaged with or recognised as processes of discrimination and inequality within sport. Therefore, analysing women at the 1986 Commonwealth Games exemplifies these contradictions, struggles and restraints, but also could be seen to demonstrate or represent the challenges and contestation

⁹⁷ Laucella, et. al., 'Diversifying the sports department', p. 43

⁹⁸ Julie-Marie Strange and Francesca Carnevali, eds. *Twentieth-century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change*. (Pearson Education, 2007).

against the historically imbedded system or structures of patriarchy within the sporting event, and the sporting arena at large. As White argues, 'whilst the emphasis [should be] on empowering and supporting individual women...recognition of the structural impediments outside women's control' is also essential.⁹⁹ Thus, what is needed, as emphasised within sports feminism, is the addressing of the historically discriminatory and unequal structures within which these gendered practises have been nurtured and thrived. Yet, issues of autonomy and control are complex, with no 'absolutely autonomous sports for women; but neither are women simply passive agents or recipients of culture, impossibly constrained by circumstances'.¹⁰⁰ Although sports reproduce dominate culture, it also holds the possibility to change it.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ White, '3 Women and sport in the UK', p. 280

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p. 289

¹⁰¹ Hargreaves, '*Sporting Females*', 1994

Chapter 5

Boycotting Nations, Post Colonialism and the 1986 Commonwealth Games

5.1 Historical Overview

Sport is believed to be a 'level playing field', yet as revealed in the previous chapter, inequality and discrimination are historically inherent within sporting culture, its institutions and can also reflect dominant societal attitudes. However, sport could also be argued to serve as a 'racially contested arena', alongside one of gender contestation.¹ Racism leads to cycles of 'inequality and disadvantage', and needs to be recognised as a mode of 'exclusion, inferiorisation, subordination and exploitation that present specific and different characters in different social and historical contexts'.² Racism, alongside racism in sport, encompasses socially and historically inscribed power relationships, embedded within structural constraints that often lie 'beyond the scope of the individual to change'.³

A general argument exists that since the Second World War, when the 'full horrors of racialogical thinking reached their climax with the Holocaust', the discourse of racism founded on biological racism shifted to one of cultural racism. Focusing on 'notions of absolute cultural difference between ethnic groups', cultural racism asserts that despite different ethnic groups or races not existing in a 'hierarchical biological relationship', they are nonetheless culturally distinct, each having their own 'incompatible lifestyles, customs and way of seeing the world'.⁴ It is, however, institutions like sport that 'legitimate these actions and embed them in what seemingly become benign practices'.⁵ This is the 'greatest paradox' about sports' relationship to racism - it is an environment where certain forms of cultural racism have been most

¹ Hylton, *'Race'and sport: critical race theory.'* p. 7

² *ibid*, p. 3

³ *ibid*, p. 2

⁴ *ibid*, p. 1

⁵ Hylton, *'Race'and sport: critical race theory.'*, p. 3

effectively challenged, yet, at the very same time it has ‘provided a platform for racist sentiments to be most clearly expressed, revealing how not only British sport, but British society itself, is still a long way off from being truly equal to all’.⁶

It is within this broader context that the 1986 Commonwealth Games commenced. Yet, more specifically, the event also existed at a time of overt racism, implemented through the South African system of Apartheid, and this was the reason for the subsequent boycotting of thirty-six former British colonies from the Games, alongside the unstable, volatile and tense state of the Commonwealth at the time. In 1948, white South African voters selected a government ‘dedicated to the ideology of the apartheid’ and subsequently formed a system that prohibited Africans from all rights associated with those of citizens.⁷ As Clark and William explain, by the 1980’s many Africans in South Africa were ‘no longer legally...considered citizens of that country but would be categorised as foreigners’.⁸ South African life was ‘determined under law by race’, with many of these laws simply ‘elaborating on previous colonial policies of segregation’.⁹ However, by 1986 opposition to apartheid took centre stage in international circles, resulting in a ‘widespread boycotting and divestment of cultural and commercial South African products’.¹⁰ In complete contrast, the Thatcher Government continued a policy of open trade with South Africa.¹¹ Therefore, the boycotting of the 1986 Commonwealth Games occurred over the UK Government’s support of trade with apartheid South Africa, and contributed to the Commonwealth ‘crisis’.¹²

As Bale and Cronin argue, sport is an ‘eminently postcolonial phenomenon’, and in regards to the Commonwealth Games, its creation and implementation was enforced under colonial rule

⁶ Carrington and McDonald, *'Race' and sport: critical race theory*, p. 2

⁷ Nancy L. Clark and William H. Worger. *South Africa: The rise and fall of apartheid*. (Routledge, 2016), p. 35

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 35-47

¹⁰ McDowell and Skillen. ‘The 1986 Commonwealth Games’ p. 386

¹¹ *ibid.*

¹² *ibid.*

and imperialism. Consequently, the Games inherently withhold postcolonial attributes and traits but, ultimately, symbolise 'British power'.¹³ Therefore the application of post colonial theory is apt as it focuses on the issue of power relations through which a cultural racial difference has been maintained. Carrington and McDonald claim the 'exploration of language and the racialised meanings attached to the spoken word, has identified the decreasing, but nevertheless socially significant, occurrences of overt forms of colour-based racism in public spaces'.¹⁴ However, postcolonial theory ultimately aims to alter ways of knowing and understanding through challenging the ways dominant discourses have been shaped.¹⁵ Therefore, using critical discourse analysis, discrimination will be identified through various postcolonial theories which will be used to highlight how the 1986 Games functioned as a showcase of imperial sympathies, and how the boycotting of the event spurred these notions on to appear within newspapers beyond the Games. However, in the following discussion the sympathetic articles to the boycotting nations are noticeably lacking in numbers, yet this is telling of the dominant views of the time and strengthens the argument that colonial sentiments were prevalent during the 1986 Commonwealth Games.

5.2 Attacks on the Boycott- a postcolonial analysis

The mass boycott of the 1986 Games from thirty-two countries from Africa, the Caribbean, India and the sub-Indian continent was unprecedented during its time, and stunned not only the Commonwealth, but the organisers, Western participants and domestic spectators of the 1986 Games. With half of the eligible competing nations present, the Games from the outset exuded an atmosphere of resentment, anger, fear and tension. These sentiments were most blatantly evidenced in newspaper reports from sources such as the *Village View*, *Edinburgh Advertiser*,

¹³ Bale and Cronin, '*Sport and postcolonialism*', p. 5; Christopher Brasher, 'Getting on with the Games', *The Observer*, 20th July. 1986, p. 1

¹⁴ Hylton, '*Race and sport: critical race theory*.' p. 2742

¹⁵ Joanne Sharp, *Geographies of postcolonialism*. (Sage, 2008); Cheryl McEwan, *Postcolonialism and development*. (Routledge, 2008).

the *Herald*, the *Observer* and the *Guardian*. However, the contrast in coverage of the boycott in terms of local and national newspapers was marked, with Scottish newspapers usually reporting on the boycott with either anger, or with limited coverage, accompanied by a more positive account by diminishing the impact of the boycott upon the Games. It was ‘a nettle which has got to be grasped’ according to CGF chairman Peter Heatley and according to Steve Cram, ‘the boycotts will achieve nothing...they will be forgotten by Christmas’.¹⁶ The Canadians scoffed at the boycott, with the nation's Team Manager stating ‘despite talk of boycotts... the Games will prosper...to be honest, the only way for some of these countries would get their names in the papers is to boycott the Games’.¹⁷ Instead, readers were informed the Village and Games atmosphere was ‘really happy and warm’ and urged to ‘never mind the boycott - just feel the friendship’.¹⁸ Daley Thompson’s reassurance that ‘all the best guys are still coming’ ultimately encapsulated the response of these sources to the boycott.¹⁹

The shift in focus from one of a damaging boycott, to the frequent referral to the Games as overwhelmingly ‘friendly’ ‘successful’ ‘joyous’ ‘jubilant’ ‘[a] triumph’ and seemingly untouched by the boycott was apparent.²⁰ Yet, this form of coverage places the boycott in a vacuum, which as a result could be described as a form of discrimination, because by understating the impact of the boycott these sources were deliberately weakening the message the boycott was attempting to convey; that these nations under Apartheid were living under ‘sheer brutality’ and change was needed to be made.²¹

¹⁶ Cited in Gordon Barr, ‘Federation to take a tough line on Boycotts’, *Village View*, 18th July, 1986, p.2; cited in, Iain King, ‘Steve Cram on Boycotts’, *Village View*, 21st July, 1986, p. 1

¹⁷ Iain King ‘Canadian’s scoff at Boycott’, *Village View*, 19th July, 1986, p.1

¹⁸ Elaine Hunter, ‘never mind the boycott- just feel the friendship’, *Village View*, 19th July, 1986, p. 2

¹⁹ quoted in Niall Fraser, ‘all the best guys are coming’, *Village View*, 24th July, 1986 p.2

²⁰ Mandy Rhodes, ‘sadness of stay-away nations’, *Village View*, 26th July, 1986, p.1, *Village View*, ‘1986 Games Triumph!’, 3rd August, 1986 p. 1; Tom Watson, *Edinburgh Advertiser*, ‘Heading for Home Happy’ 2nd August, 1986, p. 3

²¹ Clark and William, ‘South Africa: The rise and fall of apartheid’, p. 35

However, as McDowell and Skillen explain, there was an ‘amount of space’ given to those attacking the boycotting nations, and this was noticeable.²² The boycotting nations were accused of incorporating politics into sport, and of blackmailing Scotland.²³ In many cases, the language used had a racial edge, and ‘linked readers’ opinions directly to the idea of the Commonwealth and the memory of the British Empire’.²⁴ Some readers’ perceived a sense of victimhood which led them to advocate or offer more radical solutions - for example, the dissolution of the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth Games or both.²⁵ Perceiving the boycott as ‘totally negative and self-defeating’ and a problem ‘not of our own making’ was a common assumption throughout the media, but this mentality inscribes a certain form of blame and guilt upon the boycotting countries.²⁶ A reader wrote into the *Herald* stating,

‘the countries who withdrew their athletes from the Commonwealth Games are a disgrace to sport, imagine how it must be for these unfortunate men and women deprived of the greatest individual honour in sport, that of representing their country on the sports field and all because of the political whims of their governments. They have become mere pawns in an international scenario’.²⁷

This not only evades understanding the 1986 Commonwealth Games, but sport more generally, as intrinsically linked to economic, political and social influence or implications, but also Western superiority, by understanding the issue through a primarily neo-liberal mindset or approach. This displays a strong discourse of Said’s notions of worlding, in which the ignoring of the complicity or involvement of the west in creating the problem and overlooking

²² McDowell and Skillen, ‘The 1986 Commonwealth Games’, p. 384

²³ *ibid.*

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 398

²⁵ *The Glasgow Herald*, ‘Opinion’, 28th July, p. 22

²⁶ Gordon Barr, ‘they’re here- 33 countries and 1400 competitors, *Village View*, 21st July, 1986, p. 1; Colin Hume, ‘Lift Off’, *Village View*, 25th July, p. 1

²⁷ *ibid.*

inequalities existing as a consequence of imperialism and capitalism prevails.²⁸ Through McDowell and Skillen's reference the work of Fry on the issue of the boycott, and the subsequent opinions and attitudes this revealed. Fry states,

‘Intriguingly, all within this particular vein refer to the UK and Great Britain as being the victims, rather than specifically Scotland. Indeed, then, this was not just a commentary on Scots’ beliefs on apartheid, but a revelation of their post-imperial insecurities. Scots ...did, after all, play a crucial role in the institution of what would later become South Africa’.²⁹

This sentiment was also evident in the official 1986 Commonwealth Games songs, as detailed in the *XII Commonwealth Games Scotland, 1986 The Official History*, and the messages they conveyed could also be viewed to be problematic. Titled ‘Power from within’ and ‘Smile with us’ the songs encouraged and directed the focus of the audiences on friendliness of the Games: ‘on the track where all are equal’ where ‘people everywhere should be holding hands, all around the world, all across the lands, everyone should be friends’.³⁰ The official theme of the Games was ‘the celebration of family friendship’, yet the lyrics also bypass or neglect the colonialist nature of the Games, and deem the event in Edinburgh as an environment which is equal. It could be a form of discrimination enacted through discourse, as equality between the athletes at the Games was debatable, considering many lived under the system of Apartheid, but should join hands and ‘be friends’. Alongside this, the event and their organisers were against the boycott, despite many nations and their athletes not withholding the rights of a

²⁸ Christine Sylvester, "Development studies and postcolonial studies: disparate tales of the 'Third World'." *Third World Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (1999): 703-721.; McEwan, ‘*Postcolonialism and development*’, 2008

²⁹ Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire*. (Tuckwell; Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2001) in ‘*The 1986 Commonwealth Games: Scotland, South Africa, sporting boycotts, and the former British Empire*’. ed Matthew McDowell and Fiona Skillen, *Sport in Society* 20, no. 3 p. 395

³⁰ *XII Commonwealth Games Scotland Official History*, Commonwealth Games Archive, University of Stirling, pp. 4-5

human in their own countries.³¹ The pushing and urging for no boycott could echo sentiments of colonialism, with Western knowledge understood to be paramount, and their understanding of how actions should be taken in regard to this issue equating to civility, fairness, or the best solution to the problem.³²

However combined, these notions of blame, anger and demeaning the boycott to one of little importance could be seen to facilitate the potential ‘othering’ implicit within the Games. A wider ideology of a binary discourse of a developed, advanced ‘Us’ and a backwards, lacking, underdeveloped ‘Them’ could be argued to have been exacerbated during the Games.³³ The boycotting countries were perceived, as referenced in an article by the *Observer*, to be ‘outsiders’.³⁴ This notion of difference and subsequent inferiority placed on the boycotting nations could be argued to be an undercurrent theme throughout the coverage of the boycott. Those who boycotted were understood to be selfish, and actions such as the 1986 boycott would not even be considered by ‘Us’- the developed country. A distance therefore had been created, and amplified, by the newspaper coverage and again, with its mass media status, these sentiments may have ignited these understandings of divide and difference between previously colonial countries and Britain. The many calls for the dissolution of the Commonwealth by readers, sparked by the boycotts by countries from Africa, India and the Caribbean, suggests the postcolonial notion of a fundamental dichotomy between different countries and peoples could have impacted and influenced audiences.

Spivak’s work regarding the subaltern is also apparent within the discourse of the newspapers, with the two-pronged ideology underpinning her theory being the notions of speaking for and

³¹ *ibid.*, p. 33

³² April R. Biccum, "Interrupting the discourse of development: On a collision course with postcolonial theory." *Culture, Theory & Critique* 43, no. 1 (2002), pp. 33-50.

³³ Said, ‘*Orientalism*’, 1978

³⁴ Christopher Brasher, ‘Getting on with the Games’, *The Observer*, 20th July, p. 38
<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1d0oma--lHJo0MWdI58JDecwjOqFLt8gy/view> [accessed 15/9/ 2017]

speaking about.³⁵ A question of epistemic violence is raised, as the language used is not that of those living within this system of institutionalised racism, but instead translated into one of the oppressor.³⁶ The newspaper articles, especially from the *Village View*, understood the boycott to be a worthless campaign, ‘merely blackmailing the Government’ and more so concerned with showing ‘Third World Solidarity - cost what that might’.³⁷ The arguments, opinions and explanations from these countries and their athletes were excluded from the newspaper’s coverage of the boycott, therefore the information released by the media was not only a biased opinion, but an entirely one sided one. This could therefore be a form of silencing the subaltern, speaking for the boycotting countries, and lessening their version or understanding of the events. The views of only one representative of the boycotting nations were included in the *Village View* - those of the manager of the Bermudian team - who deemed his team’s potential withdrawal from the Games as ‘the worst news’.³⁸ Yet, including this example would reinforce and emphasis the Western position on the issue. With a substantial audience, and these sentiments displayed on front covers and main pages, this view was being broadcast to a wide section of society, and potentially influencing their idea of not only the boycott at the Games, but the issue of Apartheid and the Commonwealth at large. Excluding the insights of, for example, the African nations and their squads, rendered the coverage of the Games as one which was ‘silencing the subaltern’.³⁹

Beyond the Commonwealth archive, cabinet ministers displaying ‘Orientalist’ attitudes in regards to the event were conspicuous. ‘Senior ministers considered South Africa for just ‘10 minutes’, in regards to the Games according to the *Evening Times*.⁴⁰ The actions taken by the

³⁵ Ilan Knapoor, “Hyper-self-reflexive development? Spivak on representing the Third World ‘Other’.” *Third World Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (2004), pp. 627-647

³⁶ Spivak, ‘Can the subaltern speak?’, 1988

³⁷ Gordon Barr, ‘Deadline stretched to Thursday’, *Village View*, 22nd July, 1986, p. 1

³⁸ Mandy Rhodes, ‘Bermuda tells of ‘Come Home’ scare’, *Village View*, p.2, July 26th 1986

³⁹ Spivak, ‘Can the subaltern speak?’, 1988

⁴⁰ Loudon Temple, ‘Cabinet Back Thatcher over Sanctions’, *Evening Times*, 31st July, 1986

Government at the time arguably exhibited imperial notions of power over former colonial countries through prioritising capitalism and acting in the interest of 'Us'. The championing of Western forms knowledge, or ways of undertaking matters, re-iterates a sense of Western superiority, disregarding Third World knowledge and enforcing a form of Eurocentric thinking, thereby supporting and strengthening the notion of a 'new' imperialism.⁴¹ Considering the boycott and its implications as peripheral or insignificant, Thatcher and her administration contributed to the marginalising of the boycotting countries and their athletes, through aiding the continuing oppression enforced by South Africa, thus rendering Britain indirectly complicit with this oppression.

Paternalism was also evidenced within the accounts of the protests at the Games, as 'one of the primary motifs of anti-boycott letters drew on the idea of the Commonwealth as a family unit...there was little doubt as to who they viewed as the parents in this particular family, and who they perceived to have made sacrifices on behalf of their children'.⁴² In a letter written to the *Evening Times*, a reader stated,

let's not waste any more time on the boycotting cry babies...they [are the] spoilers....the baby nations in the Commonwealth persist on acting out like a bunch of well skleped weans'.⁴³

This sense of paternalism echoes a colonial past through which again the West is superior in terms of resources and knowledge, and the Third World countries continue to be perceived as inferior, child-like, incapable and in need of saving. This is problematic as these discourses continue these sets of power relations or imbalance between developed and developing

⁴¹ Biccum, 'Interrupting the discourse of development', 2005

⁴² McDowell and Skillen, 'The 1986 Commonwealth Games', p. 395

⁴³ Alex Martin, 'A real Scottish Flavour of the Games, *The Evening Times*, 30th July, 1986, p. 8
<https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2mus-XyGPC0C&dat=19860730&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>
[accessed 4/10/2017]

countries by confining these nations into places which are still regarded as subordinate to previous colonial rulers.

Finally, the Official Handbook (the only official publication for public sale being issued) and the Official 1986 Commonwealth History acknowledged the boycott and documented the factual ramifications of this political protest on the Games, but their written history was brief and information as to *why* the boycotts occurred was omitted. Possibly at the time it was understood that most members of the public would be aware and have a somewhat comprehensive understanding of the issue, but for the historian, or researcher, this lack of information highlights the possible silencing nature implicit within the 1986 Commonwealth Games. Although perhaps attempting to be as neutral or as unbiased as possible, omitting this information and emphasising the success of the Games instead could also represent a level of exclusion or lessening of the issue which, in turn, could be seen as evidence of oppression and discrimination.

5.3 Sympathetic Representations - an alternative view?

Nonetheless, certain publications and actions did acknowledge and produce an alternative view on the importance and impact of these boycotts, supporting McDowell and Skillen's assertion that the 'dysfunctional relationship' was 'highlighted.'⁴⁴ Anti- Apartheid protests took place in Edinburgh during the 1986 Games, with the largest demonstration attracting over 500 protestors attacking Thatcher's stance on imposing sanctions upon South Africa.⁴⁵ A *Herald* newspaper article by Derek Bateman and Derek Douglas, who would together progress that very same year to create a particularly critical book surrounding the 1986 Games, was more contemptuous in regards to the Government's handling of the boycott, revealing the 'bitter

⁴⁴ McDowell and Skillen, 'The 1986 Commonwealth Games' p. 395

⁴⁵ Derek Bateman and Derek Douglas, 'Games athletes snub Thatcher', *The Glasgow Herald*, August 2nd, 1986, p. 1 <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=GGgVawPscysC&dat=19860802&printsec=frontpage&hl=en> [accessed 14/10/2017]

feelings' about the conduct of Britain against Apartheid.⁴⁶ It highlights the anger and resentment felt not towards the boycotting nations and athletes, but against domestic institutions. An awareness of one's positionality is a possible progression from imperialistic attitudes (highlighted in postcolonial theory) and the demonstrations coupled with more critical media coverage could be exemplified as examples of understanding that the boycotts were not damaging or 'unjustified' but instead worthwhile.⁴⁷ This could have evidenced a raising awareness of the injustice not only in South Africa, but more importantly, at home. These alternative attitudes are additionally evident in an article written in the *Guardian* regarding the issues of Apartheid, sanctions and the boycott, displaying an awareness of the discriminatory nature of the stance taken by Britain. The matter was compared to 'the great moral issue of anti-slavery', thereby potentially helping to re-frame the boycott to be understood in terms of a power relation or imbalance, not only enforced by South Africa, but also by others, such as Britain.⁴⁸ These protests and newspaper articles may also have acted as a medium through which the boycotting countries could have been given a voice in the issue, by emphasising and further reminding society of the inhumanity and cruelty of the Apartheid system.

However, as all of the newspaper and Commonwealth Games archival material discussed above were from Western viewpoints, they also enforced and preserved a Western role in the production of knowledge surrounding the boycott, and thus to an extent furthered inferiority and subordination.⁴⁹ The postcolonial sentiment expressed within these sources is contradicted, or jeopardised by the authors' pre-conceived notions of other places and people. As these notions are embedded within Western culture and ideology, the influence of Western knowledge upon even those sympathetic to the boycotting nations could be considered

⁴⁶ *ibid.*

⁴⁷ Alan Travis, 'Thatcher attacks Games as unjustified' *The Guardian*, July 16th 1986, p. 27

⁴⁸ Hella Pick, 'Ramphal calls for halt to games boycott', *The Guardian*, 16th July, 1986, p. 1

⁴⁹ Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', 1988; Michel Foucault. *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*, (Pantheon, 1980)

inescapable. This is problematic as the discourse and rhetoric influencing this particular construction of the world enters into the homes of the public, but also educators, policy makers and other open-minded or interested persons ‘who might have an impact upon and/or facilitate the dissemination of these ideas’.⁵⁰ An awareness of the importance of understanding our positioning within the world as one of white, Eurocentric privilege when engaging with the Third World is therefore heightened.⁵¹

5.4 Summary

In a similar way to the issue of gender, sport is understood by Jarvie to be a ‘complex and inherently contradictory cultural arena that serves to both challenge and confirm racial ideologies’.⁵² The sources analysed here were placed, created and acted within this societal context of friction relating to racial segregation and discrimination, with the embodiment of the ‘re-configuring and re-packaging’ of colonial sentiments potentially detectable within the discourses and actions undertaken by newspapers and writers of the Commonwealth Official History and Handbook.⁵³ Under a Thatcher administration, although not all would agree with the policies, the ideology of Thatcherism and neo-liberalism permeated society, and may have exacerbated this divide between the boycotting countries and Western countries, predominantly in this case Britain. The discrimination in terms of paternalism, othering, silencing, and marginalising is important to discuss, as discourse can be an extremely effective mode through which prejudiced ideologies can be reinforced and legitimised. Highlighting the potential inequity shown to the boycotting nations during the 1986 Commonwealth Games is advantageous, as Hartman explains, it is valuable to ‘deconstruct the sport as a positive force

⁵⁰ Biccum, ‘Interrupting the discourse of development’, p. 11

⁵¹ Knapoor, ‘Hyper-self-reflexive development?’, 2004; Spivak, ‘Can the Subaltern Speak’, 1988

⁵² Jarvie, ‘*Sport, culture and society*’, p.3

⁵³ Biccum, ‘Interrupting the discourse of development’, p. 1008

ideology' and as Polley makes clear, to further explore the under researched issue of sport and British imperialism.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Douglas Hartmann, "The politics of race and sport: resistance and domination in the 1968 African American Olympic protest movement." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 19, no. 3 (1996), p. 548-566; Polley, 'Introduction: The Empire and Commonwealth Games', 2014

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Historically, sport has been recognised as ‘a safe haven of rules sanctified by stopwatches... its boundaries delineated by goals and winning posts’.¹ Its functionality was one of innocence and disconnectedness from external societal forces, operating as a space which was to unite, equalise and harmonise. However, at the end of the 20th century, historians and sociologists embarked upon a broader analysis of the study of sport, revealing the histories of ethnic minorities and gender in sport as sites which were not only complex, multi-dimensional and deeply contradictory but, most importantly, routinely underrepresented and misrepresented within sport history. The analysis of these two minority groups within 1986 Commonwealth Games is one which is regrettably characterised by limitations, as not all factors or groups could be explored fully due to the substantial lines of inquiry which could have been applied through the theoretical frameworks of sport feminism and postcolonialism. In conjunction, as much of the writing regarding women in sports is created from a certain vantage point, one of ‘white, heterosexual females who are usually middle class’, consequently the confines of this dissertation are again heightened due to the positionality of the researcher.² As Dawson, argues ‘as a number of scholars have noted, measuring the tangible legacies of large-scale sporting events is difficult at best and assessing the intangible benefits is a nearly impossible task’. Attempting to provide a complete assessment of the Games is thus well beyond the scope of this dissertation.³ However, the sources available coupled with the wider historiography

¹ Emma Lindsey, “11 Notes from the sports desk Reflections on race, class and. “*Race, Sport and British Society* (Routledge, 2002), p. 188

² Hargreaves, ‘*Sporting Females*’, p. 288

³ Dawson, ‘Breaking away from the ‘big boys?’’, 2004

offered fulfilling insights into the question surrounding the inequalities and discrimination faced by women and ethnic minorities within the 1986 Commonwealth Games.

The analysis of the 1986 Games reflect the belief that ‘sport, like many cultural arenas, is a site of contestation and resistance...neither a decisively positive or negative portrayal of sport is credible or accurate’.⁴ Sport is instead a site for both ‘empowerment and oppression’.⁵ Set within a time of the Apartheid, Commonwealth tensions escalating and women’s sporting rights expanding, the Games occupied a period caught between social resistance and advancement. Sportswomen during the 1986 Games were observed to have been subject to inequality and discrimination through a variety of forms throughout the event, by remaining excluded from certain male dominated sports, positions of power and marginalised throughout the media and its coverage. Remaining unequal in terms of sporting ability, authority and visibility suggested the understanding of sport as a male preserve continued despite legislation and the feminist movement being successfully enacted and advocated at the time. Modes of discrimination highlighted within sport feminism such as stereotyping, trivialising, marginalising and underrepresentation could be evidenced from the archival material, reinforcing the idea emphasised in the wider historiography that ‘the history of sport is masculinised as well as patriarchal’.⁶ In addition, the compulsory gender verification test undertaken by sportswomen, which were abolished in the 1990’s due to their discriminatory nature, again reiterates the Games were not only stubbornly male dominated, but that the ‘biological differences [which] used to obscure uneven relations of power between men and women in sports’ were openly performed at the event and legitimised.⁷ Yet, the histories of women’s sports show that patriarchal relations on their own do not explain women’s

⁴ Carrington and McDonald, ‘*Race, Sport and British Society*’, p. 12

⁵ Leslee A Fisher, Susannah K. Knust, and Alicia J. Johnson. "Theories of gender and sport." In *Gender relations in sport*, ed. Emily A. Roper, (SensePublishers, 2013), p. 29

⁶ Tolvhed, “The Sports Woman as a Cultural Challenge”, p. 304

⁷ Hargreaves, ‘*Sporting Females*’, p. 287

subordination.⁸ Instead, female sports are linked to the ‘totality of relations of cultural power’ which not only include men and women, but between different groups and are ‘tied to economic, political and ideological relations of power’.⁹ Therefore the discrimination and inequality imposed upon sporting women was not only institutionalised and executed by the Commonwealth Games and the CGF, but was additionally significantly impacted by the societal attitudes and influences regarding women and sports circulating at the time.

However, the 1986 Commonwealth Games could also be evidenced to have represented advancement in the campaign for equality for women in sports. The inclusion of sportswomen into previously acknowledged male only sporting arenas, such as events requiring endurance and strength, alongside their athleticism rather than their femininity being captured, could be seen to hallmark a breaking down of this power imbalance. The Games could have been a showcase through which the resistance from sporting females was displayed on an international stage and to a vast audience. Instead, ‘it is, importantly, precisely this history that has charged sport with a subversive and radical potential when performed by female bodies’.¹⁰ The 1986 Games therefore could be argued to have displayed the notion that sport can enhance, empower and challenge gender norms, but also that ‘women are manipulated *and* resistant, determined by circumstances *and* active agents in the transformation of sporting culture’.¹¹

In a similar manner to the issue of women and sport, there is ‘no single, unidimensional relationship between ‘race’ and sport’.¹² Moreover it is ‘too simplistic to argue that sport improves race relations, just as it is to say that sports can only reproduce racist ideologies’.¹³ However, discriminatory practises revealed through postcolonialism against the boycotting

⁸ Hargreaves, ‘*Sporting Females*’, 1994

⁹ *ibid.*, p.288

¹⁰ Tolvhed, ‘Sex Dilemmas, Amazons and Cyborgs’, p. 284

¹¹ *ibid.*, p;289; White ‘3 Women and Sport’, 2003

¹² Carrington and McDonald, ‘*Race, Sport and British Society*’, p. 2

¹³ *ibid.*

nations and athletes from Africa, India and the Caribbean were seen throughout the 1986 Games. Exemplified through a media discourse and rhetoric of inferiorisation, suppression and Western superiority, Said's and Spivak's theories of silencing of the subaltern, 'Othering' and worlding could be argued to have been displayed during the Games.¹⁴ The dichotomy imposed through colonial rule which thrives on a binary between the developed countries 'Us' and the developing countries 'Them' could be again argued to have infiltrated media accounts of the boycott, and were exacerbated by the mounting Commonwealth tensions at the time against the institutionalised system of racial segregation in South Africa. As Bale and Cronin explain, 'international sporting bodies and in the context of a global sports business...both [are] symbolic power structures indicative of a continuing informal imperialism'.¹⁵

Yet, an awareness of the role of Britain in the continuing of this oppressive system was evidenced through the reporting and action taken by individuals who protested at the Games in order to reverse the neo-liberal policy Margaret Thatcher had employed. Although not eliminating the impact of the discriminatory discourses, which could be argued to have perpetuated this informal imperialism and power relations, the acknowledgment of these boycotts as meaningful instead of self-seeking and futile could possibly display an awareness of Britain's positionality in the process of Apartheid alongside aiding those who had been silenced and marginalised, giving them a space to speak.

Delving into these histories revealed an uncomfortable but unavoidable parallel to the present day, yet as Smith explain 'historical case studies cannot be written in a scholarly vacuum; they must be relevant to contemporary issues and problems'.¹⁶ Women in sports is an issue which is still plagued by discrimination and exclusionary practises, with declining or limited exposure of women within the sporting sphere continuing to occur in the 21st century- organisationally

¹⁴ Said, '*Orientalism*', 1978; Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', 1988

¹⁵ Bale and Cronin, '*Sport and postcolonialism*', p.3

¹⁶ Smith, '*Nike is a goddess*', p. vi

and actively. It was 2012 before women were able to compete in every event on the Olympic programme, 2014 before they could participate in professional cricket in England and 2016 before they could play professional rugby.¹⁷ In elite sports, an arena where women have historically been considered out of place, although female athletes have been included in the Olympics for over a century, as Cavanagh and Sykes emphasise, the fact that sex verification testing is still considered necessary, as widely publicised by the Caster Semenya case, consequently suggests that the ‘athletic body is still coded as masculine’.¹⁸ Correspondingly, racism and colonial sentiments continue to pervade and permeate sporting culture, with stereotyping and misrepresentation a problem sporting athletes and participating individuals often encounter. As McDonald and Carrington argue, no work that seeks to document ‘the changing nature of national and racial identities in Britain’ can risk neglecting ‘... the central importance of sport to these processes’.¹⁹ Yet, sport continues to emanate a fair and objective facade, with it ‘held up by so many as the one great equaliser which transcends those immutable- race and gender- so long as everyone plays by the rules’.²⁰ However, the females and individuals of ethnic minority groups of the twentieth century within sport shared an awareness of inadequacies of the past, as well as a vision of new possibilities. In a similar way, athletes in the twenty first century have the same passion for change.²¹ Yet, a shift to equity means a focus not only on one group, but ‘on the system’, alongside acknowledging one’s privilege and position within the world.²²

¹⁷ Andy Bull, ‘Women’s sport is coming in waves and ready to shine during biggest summer, June 2017,’ <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2017/jun/23/women-sport-biggest-summer-chance-to-shine> [accessed 30/10/2017]

¹⁸ Sheila L. Cavanagh, and Heather Sykes. "Transsexual bodies at the Olympics: The International Olympic Committee's policy on transsexual athletes at the 2004 Athens summer games." *Body & Society* 12, no. 3 (2006), cited in "The discursive emergence of gendered physiological discrimination in sex verification testing." ed, Sarah Jane Blithe and Jenna N. Hanchey, *Women's Studies in Communication* 38, no. 4 (2015) p. 493

¹⁹ Carrington and McDonald, ‘Race, Sport and British Society’, p. 3

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ Hargreaves, ‘*Sporting Females*’, 1994

²² White, ‘3 Women and Sport’ p. 280

Overall, it is important to recognise that sports have ‘a strong tendency to reproduce dominant culture, but the potential to transform it’.²³ As Hargreaves concludes ‘by dissecting the history, current practice, and social trends that sport follows, you can begin to appreciate both how far we have advanced in the promotion of sport for all while recognizing how far we still have to go’.²⁴

²³ Hargreaves, ‘*Sporting Females*’, p. 289

²⁴ *ibid.*, p.16

Bibliography

Primary Sources

The Commonwealth Games Archive:

- 1986 Commonwealth Games Official Athletes Manuel
- Hutchison, James. *XII Commonwealth Games Scotland 1986: The Official History*, Routledge, 1986
- Matthews, Peter and Stan Greenberg, *The Official 1986 Commonwealth Games Book*, Opax Publishing Ltd, 1986
- Report by the Commonwealth Games Council for Scotland for the period 1983- 1986 containing results of the 1986 Games Edinburgh, Scotland, 1986
- The XII Commonwealth Games Scotland 1986 24th July- 2nd August An Action Replay, 1986

Newspapers:

The Commonwealth Games Archive:

- The Edinburgh Advertiser
- The Games News
- The Scotsman
- Village View

ProQuest Historical Newspapers:

- The Guardian
- The Observer
- The Sunday Times

Google Newspaper Archive:

- The Evening Times
- The Herald

Video Footage:

- YouTube

Figures:

Figure 1: Merlene Ottey- Page and Judy Oakes, *Official Commonwealth Games Book*, 1986, p. 92

Figure 2: Sheila Sherwood, *Official Commonwealth Games Book*, 1986, p. 149

Figure 3: Mary Peters, *Official Commonwealth Games Book*, 1986, p. 132

Figure 4: Neroi Fairhall, *Official Commonwealth Games Book*, 1986, p. 29

Figure 5: Judy Simpson, *Official Commonwealth Games Book*, 1986, p. 32

Figure 6: Liz Lynch, *Evening Times*, 29th July, 1986, p. 32

Figure 7: Steve Cram, *Evening Times*, 4th August, 1986, p.2

Figure 8: Harry Lawson and Jim Moran, *Evening Times*, 4th August, 1986, p. 2

Figure 9: Lisa Martin, *Official Commonwealth Games Book*, p. 45

Figure 10: Cartoon extract from *The Scotsman*, 27th July, 1986, p. 4

Secondary Sources

Books

Bale, John, and Mike Cronin, eds. *Sport and postcolonialism*. Oxford: Berg, 2003.

Bateman, Derek, and Derek Douglas. *Unfriendly Games: Boycotted and Broke: the Inside Story of the 1986 Commonwealth Games*. Mainstream Publishing Projects and the Glasgow Herald, 1986.

Birrell, Susan, and Cheryl L. Cole. "Women, sport, and culture." Human Kinetics, 1994.

Carrington, Ben, and Ian McDonald, eds. *Race', sport and British society*. Routledge, 2001.

Clark, Nancy L., and William H. Worger. *South Africa: The rise and fall of apartheid*. Routledge, 2016.

Clifford, Nick, Meghan Cope, Tom Gillespie, Shaun French, and Gill Valentine. "1 Getting Started in Geographical." *Key Methods in Geography* Sage, 2016.

Costa, D. Margaret, and Sharon Ruth Guthrie. *Women and sport: Interdisciplinary perspectives*. Human Kinetics, 1994.

Eitzen, D. Stanley. *Fair and foul: Beyond the myths and paradoxes of sport*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.

Foucault, Michel. *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. Pantheon, 1980.

Freund, Alexander, and Alistair Thomson. "Introduction: oral history and photography." In *Oral History and Photography*, pp. 1-23. Palgrave Macmillan US, 2011.

Fry, Michael. *The Scottish Empire*. Phantassie, East Lothian [Scotland]: Tuckwell; Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2001.

Hargreaves, Jennifer. *Sporting females: Critical issues in the history and sociology of women's sport*. Routledge, 1994.

Hargreaves, John. *Sport, power and culture. A social and historical analysis of popular sports in Britain*. Polity Press, 1986.

Houlihan, Barrie, ed. *Sport and society: a student introduction*. Sage, 2007.

Hylton, Kevin. *'Race'and sport: critical race theory*. Routledge, 2008.

Jarvie, Grant. *Sport, culture and society: an introduction*. Routledge, 2013.

Lindsey, Emma. "11 Notes from the sports desk Reflections on race, class and." *Race', Sport and British Society* (2002): 188.

Mangan, James Anthony, and Roberta J. Park, eds. *From fair sex to feminism: Sport and the socialization of women in the industrial and post-industrial eras*. Routledge, 2013.

Mason, Tony. *Sport in Britain: a social history*. Cambridge University Press, 1989.

McEwan, Cheryl. *Postcolonialism and development*. Routledge, 2008.

Osborne, Carol A., and Fiona Skillen, eds. *Women in sports history*. Routledge, 2011.

Said, Edward. *"Orientalism: Western concepts of the Orient."* Routledge and Kegan and Paul, 1978.

Sharp, Joanne. *Geographies of postcolonialism*. Sage, 2008.

Smith, Lissa, ed. *Nike is a goddess: The history of women in sports*. Atlantic Monthly Press, 1998.

Strange, Julie-Marie, and Francesca Carnevali, eds. *Twentieth-century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change*. Pearson Education, 2007.

Tinkler, Penny. *Using photographs in social and historical research*. Sage, 2013.

White, Anita. "3 Women and sport in the UK." *Sport and Women* (2003): 35.

Young, Robert. *Postcolonialism: An historical introduction*. John Wiley & Sons, 2016.

Chapters in Books

Appleby, Karen M., and Elaine Foster. "Gender and sport participation." In *Gender relations in sport*, pp. 1-20. SensePublishers, 2013.

Birrell Susan and Nancy Theberge, 'Ideological Control of Women in Sport', in in *Women and sport: Interdisciplinary perspectives*, ed. Margaret D., Costa and Sharon Ruth Guthrie, Human Kinetics, 1994.

Birrell, Susan, and Nancy Theberge, 'Structural Constraints Facing Women in Sport' in *Women and sport: Interdisciplinary perspectives*, ed. Costa, D. Margaret, and Sharon Ruth Guthrie. Human Kinetics, 1994.

Bryson, Lois. "Sport and the maintenance of masculine hegemony." In *Women's studies international forum*, vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 349-360. Pergamon, 1987.

Fisher, Leslee A., Susannah K. Knust, and Alicia J. Johnson. "Theories of gender and sport." In *Gender relations in sport*, pp. 21-38. SensePublishers, 2013.

Green, A. "The future of national libraries and archives.", in *Myths, Memories and Futures: The National Library and National Museum in the Story of Wales*, ed. John Osmond, Sage, 2007.

Greenleaf, Christy, and Trent A. Petrie. "Studying the athletic body." In *Gender relations in sport*, pp. 119-140. SensePublishers, 2013.

Hult Joan S. 'The Story of Women's Athletics: Manipulating a Dream 1890-1985', in *Women and sport: Interdisciplinary perspectives*, ed. Margaret D., Costa and Sharon Ruth Guthrie, Human Kinetics, 1994.

Jordanova L. 'Approaching Visual Materials', in *Research methods for history*, ed. Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire, Edinburgh University Press, 2016.

King, M. 'Working With/In the Archives', in *Research methods for history*, ed Lucy Faire and Simon Gunn Edinburgh University Press, 2012.

Lavoi, Nicole M. "Gender and sport media." In *Gender relations in sport*, pp. 39-52. SensePublishers, 2013.

Levermore, Roger. "Sport-in-international development: Theoretical frameworks." In *Sport and international development*, pp. 26-54. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2009.

Parratt, Catriona M. 'From the History of Women in Sport to Women's Sport History: A Research Agenda, in *Women and sport: Interdisciplinary perspectives*, ed. Costa, D. Margaret, and Sharon Ruth Guthrie. Human Kinetics, 1994.

Journal Articles

Bandy, Susan J. "Gender and the 'cultural turn in the study of sport and physical cultures.'" *Sport in Society* 19, no. 5 (2016): 726-735.

Bernstein, Alina. "Is it time for a victory lap? Changes in the media coverage of women in sport." *International review for the sociology of sport* 37, no. 3-4 (2002): 415-428.

Besnier, Niko, and Susan Brownell. "Sport, modernity, and the body." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (2012): 443-459.

Biccum, April R. "Interrupting the discourse of development: On a collision course with postcolonial theory." *Culture, Theory & Critique* 43, no. 1 (2002): 33-50.

Bingham, Adrian. "The digitization of newspaper archives: Opportunities and challenges for historians." *Twentieth Century British History* 21, no. 2 (2010): 225-231.

Blithe, Sarah Jane, and Jenna N. Hanchey. "The discursive emergence of gendered physiological discrimination in sex verification testing." *Women's Studies in Communication* 38, no. 4 (2015): 486-506.

Bryson, Lois. "Sport and the oppression of women." *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology* 19, no. 3 (1983): 413-426.

Cavanagh, Sheila L., and Heather Sykes. "Transsexual bodies at the Olympics: The International Olympic Committee's policy on transsexual athletes at the 2004 Athens summer games." *Body & Society* 12, no. 3 (2006): 75-102.

Darnell, Simon C. "Orientalism through sport: towards a Said-ian analysis of imperialism and 'Sport for Development and Peace'." *Sport in society* 17, no. 8 (2014): 1000-1014.

Dawson, Michael. "Breaking away from the 'big boys'? Jamaican and 'White Commonwealth' expectations at the 1966 British Empire & Commonwealth Games." *Sport in History* 34, no. 3 (2014): 431-453.

Donnelly, Peter. "Approaches to social inequality in the sociology of sport." *Quest* 48, no. 2 (1996): 221-242.

Hartmann, Douglas. "The politics of race and sport: resistance and domination in the 1968 African American Olympic protest movement." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 19, no. 3 (1996): 548-566.

Heggie, Vanessa. "Testing sex and gender in sports; reinventing, reimagining and reconstructing histories." *Endeavour* 34, no. 4 (2010): 157-163.

Janks, Hilary. "Critical discourse analysis as a research tool." *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education* 18, no. 3 (1997): 329-342.

Kapoor, Ilan. "Hyper-self-reflexive development? Spivak on representing the Third World 'Other'." *Third World Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (2004): 627-647.

Kipping, Matthias, R. Daniel Wadhvani, and Marcelo Bucheli. "Analyzing and interpreting historical sources: A basic methodology." *Organizations in time: History, theory, methods* (2014): 305-329.

Laucella, Pamela C., Marie Hardin, Steve Bien-Aimé, and Dunja Antunovic. "Diversifying the sports department and covering women's sports: A survey of sports editors." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* (2016): 1077699016654443.

Magee, Karl. "Boycotts and Bailouts: The Archives of the Commonwealth Games Council of Scotland." *African Research & Documentation* 116 (2011): 25.

McDowell, Matthew L., and Fiona Skillen. "The 1986 Commonwealth Games: Scotland, South Africa, sporting boycotts, and the former British Empire." *Sport in Society* 20, no. 3 (2017): 384-397.

Messner, Michael A. "Sports and male domination: The female athlete as contested ideological terrain." *Sociology of sport journal* 5, no. 3 (1988): 197-211.

Morgan, Denise N., and Timothy V. Rasinski. "The power and potential of primary sources." *The Reading Teacher* 65, no. 8 (2012): 584-594.

Njororai, W. W. S. "Women athletes emerging from the shadow of men in Kenya: evidence from the Commonwealth, Olympic and World Athletics Championships." *Sport in Society* 19, no. 7 (2016): 1066-1082.

Osborne, C.A. and Skillen, F., 2015. Women in Sport. *Women's History Review*, 24(5), pp.655-661.

Polley, Martin. "Introduction: The Empire and Commonwealth Games and the challenge of history." (2014): 383-389.

Schwartz, Joan M., and Terry Cook. "Archives, records, and power: the making of modern memory." *Archival science* 2, no. 1-2 (2002): 1-19.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the subaltern speak?" *Can the subaltern speak? Reflections on the history of an idea* (1988): 21-78.

Sylvester, Christine. "Development studies and postcolonial studies: disparate tales of the 'Third World'." *Third World Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (1999): 703-721.

Tolvhed, Helena. "Sex Dilemmas, Amazons and Cyborgs: Feminist Cultural Studies and Sport." *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research* 5, no. 2 (2013): 273-289.

Vertinsky, Patricia A. "Gender relations, women's history and sport history: A decade of changing enquiry, 1983-1993." *Journal of Sport History* 21, no. 1 (1994): 1-24.

Whitson, David, and Donald Macintosh. "Gender & power: Explanations of gender inequalities in Canadian national sport organisations." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 24, no. 2 (1989): 137-150.

Wiederkehr, Stefan. "'We shall never know the exact number of men who have competed in the Olympics posing as women': Sport, gender verification and the Cold War." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 4 (2009): 556-572.

Williams, Jean. "Representing Self, Community and Nation: The Empire and Commonwealth Games Careers of Influential British Women Athletes 1930–1966." *Sport in History* 34, no. 3 (2014): 476-497.

Wodak, Ruth. "Critical discourse analysis at the end of the 20th century." *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 32, no. 1-2 (1999): 185-193.

Websites

Andy Bull, 'Women's sport is coming in waves and ready to shine during biggest summer, June 2017,

<https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2017/jun/23/women-sport-biggest-summer-chance-to-shine> [accessed 30/10/2017]

Commonwealth Games Federation, *The role of the CGF*,

<https://www.thecgf.com/about/role.asp> [accessed 8/11/2017]

Sponsorship intelligence, Games of the XXIX Olympiad, Beijing 2008 Global Television and Online Media Report, 2009,

https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/IOC/How_We_Do_It/Broadcasters/EN_Beijing_2008_Audience_Report.pdf [accessed 8/11/2017]

sportscotland, *Equality at Sports Scotland*, 4 September 2017,

<https://sportscotland.org.uk/about-us/equality-at-sportscotland/> [accessed 8/11/2017]

