

Revisiting Life Stories of Famous Women Golfers

Helena Reis

CIEO (Research Centre for Spatial and Organizational Dynamics)
School of Management, Hospitality and Tourism
University of Algarve, Portugal

Antónia Correia

CEFAGE, University of Algarve, Portugal
School of Tourism, Sport and Hospitality
Universidade Europeia, Portugal

Abstract

The game of golf is not just sport but also a leisure activity with economic impacts in the tourism sector. It is also one of the last male bastions in sports showing a high masculine hegemony in the countries where the game was introduced by the British. The facilitators/constraints theory has been widely used by tourism and leisure scholars to embed the decision-making processes of choice of destination, company to travel, and almost all decisions related to travelling or choosing a leisure activity. Departing from a list by Reis and Correia (2013a) that maps the most frequent and consistent factors found in the literature, the present research intends to highlight factors that can be found in life stories of famous female golf players from the 18th and 19th centuries in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland and USA.

Data were collected from narratives (biographies, autobiographies and historical golf books) of 25 female golfers in a highly discriminatory era. Results suggest that their participation is related to intrapersonal factors such as *past experience* and *motivation*, but also to interpersonal factors that mostly restrain women, such as “the ethic of care”, among others. Structural factors like *cultural/social traditions*, i.e., the gendered male-dominated focus of the game, act as strong constraints. This study is a contribution to contextualize the discrimination process from its early beginning. Furthermore, it provides a historical perspective adding insights into how we comprehend gender in sports, as it has evolved. The limitation of the study derives from the main use of secondary data (including biographies written at a later date) but considering the era it refers to this is the only way to frame a phenomenon that persisted to date.

Keywords: Golf; Gender Asymmetries; Facilitators/Constraints; Historical Ethnographical Approach; Life Stories

Introduction

Golf historians found evidence that similar forms of the game were already known in ancient times and played from Rome to China (Crane 1991; Flannery and Leech 2004; Hudson and Hudson 2010; Hudson Jr. 2008). Historians Flannery and Leech (2004) elaborate around the manifest resemblance of the golf etiquette and equipment with the Dutch game *Kolf* or *Ijskolf* (on ice), from the 17th century. However, the rules of modern golf were first laid down in 1744 by the Gentlemen Golfers of Leith, (now the Honourable

Revisiting Life Stories of Famous Women Golfers

Company of Edinburgh Golfers), who wrote the Rules of Golf for the Annual Challenge for the Edinburgh Silver Club (<http://golf.about.com>).

Golf could be seen as the ideal sport for men and women, due to its handicapping measure system; nevertheless, the low participation of women indicates otherwise. That is why this subject has been a topic of leisure research: as women potentiate a market-segment that can contribute to the economic growth of this activity, it becomes crucial to understand what factors inhibit or facilitate women's participation. To accomplish that, this study advances that a historical ethnographical approach to the early days of this practice may bring insights into what keeps women away from golf.

It is undeniable that the British were the great popularizers of this sport spreading it worldwide, along with the banning of women from the clubhouses that prevailed in British clubs, perpetuating their cultural tradition of the *for-gentlemen-only* spaces (Chambers 1995; McGinnis and Gentry 2006; Vamplew 2010). Illustrating a generalized male attitude, George (2010) claims that “men did not want to be distracted by the chatter of female voices or hampered in their areas of play, so women were not welcomed on fairways or for that matter in clubhouses” (George 2010 : 289). Actually, female admission or even participation was subject to men's approval. Various researchers conform to Haig-Muir's (2000) observation: “women's access to, and participation in, sporting and social activities was accordingly controlled, constrained and channelled in the interests of hegemonic masculinity” (Haig-Muir 2000 : 19).

The main objective of the present study is two-fold in ascertaining how and why this sport started to be considered a men's sport, to establish the origins of this presupposition and to understand how, despite this assumption, some women from the 19th and 20th centuries, excelled in golf against all odds.

Their stories were recovered here to offer a perspective of how discrimination could be overcome. A stream of studies examines discriminatory practices in present-day golf (McGinnis *et al.* 2009; Reis and Correia 2013b) but works outlining these inequities from a historical perspective are scarce, to the authors' best knowledge. Assuming that these gender inequities stem from the origins of golf, the present research attempts to frame this phenomenon since “you have to know the past to understand the present” (Dr. Carl Sagan 1934 -1996). Historical analysis is the first step to comprehend and outline the contemporary situation. The secondary data used in this study derive from autobiographies, narratives and books by golf historians (Bell 2001; Chambers 1995; Crane 1991; Hudson Jr. 2008; Kahn 2011; Mair 1992; Tinkler 2004), who highlighted gender inequities in this sport.

The authors of this study used a historical ethnographic approach and analyzed life stories of famous women golfers by means of content analysis. According to Jennings (2010): “since there is no interaction between the researcher and the writer or producer of the document, the data and/or empirical material collected are spontaneous and are not mediated by the interaction between the researcher and the researched” (Jennings 2010 : 75), this being one of the best sources to analyze this topic. This study embeds in the facilitators (Raymore 2002) and constraints (Jackson 2005) paradigm, following a body of research on the decision to participate in travel and leisure activities. Reis and Correia (2013a) advanced a map of the three dimensions of factors – intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural – (Crawford, Jackson and Godbey 1991; Godbey, Crawford and Shen 2010) that influence participation in a sport such as golf. The idea is to identify these facilitators and constraints in the life stories of 25 pioneer female golfers. Results are expected to show that a set of facilitators are perceived by the pioneer female golfers (family or friends' support) while others act as constraints (exclusion from clubs, race discrimination or the “ethics of care”).

By studying the environments in which female golfers lived and what gender prejudice they experienced, as well as what constraints they had to overcome in those early times, one may better understand gender barriers in sports and leisure that persisted until the present day.

This study contributes to the literature in different streams: first, the analysis of life stories from the 19th and 20th centuries allows a framing of the beginning of the exclusion/discrimination in the practice of golf. This is highly relevant since those were the years when the exclusion of women was more prominent. Second, the study underlines the factors that mostly supported this *status quo*, which can provide guidelines for contemporary women to cope with inequitable practices, not only in sports/golf but also in the larger context of leisure activities.

Following this introduction, section two of this article presents the theoretical framework that supports this research, providing a brief history of golf and highlighting gender discrepancies in sports/golf. Section three shows the research methods, covering the facilitator/constraint factors that induce or inhibit sports participation, as well as the sample and data collection. The fourth section presents the findings, and the final one includes the conclusions, limitations, and perspectives for further research.

Theoretical Background

2.1 Brief history of golf and women's exclusion from clubhouses

It is a well-documented fact that Mary, Queen of Scots, played golf frequently, and her clubs were carried by students whom she used to call “cadets.” This may be the origin of the word “caddie” (thepeoplehistory.com/golfhistory). In fact, she played golf a few days after the murder of her husband, Lord Darnley: “George Buchanan in *Return Scotarium Historia*, rails against Mary, claiming that she *indulged in sports that were clearly unsuitable to women.*” (Flannery and Leech 2004 : 261). According to the authors “certainly no other woman was known to have played golf until the nineteenth century, when the hardy fishwives of Musselburgh took to the links” (Flannery and Leech 2004 : 261).

Since its beginnings, golf has been considered a male dominated activity. Genevieve Hecker the author of the first book of “Golf for Women” written in 1904, registers: “when women in America first began to play golf, they were allowed at many of the big clubs to use the links only at certain hours on certain days when it was thought that their presence would not incommode the Lords of Creation. The idea that a woman could learn to play a really good and serious game of golf was laughed to scorn” (Hecker1904 : 14). In his research about British golf clubs before 1914, Vamplew (2010) underlined that “the clubhouse itself offered a masculine sanctum where men could dine, drink, play cards or billiards, and read the papers, all free from female involvement save for the club servants” (Vamplew 2010 : 372).

When looking at narratives and life stories of British women who excelled in golf in the 19th and 20th centuries, examples of exclusion from clubhouses or practice limitations are difficult to accept from a contemporary perspective, which values even more the effort and persistence those women showed when facing prejudice.

Joyce Wethered (1901-1997), one of the best players of her time, recalls:

Often they [women] wouldn't be allowed in the clubhouse and I remember an occasion when, while waiting for my partners to emerge from the locker rooms at Sandwich, I kept my hands and fingers warm on the radiator of someone's Rolls Royce. (Mair 1992 : 95)

Jeanne Bisgood (1945-1969) and Frances “Bunty” Stephens (1924-1978) were unexpectedly invited for tea. Jeanne remembers

One Wednesday afternoon [around 1952], we were invited for tea by the “Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers” and thought this was a great honor, to be the first women ever to enter Muirfield, but then we read a large notice in the foyer. It said, “The club committee regrets the inconvenience to members caused by admitting women to the building”(Crane 1991 : 72)

According to McGinnis and Gentry (2006 : 239) golf has always been very elitist

and exclusive, associated with “The old, White, rich men” imposing a snobbish posture towards class, race and gender, in an attempt to protect a highly selective atmosphere. From a modern perspective, Vamplew (2010) refers to Bourdieu's (1997) view point: “the membership of a golf club was a major modern indicator of social capital, a concept which he viewed instrumentally believing that individuals would intentionally build relationships within the club for their own benefit, especially the facilitation of business networks” (Vamplew 2010 : 360). Other authors (Chambers 1995; Hudson Jr. 2008) report the same opinion “golf links and country clubs are the locale for developing professional and business contacts. Golf and the country club lubricate the advance of careers” (Hudson Jr.2008 : 117).

Presently, a vast research on physical activity indicates that women are more aware of its benefits and are willing to get involved/play (Haig-Muir 2000; Laurendeau and Sharara 2008; McGinnis *et al.* 2005). Additionally, the recent trend to build more women-friendly courses, stemming partially from economic reasons, may not be so recent. According to Vamplew (2010) “some of the newer clubs of the 1980s had allowed women membership from their foundation (...) it was in the financial interest of men to have a thriving ladies section as (...) they made a contribution to the club's coffers via purchases at the professional's shop, payment for lessons, hiring of caddies, and, when allowed, using the clubhouse for meals and refreshments” (Vamplew 2010 : 364; 372).

Recently, there has been pressure from golf clubs to promote initiatives targeted at the female market-segment, since they can contribute to the economic development of this activity by purchasing green fees, paying for lessons, equipment and merchandizing, among others.

2.2 Gender asymmetries in women's participation

Women's discrimination can be traced to ancient times, imposed by an incipient patriarchal social organization based on physical strength and attribution of tasks: hunting, providing food and shelter as opposed to giving birth, feeding, nursing (Engels 1884; Veblen 1898-9). Societies have excluded women from different sectors of public life. Sports in general and golf in particular are no exception. For centuries, golf has been played mostly by men. Nevertheless, by the end of the 19th century/beginning of the 20th, it is possible to find famous women who played golf and excelled in a masculine world.

Leisure literature regarding the lack of female participation in physical activity and male-dominated sports has increased in the last decade (Abrahamsen *et al.* 2007; Lloyd and Little 2010; Roster 2007) but there is still a need for further research. Studies exploring the social context of women in golf (Arthur *et al.* 2009; Pyles 2007; Vamplew 2010) are scarce. Moreover, works about the role of women in sports show significant differences in relation to men, concerning participation, behavior and performance, justifying those behavioral differences in physical dissimilarities or distinct ways of perceiving competitiveness (Callan and Thomas 2006; Moy and Liaw 1998). This line of study highlights that physical difference can be overcome and it is not the main reason to justify women's non-participation. Many authors (Lloyd and Little 2010; McGinnis *et al.* 2009; Stodolska and Shinew 2010) claim that profound social and psychological barriers continue, inducing behavior discrepancies rooted in cultural, traditional and social values.

2.3 Facilitators and Constraints in tourism

The work of several scholars in tourism presupposes that the three dimensions (3D) of factors by Crawford, Jackson and Godbey (1991) and Godbey, Crawford and Shen (2010) – intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural - may act as facilitators and/or constraints to the decision to participate or not on travel and tourism (Daniels, Rodgers and Wiggins 2005; Silva *et al.* 2010; Woodside *et al.* 2007); nature-based tourism (Nyaupane, Morais and Graefe 2004; Pennington-Gray and Kerstetter 2002), to name just a few. Over the last decades, the facilitators and constraints approach in sports participation has been recognized

as the most appropriate to understand sports decisions. Studies grounded on this theory with feasible results, are the ones by: sports such as skiing (Alexandris *et al.* 2011; Gilbert and Hudson 2000) football (Kim and Chalip 2004) or golf (Arthur *et al.* 2009; McGinnis and Gentry 2006; Reis and Correia 2013b), among others.

An ecological perspective of human development is concerned with understanding the contexts in which an individual exists (intrapersonal factors) and incorporates the interactions between the individuals (interpersonal factors) and the social structures of society (structural factors) to explain human development. From an ecological perspective individuals interact with the contexts in which they live their lives.

The literature defines constraints and facilitators as the factors (Jackson 1997), or conditions (Raymore 2002), that inhibit or facilitate participation. Raymore (2002) proposes that: "Facilitators to leisure are factors that are assumed by researchers and perceived or experienced by individuals to enable or promote the formation of leisure preferences and to encourage or enhance participation" (2002 : 39). Previous studies by McGuire and Norman (2005) differentiate "two types of constraints: limitors and prohibitors. The former are factors that reduce participation below desire levels; and the later are those factors responsible for the cessation or non-participation in an activity" (McGuire and Norman 2005, *in* Silva and Correia 2008 : 26). Lloyd and Little (2010) defend that "constraints on women's leisure time - physical activity have been well-documented and include **lack of money and skills, lack of perceived right to participation, and lack of access to leisure spaces** in which to participate (Currie 2004; Henderson 1994; Miller and Brown 2005; Wearing 1994)" (Lloyd and Little 2010 : 370). The authors support what can be considered a constraint almost unique to women, the "**ethics of care**" (Gilligan, 1882) a concept applied by Henderson and Allen (1991) to leisure studies: women "provide for the needs of others first (e.g. children, domestic partner) and neglect their own leisure needs" because they lack a sense of entitlement to leisure" (Henderson and Allen 1991 :371). As well, Miller and Brown (2005) acknowledge the importance of the "ethics of care": the role of caregiver within the family is attributed to women, creating a lack of perceived right to participation in leisure on women, who, unlike men, give precedence to family and work/domestic responsibilities over leisure involvement. Their study confirms that women have less free **time** to devote to leisure and are **less involved in organized leisure activities** outside the home than men (Talbot 1979, *in* Miller and Brown 2005 : 405).

While some of these factors function only as constraints, in other cases, the same factor may act as enabling or inhibitor depending on the situation, e.g. *family* may be the best incentive to play or the reason for women to abandon the practice. Further, since these factors do not function in a rigid process, some may relate to different dimensions; despite the fact that discrimination is socially constructed, therefore making it, by definition, interpersonal or intrapersonal, it is also the consequence of *cultural/social attitudes* that induce discriminatory practices inside organizations, thus belonging to the structural dimension. Being gender biased practices frequently ascribed to golf as a male-dominated activity that functions as an organization, the present research examines discriminatory practices under the structural constraints.

Several researchers find that these three dimensions interact in such a way that they cannot be considered independently so the borderlines between them fade away. Lloyd and Little (2010) defend that "constraints on women's leisure time - physical activity have been well-documented and include lack of money and skills, lack of perceived right to participation, and lack of access to leisure spaces in which to participate" (Lloyd and Little 2010 : 370). Haig-Muir (2000) also identified strong structural constraints which women face: "lack of equality and access, together with a conservative culture and outdated dress codes were the most prevalent" (Haig-Muir 2000 :34).

This research aims to observe if the factors found in literature as constraints and/or facilitators to women's participation in golf can be identified in the life stories of women who

excelled in this sport during the 19th and 20th centuries (Bell 2001; Chambers 1995; Crane 1991; Hudson Jr. 2008; Kahn 2011; Mair 1992; Tinkler 2004). As previously mentioned literature review on leisure and sports over the last decade, allowed Reis and Correia (2013a) to present a map of factors which the current study applied to the interpretation of the data collected in these pioneer women golfers' narratives, by means of content analysis. Understanding (1) whether these women perceived the same factors as their contemporary peers and (2) how these facilitators or constraints influenced female participation in this male-dominated sport, will disclose ways these women found to cope with gender bias in golf, enhance a theoretical contribution to the body of leisure research.

Methodology

The proposal for choosing narratives about women who became famous in golf stems from the wish to align data and dates documenting the female involvement that contributed to the history of golf, is couched in historical ethnography and allows a framing of the beginning of women's exclusion. Inspiration for analyzing these life stories came from the suggestion that "much information is stored, indexed, and retrieved in the form of stories" (Woodside *et al.* 2008 : 97).

Secondary data present disadvantages since some of the "narratives" used in the present study are not first-person accounts, but rather biographies written at a later date. Yet Jennings (2010) holds that "secondary data and/or empirical material sources enable researchers to go back in time to re-examine tourism phenomena. Secondary data and/or empirical material sources used in this way enable the prediction or forecasting of future events, trends and patterns. They also allow for comparisons to be made between data and/or empirical materials sets over time" (Jennings 2010 : 75). Moreover, the author explains that "secondary data or empirical material sources are those that have been produced by someone else for primary usage and are then used by another researcher not connected with the first project" (Jennings 2010 : 70).

The present research develops in several stages: a historical ethnographic approach was applied in order to examine life narratives of these 25 women, who challenged the masculine culture of the game. Accordingly, "qualitative researchers use ethnographic prose, historical narratives, first-person accounts, still photographs, life stories, fictionalized "facts" and biographical and autobiographical materials, among others" (Denzin and Lincoln 2011 : 12), which is why we consider it the most suitable approach to gain a holistic understanding of undisclosed facts. Hence, this study parsed "life stories, fictionalized 'facts' and biographical and autobiographical materials" in order to identify the factors that these female golfers perceived most. Quotations from their life stories will be introduced throughout the text to display the influence of the different factors on these women's decision to play.

Finally, content analysis offered the possibility to understand these stories. By means of the "purpose software tools", a "theme codebook" (La Pelle 2004; MacQueen 1998) was created including the three dimensions and the set of 33 factors that has emerged from the literature (Reis and Correia 2013a). Each reference, sentence or block of sentences is allocated to the corresponding factor (or more than one, when applicable). The two authors identified the factors in the life stories, coded, compared, discussed and adjusted the findings. The theme codebook allows for counting the number of instances per factor. Counting the number of times each factor appears is a result that indicates the pertinence of each factor (the higher number of times it is perceived/referred, the more important the factor is).

Sample and data collection

The present analysis focuses on two centuries – 19th and 20th. During this period and according to the available information, the biographies of the most representative women were selected for content analysis. A chosen sampling of life stories provides the interpretative data for this study. The attempt was to find different stories, and the sampling strategy used, is not to offer representativeness.

The criteria to choose these women's stories were their performance in golf, their ability to win or their provocative behavior in golf. The sample comprises: - five leaders or presidents of Ladies' clubs (Mrs. Hutchinson, Issette Pearson, Mrs. Reid, Maureen Garrett and Patty Berg); - two women, who were the first to be invited to a male clubhouse (Jeanne Bisgood and Frances “Bunty” Stephens); - three victims of racism (Anne Gregory, Althea Gibson and Nancy Lopez); - one woman with a peculiar behavior for her time, she being the first woman to wear trousers for a major competition in 1933 (Gloria Minoprio); - three women whose marriages were crucial to their participation or not in golf (Marley Spearmen, Rhoda Adair and May Hezlet); the remaining 11 women were chosen because of their family contexts (traditional, wealthy families or low-income families) and also because *friends' incentive* induced their option for golf, clarifying our purpose of finding whether intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors influence life environments and decisions to participate or not.

Figure 1 shows the sample of 25 women golfers chosen for this research.

19th Century	20th Century
<p>Issette Pearson (1862-1941) was founder of Surrey Ladies Golf Club and LGU and President of Surrey Ladies Golf Club (1900).</p>	<p>Joyce Wethered (1901-1997) was the finest striker of a golf ball Bobby Jones ever saw - male or female.</p>
<p>Mrs Hutchinson (1868) became the president of North Devon Ladies' Club.</p>	<p>Glenna Collet Vare (1903-1988) was the longest diver in US women's golf.</p>
<p>Mrs Reid was America's first recorded lady golfer was president of U.S.A.'s earliest golf club (1888).</p>	<p>Gloria Minoprio (1907-1958) the first British woman to wear trousers for a major competition in 1933.</p>
<p>Lottie Dod (1871- 1960) the youngest of the Dod four children. In 1904, USGA invited her to play and had to change their own rules to allow her admission.</p>	<p>Anne Gregory (1912-1990) was the "Queen of Negro Women's Golf", often victim of discrimination.</p>
<p>Lady Margaret Scott (1874-1938) was superior to any other girl players of her time. There were five golfers in her family, but Margaret was the only female player.</p>	<p>Patty Berg (1918-2006), American, was the first president of the LPGA and one of the original four women in the Hall of Fame.</p>
<p>Rhoda Adair (1878–1961) was Irish and won two British titles before getting married.</p>	<p>Maureen Garrett (1922 – 2011) in 1983 was the recipient of the USGA's Bobby Jones Award</p>
<p>Molly Graham (1880-1955), as a child, her father took her along to the golf course despite the club's ban on ladies.</p>	<p>Frances “Bunty” Stephens (1924-1978) was a top-class player, but was a tradesman's daughter. “Bunty” and Jeanne Bisgood (1945-1969) were the first women ever to enter Muirfield.</p>
<p>Beatrix Hoyt (1880-1963) became America's first notable lady golfer by winning three U.S. titles.</p>	<p>Althea Gibson [African American] (1927-2003) broke the colour barrier</p>
<p>May Hezlet (1882-1969) was the youngest winner of the British Amateur Golf Championship (1899).</p>	<p>Marley Spearmen (1928 - 2011) was a dancer. She tried golf and soon became a handicap four.</p>
<p>Margetet Curtis (1884-1965) played from the men's tees and is estimated to have won 750 competitions.</p>	<p>Wanda Morgan wanted to play cricket but persuaded by her parents, took golf instead. In 1935 was British Ladies Amateur Champion</p>
<p>The three Orr sisters (1890) as best local players were allowed to play over the men's course.</p>	<p>Anne Sander (1937) her father owned a golf course but he did not play golf.</p>
<p>Cecil Leitch (1891-1977) is one of the rare examples of a woman holding a full course record.</p>	<p>Nancy Lopez (1957) was not welcomed at the local country club because her family was Mexican-American.</p>
<p>Alexa Sterling (1897-1997) Canadian Champion.</p>	

Findings

In order to achieve our aims, we rely on Reis and Correia's (2013a) factor matrix that derived from the literature and displays the 3D of factors acting as constraints or/and facilitators to women's participation in golf. Our findings reveal that many of these factors could be identified in the life stories and narratives of the women in our sample. On the intrapersonal level, *motivation* and *past experience* are clearly the most influential facilitators and *preference for another sport* appears as an inhibitor. *Motivation* can be described as “the driving force within individuals that moves them to take a particular action” (Evans *et al.* 2006 : 4). Since these women are champions who excelled in a hostile environment, they had to be highly motivated in order to succeed: in 23 out of the 25 selected stories, this factor strongly contributed to success; *past experience* leading to knowledge/ability is also a steady path to accomplishment. Yet, two women had initially shown *preference for another sport*.

Table 1 shows the most relevant intrapersonal factors illustrated by extracts from the data.

Intrapersonal	Extracts from life stories	
Motivation (<i>facilitator</i>)	<i>I couldn't get enough of this fascinating game</i> (Bell 2001: 17).	
Past experience (<i>facilitator</i>)	<i>I was fortunate in having a good bit of athletic ability, but that alone wasn't enough</i> (Bell 2001:17).	
Preference for another sport (<i>constraint</i>)	<i>Wanda Morgan had started life determined to be a cricketer until her parents [persuaded her to take golf instead].She became British Champion</i> (Crane 1991: 62).	<i>The small but powerful Glenna was press-ganged by her worried parents into taking up golf instead of baseball</i> (Crane 1991:59).

The interpersonal factors proved to be essential to develop the attraction for the game and persist in it. Almost all the women in the sample spent their childhood in a golfing environment that proved to be crucial for their option: *The Leitch children were taught to play golf by their father and played endless games together* (Crane 1991 : 31). Therefore, the factor *family* or *friends' incentive* leads to participation. The influence of male elements of the family: father, brother(s), nephew or cousin is shown in 13 cases; three women learnt from friends of the family; five do not reference the family as drivers of their golf participation, but recognize its importance: *I'm not from a golfing family. My father owned a golf course but he had never played* - Anne Sander (Crane 1991 :77). Two women did not find support within the family. On the contrary, the *ethics of care* (Gilligan 1982) acts as constraint. Some women abandon golf when they get married and have children, which is in line with the research by McGinnis *et al.* (2005) and McGinnis and Gentry (2006). Contrary to these examples, the last woman, Marley Spearman, a 22-year-old dancer in London's West End, illustrates the *stimuli* of marriage, positive *spousal interaction*. Finally, in accordance with social traditional values, the more competitive champions declare that the best way to win is by *imitating men*, indicating a clear tacit acceptance of the male supremacy.

Table 2 shows the most relevant interpersonal factors illustrated by extracts from the data.

Interpersonal	Extracts from the stories	
Family incentive (facilitator)	<i>Lady Margaret Scott “learnt from her three brothers” (Crane 1991:18).</i>	<i>Sister of two of Royal Liverpool's greatest players, Molly Graham learnt her golf from her father (Crane 1991:24).</i>
Friends' incentive (facilitator)	<i>Alexa Sterling was a childhood friend of the great men's champion, Bobby Jones. She had grown up playing against men (Crane 1991:57).</i>	
Ethics of care (constraint)	<i>Rhoda won two British titles before marriage brought about early retirement (Crane 1991:22).</i>	<i>May Hezlet dropped out of the championship scene to concentrate on being a minister's wife (Mair 1992:28).</i>
Spousal interaction (facilitator)	<i>One wet day, whilst sheltering in the entrance of Harrods she spotted a sign that read, “Golf School”. She went inside for a free lesson. As her husband and his friends were keen golfers, Marley [Spearmen] thought a golf lesson would make an interesting conversation piece at the evening's dinner party (Crane 1991:74).</i>	
Imitating men (facilitator)	<i>You had to imitate the men's deliberate and mechanical club action if you were to get results - Alexa Sterling (Crane 1991:57).</i>	Joyce Wethered, considered the greatest female golfer of her time, wrote: <i>Playing with men stronger and better than oneself is the quickest and the most certain way of improvement for a girl (Mair 1992:74).</i>

The interpersonal and interpersonal dimensions mostly conform to later research on constraints and facilitators, and the structural dimension is the one that conveys the higher number of constraints to participation. Some of these factors highlight the classist aspects of golf: *traditional society, dress code, exclusion from clubhouses or race discrimination, social status or cultural and social attitudes*. Most of these women belonged to polite, wealthy and traditional families. McGinnis and Gentry (2006) claim that golf has always been elitist and exclusive, shielding a highly selective environment, clearly submitted to class, race and gender prejudice. In some cases, the *social status* associated with golf, facilitated women's participation, while in other cases, it did not: Edith, Emily and Aimee Orr were not welcomed since “they were the three daughters of a Turkish carpet importer” (Crane 1991 : 20). The *dress code* imposed on women, mainly the long skirts, made hitting the ball a difficult task. Thus, some women attempted to break this rule: Gloria Minoprio was highly criticized (above all by other women) as she was “the first British woman to wear trousers” (Crane 1991 :147). *Race discrimination* stood out in the 20th century, reflecting the societal conflicts American society underwent: Althea Gibson “broke the color barrier; she excelled at all sports...” (Hudson Jr. 2008 : 109,111). Or Nancy Lopez, who was not wanted at the local country club because her family was Mexican-American (Hudson Jr. 2008). Actually, some of these aspects may be less powerful today also due to the fact that women's role in society has been slowly changing, e.g. race discrimination in golf was clearly a consequence of the changes in social dimensions USA was undertaking. Conversely, new structural factors have emerged, such as lack of time or money, whereas the *exclusion from*

clubhouses may have turned into an interdiction of women to play on “men’s busiest days”, or the lack of facilities in the clubhouses, that are still noticeably unbalanced, among others.

Table 3 shows the most relevant structural factors illustrated by extracts from the data.

Structural	Extracts from life stories
Traditional society <i>(facilitator)</i>	Margaret Scott's family was very wealthy and built <i>their own golf course on the family estate</i> (Crane, 1991 : 18).
Social status <i>(constraint)</i>	Frances “Bunty” Stephens was a tradesman’s daughter: <i>Her outstanding talent was ignored to preserve the snobbish requirements of the game</i> (Crane 1991 : 71).
Dress code <i>(constraint)</i>	Gloria Minoprio was “the first British woman to wear trousers for a major competition [the English Championship in 1933]” (Crane 1991 : 147).
Exclusion from clubhouses <i>(constraint)</i>	<i>Often they [women] wouldn't be allowed in the clubhouse and I remember an occasion when, while waiting for my partners to emerge from the locker rooms at Sandwich, I kept my hands and fingers warm on the radiator of someone's Rolls Royce</i> [Joyce Wethered] (Mair 1992:95)
Race discrimination <i>(constraint)</i>	Anne Gregory [1 st African-American] faced aggravated discriminatory constraints due to her color: “ <i>The Queen of Negro Women's Golf - segregation prevented her from entering the highest stages</i> ”(Hudson, Jr. 2008 : 108).

Conclusions, Limitations And Perspectives For Future Research

This research is an attempt to compile data from narratives of famous women golfers' life stories. The authors selected 25 narratives– biographies, autobiographies and historical golf books. The period under study goes over the 19th - 20th centuries and covers the two major golf locations: UK (Scotland, England, Wales and Ireland) and USA. These women excelled in golf and what they have in common is the fact that they played golf at a time of exclusion and discrimination against them. This investigation uses a historical ethnography approach and these life stories were analyzed through content analysis, by means of the construction of a theme code book. By reading this variety of life stories the authors of the present article became aware of constraint/facilitator factors these women faced in order to play and stay in golf, despite the unfriendly environment of the sport. Results of the analysis were grouped into three major types of factors: intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural. These factors were shown to be among the strongest in influencing female participation in this sport whether in a positive or negative sense.

Findings suggest that there has been a clear discrimination pattern that excludes women from this activity and their efforts for participation were stopped many times. On the other hand, it is also patent that behind every female champion there is a male encouragement (father, brother, husband) functioning as a facilitator factor. As a result of this analysis, in order to identify what factors make a woman choose to participate in a male activity, the study found evidence that the intrapersonal *motivation and past experience* as well as the interpersonal factors *family references and incentive, life context and friend's incentive,*

imitation act mostly as facilitators to participation. The fact that these women came from *traditional wealthy families* and *polite societies*, as well as the *geographical contexts* where they spent their childhood and adolescence, influenced their options. *Spousal interaction* was shown to be a two sided coin: some women started playing golf to please their husbands, surprisingly turning into great players, whilst others abandon golf when they get married, interrupting a promising career. On the contrary, the *ethics of care*, meaning accommodating their parents or children's wishes, in many cases, is an obstacle to participation.

However, the strongest constraints found in the present study are in the structural domain, namely the *exclusion from clubhouses* and the *men's fear of being beaten by women*, which are difficult obstacles to overcome. In many cases, these women only had access to the male golf courses, competitions and a golfing career through male figures, who in any case, were ready to help them when realizing their potential. The Ladies golf courses and separate competitions appeared as a solution but, in the end, this alternative contributed to the establishment of a gap that prevailed over time. Again, McGinnis and Gentry's (2006) conclusions are met: *prevailing gender norms* and *course conduciveness* that clearly privilege men are still highly emphasized today. This correspondence may indicate that although times are different, that many aspects of women's life style have changed, that women's positioning in society is more adjusted and that many golf courses are now inclined to make women feel welcome in their premises, the truth is that structural factors are still very pronounced. Under the structural dimension, it was possible to find some factors that now are not so visible, or faded away, in the present day, such as *dress code*, having to belong to a *traditional society* or even the *exclusion from clubhouses* and *race discrimination*, which provides grounds for future research to disclose this evolution. Moreover, to what extent these structural factors may be considered as discrimination or tradition is the main facilitator for the researcher to keep on further researching this topic.

To conclude: the interpersonal dimension presents a higher number of facilitators, such as family or friends, while in the structural dimension the only enabler that emerged was the fact that "belonging to a traditional, wealthy family" facilitated female golf participation. On the other hand, constraints are very strong: discrimination under the form of exclusion, race or cultural/social behaviors: being the daughter of a tradesman was not acceptable in this elitist sport, which highlights the classist aspects of golf. These constraints rely on the long-time exclusion of women from clubs and golf itself, dictated by male hegemonic patterns, this being one consequence of women's role in society.

This study has limitations that derive mainly from being based on secondary sources rather than primary sources. Some of these stories are autobiographies but most narratives used are not first person accounts, (as most of these women are not alive today) but instead biographies written at a later date by authors that are clearly aware of discrimination. One may assume that some of the declared prejudices comprised in these writings are more evident than they would have been in a first person narrative, as the discrimination might have been more difficult to discern from a subjective viewpoint.

Nevertheless, if on one hand, this is a limitation, on the other hand, it becomes one of its greater contributions, since this study presents a historical approach that is scarce in this field and contextualizes and provides the framework for discrimination processes. In addition, this research sheds light on the exclusion of women, framing this social behavior over the centuries.

References

- Abrahamsen, F. E.; Roberts, G. C. & Pensaard, A. M. (2007). Achievement goals and gender effects on multidimensional anxiety in national elite sports. *Psychology of Sport & Exercise*. doi:10.1016/j.psychsport.2007.06.005, 1-16.
- Alexandris, K., Funk, D. & Pritchard, M. (2011). The impact of constraints on motivation, activity attachment, and skier intentions to continue. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 43 (1), 56-

Arthur, M.M., Van Buren III, H.J. & Del Campo, R.G. (2009). The impact of American politics on perceptions of women's golfing abilities. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 68 (2), 517-539.

Bell, P.K. (2001), *The Gift of Golf*, Pine Needles Lodge and Golf Club and The Pilot, USA.

Callan, S.J. & Thomas, J.M. (2006). Gender, skill, and performance in amateur golf: an examination of NCAA Division I golfers", *The Sports Journal*, ISSN: 1543-9518. available at: <http://www.thesportjournal.org/article/gender-skill-and-performance-amateur-golf-examination-ncaa-division-i-golfers/> (accessed April 8, 2016).

Chambers, M. (1995), *The unplayable lie – The untold story of women and discrimination in American golf* – Pocket Books, NY, USA.

Crane, M. (1991) *The Story of Ladies' Golf*, Stanley Paul & Co. Ltd, London.

Crawford, D., Jackson, E. & Godbey, G. (1991). A hierarchical model of leisure constraints. *Leisure Sciences*, 13, 309-320.

Currie, J. (2004). Motherhood, stress and the exercise experience: Freedom or constraint? *Leisure Studies*, 3, 225–242.

Daniels, M., Rodgers, E. & Wiggins, B. (2005). 'Travel tales': an interpretative analysis of constraints and negotiations to pleasure travel as experienced by persons with physical disabilities. *Tourism Management*, 26, 919-930.

Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y.S. (2011) *The SAGE handbook of qualitative Research*. SAGE Publications, Inc., California, USA.

Drakou, A., Tzetzis, G. & Mamantzi, K. (2010). Leisure constraints experienced by university students in Greece. *The Sport Journal*, (accessed April 8, 2016).

Engels, F. (1884) *A Origem da Família, da Propriedade Privada e do Estado* [Origin of the Family, Private Property, and The State] Coleção Síntese, Editorial Presença, Lisboa.

Evans, M.; Jamal, A. & Foxall, G., (2006), *Consumer Behaviour*, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, England.

Flannery, M. & Leech, R. (2004) *Golf Through the Ages, Six Hundred Years of Golfing Art*, Limited Edition.

George, J. (2010). "Ladies first"?: establishing a place for women golfers in British golf clubs, 1867-1914. *Sport in History*, 30 (2), 288-308.

Gilbert, D. & Hudson, S. (2000). Tourism demand constraints: a skiing participation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27 (4), 906-925.

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a Different Voice*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Godbey, G., Crawford, D. & Shen, X. (2010), Assessing Hierarchical Leisure Constraints Theory after Two Decades, *Journal of Leisure Research*, 42 (1), 111-134.

Haig-Muir, M. (2000). Many a slip 'twixt cup and the lip: equal opportunity and Victorian golf clubs. *Sporting Traditions*, 17 (1), 19-38.

Hecker, G. (1904), *Golf for Women*, The Baker and Taylor Company, NY, published by Forgotten Books, 2012, [Amazon.co.UK](http://www.amazon.co.uk).

Henderson, K. (1994). Perspectives on analyzing gender, women, and leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 26 (2), 119–137.

Henderson, K. & Allen, K. (1991). The ethic of care: Leisure possibilities and constraints for women. *Society and Leisure*, 14 (1), 97–114.

Henderson, K. & Bialeschki, M. (2005). Leisure and active lifestyles: Research reflections. *Leisure Sciences*, 27 (5), 355–365.

http://golf.about.com/cs/historyofgolf/a/hist_firstrules.htm, (Accessed April, 3, 2016)

Hudson Jr., D. (2008). *Women in Golf*. USA: Praeger Publishers.

Hudson, S. and Hudson, L. (2010). *Golf Tourism*, Goodfellow Publishers Ltd, Woodeaton, Oxford, U.K.

Jackson, E. (Ed.) (2005). Constraints to leisure. State College, PA, Venture Publishing Inc., pp. 75-88.

- Jennings, G. (2010), *Tourism research*, 2nd edition, John Wiley & Sons Australia, Ltd.
- Khan, S. (2011), Gendered Leisure: are women more constrained in travel for leisure? *TOURISMOS: an International Multidisciplinary Journal of Tourism*, 6 (1), 105-121.
- Kim, N. & Chalip, L. (2004). Why travel to the FIFA World Cup? Effects of motives, background, interest, and constraints. *Tourism Management*, 25, 695-707.
- La Pelle, N. (2004). Simplifying Qualitative Data Analysis Using General Purpose Software Tools. *Field Methods*, 16 (1), 85-108.
- Laurendeau, J. & Sharara, N. (2008). "Women Could Be Every Bit As Good As Guys" Reproductive and Resistant Agency in Two "Action" Sports. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 32 (1), 24-47.
- Lloyd, K. & Little, D. (2010). Self-Determination Theory as a Framework for Understanding Women's Psychological Well-Being Outcomes from Leisure-Time Physical Activity. *Leisure Sciences*, 32 (4), 369-385.
- MacQueen, K.E. (1998). Code book development for team-based qualitative analysis. *Cultural Anthropology Methods Journal*, 10, 31-36.
- Mair, L. (1992), *One Hundred Years of Women's Golf*, Mainstream Publishing Company, UK.
- McGinnis, L. & Gentry, J. (2006). Getting Past the Red Tees: Constraints Women Face in Golf and Strategies to Help Them Stay. *Journal of Sport Management*, 20, 218-247.
- McGinnis, L., Gentry, J. & McQuillan, J. (2009). Ritual-based behavior that reinforces hegemonic masculinity in golf: variations in women golfers' responses. *Leisure Sciences*, 31 (1), 19-36.
- McGuire, F. & Norman, W. (2005). "The role of constraints in successful aging: inhibiting or enabling" in Jackson, E. (Ed.), *Constraints to Leisure*, Venture Publishing, Inc., State College, PA, 89-101.
- Miller, Y. & Brown, W. (2005). Determinants of Active Leisure for Women with Young Children-an "Ethic of Care" Prevails. *Leisure Sciences*, 27 (5), 405-420.
- Moy, R. L. and Liaw, T. (1998), Determinants of professional golf earnings, *The American Economist*, 42, 65-70.
- Nyaupane, G.P., Morais, D. & Graefe, A. (2004). Nature tourism constraints – a cross-activity comparison. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31 (3), 540-555.
- Pennington-Gray, L. & Kerstetter, D. (2002). Testing a constraints model within the context of nature-based tourism. *Journal of Travel Research*, 40, 416-423.
- Pyles, M. K. (2007) More than Just the Ryder Cup: An Examination of Relevant Natural Characteristics in Professional Golf. *The Sport Journal*, United States Sports University, 10, (3).
- Raymore, L. (2002). Facilitators to Leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 34, 37-51.
- Reis, H. & Correia, A., (2013a). Gender Asymmetries in Golf Participation, *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, 22 (1), 67-91.
- Reis, H. & Correia, A. (2013b). Gender Inequalities in Golf: A Consented Exclusion?, *International Journal of Culture, Tourism, and Hospitality Research*, 7 (4), 324-329.
- Roster, C. (2007). "Girl Power" and Participation in Macho Recreation: The Case of Female Harley Riders. *Leisure Sciences*, 29 (5), 443-461.
- Silva, O. & Correia, A. (2008). Facilitators and Constraints in leisure participation: the case of the southeast of Portugal. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 2, (1), 25-43.
- Silva, O.; Reis, H. & Correia, A. (2010) The moderator effect of risk on Travel Decision Making, *International Journal of Tourism Policy*, 3, (4), 332-347.
- Stodolska, M. & Shinew, K.J. (2010). Environmental constraints on leisure time physical activity among Latino urban residents. *Qualitative Research in Sport and Exercise*, 2, 313-335.
- Tinkler, B. A. (2004). *Joyce Wethered - The Great Lady of Golf*. Tempus Publishing Limited,

Revisiting Life Stories of Famous Women Golfers

UK.

Vamplew, W. (2010). Sharing space: inclusion, exclusion, and accommodation at the British golf club before 1914. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 34, 359-375.

Veblen, Thorstein (1898-9), The Barbarian Status of Women, *American Journal of Sociology*, 4.

Wearing, B. (1994). The pain and pleasure of gendered leisure. *World Leisure & Recreation*, 36 (3), 4–10.

Woodside, A., Krauss, E., Caldwell, M., & Chebat, J.C. (2007). Advancing Theory for Understanding Travelers' Own Explanations of Discretionary Travel Behavior. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 22 (1), 15-35.

Woodside, A.; Sood, S.& Miller, K.E. (2008). When Consumers and Brands Talk: Storytelling Theory and Research in Psychology and Marketing. *Psychology and Marketing*, 25, (2), 97-145.

www.thepeoplehistory.com/golfhistory.

About the Authors

Helena Reis, PhD in Tourism, a Professor at the School of Management, Hospitality and Tourism of the University of Algarve. With a Masters in Women's Studies, her main research interests are the gender participations in tourism activities. Her current research interests relate to Consumer Behaviour, Gender and Tourism. She published in *Journal of Travel Research*, *Journal of Hospitality and Marketing Management*, among others. E-mail: hreis@ualg.pt

Antonia Correia is Professor of Tourist Behaviour and Tourism Economics, University of Algarve and Universidade Europeia, both in Portugal. Her main research interests focus on consumer behaviour, tourism economics and modelling. She has a number of papers published in tourism, leisure and economics journals. Antonia is also a member of the editorial board of several journals including *Journal of Travel Research*, *Journal of Business Research*, *Tourism Analysis*, and *Anatolia*. Email: acorreia@ualg.pt.