



UNIVERSIDADE DO ALGARVE
FACULDADE DE ECONOMIA

**GENDER ASYMMETRIES IN GOLF PARTICIPATION:
TRADITION OR DISCRIMINATION?**

**HELENA MARIA DE ALBUQUERQUE E CASTRO AMARO
DOS SANTOS REIS DE FIGUEIREDO**

PhD Thesis in Tourism

Research conducted under the supervision of:

Professora Doutora Antónia de Jesus Henriques Correia

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Doutoramento em Turismo

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Helena Maria de Albuquerque e Castro Amaro dos Santos Reis de Figueiredo

.....
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Aos meus pais,
Olga e Pedro João

To all women...

*“No challenge comes to us that we cannot handle. If a
challenge comes, that means we can handle it.”*

Sri Swami Satchidananda

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis is about leisure and sports, more precisely about the low women's participation in golf. Since for centuries, golf has been ascribed as a men's game, the idea is to examine how and to what extent gender discrimination has been tacitly accepted, avoided or overcome by women, thus the thesis focuses on gender issues and leisure paradigms. Having begun by understanding the facilitators and constraints that have influenced female participation in golf along the centuries, through a qualitative research, where depicting amateurs and champions/professionals' participation, this thesis ends with an overview of the strategies women use to cope with the discrimination that still persists in the game. The three dimension of factors paradigm (Crawford and Godbey, 1987; Crawford, Jackson and Godbey, 1991; Godbey, Crawford and Shen, 2010), acting as constraints (Jackson, 1997, 2005) and/or facilitators (Raymore, 2002) to participation decisions was introduced on leisure sciences, stressing the relation between women's life contexts and the strategies they adopt in order to succeed in a men's world (McGinnis, Gentry and McQuillan, 2009), being this a major contribution to the body of knowledge in gender issues. Hence, this thesis relies both in social sciences and consumer behaviour, observing a gender perspective. Results suggest that gender inequities in golf, more than discrimination are a consequence of a strong tradition.

Keywords: Golf, Gender Asymmetries, Facilitators and Constrains, Negotiation Strategies.

RESUMO

Esta tese aborda a questão da baixa participação das mulheres na prática do golfe, visando compreender se as assimetrias de género inerentes a este desporto se devem à tradição cultural britânica dos clubes “for-gentlemen-only” ou a práticas sociais discriminatórias.

O objetivo desta pesquisa é apreender quais os fatores que induzem as mulheres a optar por uma atividade de lazer de cultura fortemente masculinizada, obedecendo a uma forte tradição, que levanta constrangimentos à sua participação. Um segundo objetivo que moveu este trabalho, foi identificar estratégias e modos que estas mulheres encontram para lidar com as desigualdades de género na prática deste desporto.

A revisão bibliográfica da investigação centra-se fundamentalmente nas questões de género, no comportamento do consumidor e no estudo do lazer e do desporto sob uma perspectiva de género. Desta análise da literatura emergiu uma vasta compilação de fatores que motivam ou inibem a decisão de participar numa atividade de lazer. Filtrados os fatores que mais claramente estão relacionados com o golfe, procedeu-se a uma segunda fase de recolha de elementos. De modo a melhor compreender quando se iniciaram e como se manifestaram essas assimetrias no golfe, procedeu-se a uma abordagem de 25 histórias de vida de jogadoras anglo-americanas que se tornaram famosas nos séculos XIX e XX. Para além de tentar delimitar temporalmente o início da exclusão das mulheres dos *clubhouses*, identificaram-se quais os fatores de motivação destas jogadoras, bem como os constrangimentos que mais pesaram no abandono da prática do golfe.

Com base na revisão de literatura e nos fatores recolhidos nas 25 histórias estudadas, e tendo em vista estabelecer um paralelo com a atualidade, a fase seguinte deste trabalho centrou-se em percursos de vida de mulheres golfistas em Portugal, à luz das teorias que fundamentam esta investigação: a teoria ecológica dos sistemas (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1989, 1992), e a onda histórico causal (Woodside *et al.*, 2007) em articulação com os fatores intrapessoais, interpessoais e estruturais (Crawford e Godbey, 1987; Crawford *et al.*, 1991; Godbey *et al.*, 2010) que facilitam (Raymore, 2002) ou inibem (Jackson, 2005) a decisão de participar em atividades de lazer ou desporto.

A investigação recorre a uma metodologia qualitativa, em que se adota o método da triangulação (realização de 39 entrevistas, observação participante e recolha de documentação), sendo as entrevistas interpretadas através da análise de conteúdo. Como forma de preparar esta análise de conteúdo, construiu-se um *theme codebook*, no qual se incluíram as três dimensões e os 33 fatores facilitadores ou inibidores, identificados na literatura e na abordagem etnográfica realizada. A cada um foi atribuído um código numérico. Esta codificação permitiu, não só agrupar os excertos dos discursos das entrevistadas com os fatores por elas percecionados, como obter dados sobre a sua frequência nas verbalizações e sobre as autoras dessas mesmas verbalizações. Para validar as interpretações das entrevistas, os fatores mais significativamente percecionados foram integrados num questionário com uma escala de concordância que foi aplicado às mesmas participantes.

A última fase da pesquisa fundamentou-se nas hipóteses de estratégias de negociação avançadas por McGinnis, Gentry e McQuillan (2009), que emergem dos comportamentos baseados em rituais que reforçam a hegemonia masculina deste desporto, como por exemplo, a limitação das mulheres jogarem em certos dias da semana por serem os mais requisitados pelos homens. Quando inseridos num ambiente adverso, os indivíduos desenvolvem modos de negociar a sua participação de diversas maneiras, decorrentes dos seus antecedentes contextos de vida e perceções. Os autores teorizam que as golfistas tendem a viabilizar a sua participação de diversas maneiras: através do consenso, da cedência, para não criar conflitos, i.e., *accommodating* (as que aceitam e acomodam); ignorando ou não percecionando abertamente, i.e., *unaware* (“não penso que o golfe seja masculino”) e *unapologetic* (põem em causa as tradições culturais e propõem medidas mais inclusivas para as mulheres).

A tese apresenta uma proposta inovadora, ou seja, postula a articulação entre cada uma das dimensões de facilitadores e inibidores com um dos tipos de estratégias acima descritos: a dimensão interpessoal interage com a estratégia *accommodating*, a intrapessoal com a *unaware* e a estrutural com a *unapologetic*.

Uma vez que a amostra abrangiu um vasto espectro de níveis de experiência de golfe – campeãs/ profissionais e amadoras – até às mulheres que jogam apenas para acompanhar familiares ou amigos, “o golfe social”, os resultados foram analisados

separadamente em dois momentos: o primeiro quando se estudou quais os fatores preponderantes na decisão e o segundo quando se verificou qual a estratégia escolhida mais ou menos conscientemente por cada mulher.

Os resultados manifestam a grande heterogeneidade entre estes dois grupos, por exemplo na variável “tempo/ falta de tempo”: parte das amadoras não tem tempo para jogar devido aos seus contextos de vida, enquanto que as profissionais o consideram um “falso constrangimento”, afirmando que se trata apenas de estabelecer prioridades. A nível estrutural, relativamente às políticas de golfe e das instituições ligadas à modalidade, as profissionais são muito mais críticas, talvez por terem um conhecimento mais profundo sobre o funcionamento dessas instituições.

A nível das estratégias adotados, houve resultados inesperados: não seria de antever que as mulheres mais competitivas do país manifestassem um comportamento *accommodating* (acomodativo), mas tal verificou-se, o que pode significar que os valores culturais e tradicionais da sociedade portuguesa podem prevalecer mesmo quando as mulheres são incentivadas a participar numa atividade considerada um dos bastiões da hegemonia masculina.

As implicações teóricas surgem ao nível da contribuição para os estudos sobre as questões de género, comportamento feminino no lazer e no desporto. As implicações práticas revelam importantes linhas de orientação para os intervenientes e decisores nesta modalidade introduzirem modificações de modo a cativarem mais mulheres para a prática do golfe. As limitações derivam de apenas se terem entrevistado mulheres a viver em Portugal, pelo que são necessários estudos que visem analisar o ponto de vista de jogadores masculinos, para além de testar o modelo noutros desportos e noutras nacionalidades.

Palavras-chave: Golfe, Assimetrias de Género, Facilitadores e Inibidores, Estratégias de Negociação.

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ABBREVIATIONS LIST

3D	Three Dimensions of Factors
CHW	Causal Historical Wave
ECM	Extended Case Study Method
EGA	European Golf Association
EST	Ecological Systems Theory
FPG	Federação Portuguesa de Golfe – Portuguese Golf Federation
IAGTO	International Association of Golf Tour Operators
PGA	Professional Golf Association
PENT	National Strategic Plan for Tourism
TP	Portuguese Tourism Board
USA	United States of America

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Purpose of the Research

The purpose of the present thesis is to examine women's perception of the factors that may inhibit or facilitate their option for a male-dominated game such as golf, and what strategy modes women use to negotiate their participation in this sport. Understanding what factors are determinant in inducing their decision to participate is of crucial importance to unveil policies that those in charge in golf institutions and golf course managers can adopt to attract more female participants to this leisure activity.

As golf has been attracting a number of individuals that leave their homes either to join (as a player) or attend (as a spectator) competitions around the world or as "golf tourists" to enjoy holidays at a golf destination, the concept of golf crosses the borders of leisure to assume the form of a tourism product. In fact golf has been considered as a tourism product with increasing importance within the economy of several countries. According to the Professionals Golfers' Association (hereafter: PGA) "the game of golf is contributing over €15.1 billion to the European economy" (PGA, 2013: 7). Portugal is no exception; golf is considered a tourist product that, to a certain extent, compensates the seasonality effects of a tourism marked by the well known summer weather conditions.

Aside from the non-seasonal effects of golf, its economic impact is noteworthy. In the national strategic plan for tourism (PENT 2013-2015), Turismo de Portugal states that the European golf market estimates one million golf travellers per year, and the prospect is that these figures may double by 2015. In Portugal, this product represented 6.3% of foreign tourists in the country (TP, 2013: 68-70). The relevance of this product to the national tourism economy has been acknowledged (Correia and Kozak, 2012; Correia and Pintassilgo, 2006; Mendes, Valle and Guerreiro, 2011). Turismo de Portugal considers golfing activity among the 10 strategic products for the development of tourism in Portugal (TP, 2013) and, the International Association of Golf Tour Operators (IAGTO) (2013) elected Portugal/Algarve as "Europe's Leading Golf Destination 2012".

Despite the spill-over effect of golf in regional and national economies, this sport persists as a men's bastion. Statistics displayed by the European Golf Association

(hereafter: EGA) indicate that, in 2010, the 38 European affiliated countries accounted for 4.439,233 players, 2.895,537 being male and 1.104,123 female golfers. Confirming the male-hegemonic culture of the game also in Portugal, Portuguese female participation in golf is around 20% - 25% (EGA, 2012; 2013) following the European and USA patterns. EGA (2009) figures reveal a great asymmetry between male and female participation in the practice of this sport, as the masculine segment represents more than 70% of the total population of golf players. Yet, as Reis, Correia and McGinnis (*see: Paper 6*) explain “the annual average growth rate in rounds has decreased 1.8% from 2005 to 2012, which means that there are fewer male players in 2012 (10, 702) than there were in 2005 (12,359) (EGA, 2012).

This revealed stagnation could be reversed by adopting policies capable of increasing women’s involvement. This evidence was recognized by several golf club managers, the regional director of the Portuguese Golf Federation (hereafter: FPG) and the president of the female department of FPG (*see: Paper 2*). In fact, the situation justifies the persistence of a female minority, since the number of women playing golf in absolute terms keeps growing, having reached a total of 2, 599 in 2013 (EGA, 2013). Actually, women’s participation varies between 20% and 25% (EGA, 2012 – 2013). The male hegemony of golf can be traced from the 19th century and persists till these days.

Actually the game of golf was first ruled by the Scottish in 1744, being regarded as an elitist sport for older people with a high socio-economic background: golf was seen as a “man’s game” (Haig-Muir, 2000; Maas and Haasbrook, 2001; McGinnis, Chun and McQuillan, 2003), reproducing the traditional pattern of the “for-gentlemen-only” British clubs (Chambers, 1995; George, 2010; Vamplew, 2010). Under this influence, it was acceptable for golf clubs to exclude women, not admitting any female members. Leisure historian Borsay (2006: 85) advances that: “the elite used sport and the arts to define and justify its position in the social order”, considering the gender asymmetries in sports more a consequence of this social order rather than of discrimination. Yet, evidence shows that gender prejudice has persisted in golf until the present day.

Since the beginning of golf women have been interested in this sport but more recently, the fact that their life expectancy is growing, giving them free time after retiring, that their economic power has increased in many areas and considering a recent appetite

for sports/leisure open-air activities, has clearly implied that this market segment presents a great potential. To understand women's option to engage in a male-dominated activity and how this hegemony has persisted until today moderates the present research focusing on female golf players living in Portugal who practise this leisure activity. Thus, the study is engrained in leisure sciences, abandoning the feminist theories that moderate many gender studies (Butler, 1990, 1999; Bryson, 1993; McLeish, 1993; Swain, 1995).

This thesis aims at analyzing and understanding life contexts and background environments that have facilitated or inhibited female golf participation in Portugal, as a starting point to assess the strategies these women have used to succeed in a masculine leisure activity.

In his historical perspective, Borsay (2006: 81) questioned:

“What factors determined the character of a gentleman's recreation? Of undoubted importance was the requirement for a substantial expenditure of money and time since this was precisely what the productive orders could not afford”

and he further reflects that although “the boundaries between male and female leisure have been fixed historically (...), leisure has been a powerful arena for the moulding and expressing of sexual identities” (Borsay, 2006: 121).

Research indicates that the study of women's leisure is intrinsically related to the gender roles in society and the constraints women face deriving from gender inequities in most domains (Crawford and Godbey, 1987; Fjelstul, Jackson and Tesone, 2011; Henderson, 1990; Henderson and Hickerson, 2007). This topic has raised great research challenges as it has to be observed under a different perspective from men's leisure (e.g. Deem, 1986; Shaw, 1994).

By means of consumer behaviour, the idea of understanding how and to what extent motivation for the decision to participate is life-context dependant becomes crucial; hence studying these women's backgrounds, previous sports experiences, contextual life settings and environments is the starting point of the present research. This thesis

proposes that the most suitable framework in which to embed the research is the interaction of the Ecological Systems Theory (hereafter: EST), (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1989, 1992), and the Causal Historical Wave Theory (hereafter: CHW) (Woodside, Krauss, Caldwell and Chebat, 2007) with the three dimensions (3D) paradigm – intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors (Crawford and Godbey, 1987; Crawford, Jackson and Godbey, 1991; Godbey, Crawford and Shen, 2010) that inhibit (Jackson, 1997, 2005) or facilitate (Raymore, 2002) participation. Examining what motivates women to play and what conditions their involvement is the first step towards a deeper understanding of the strategies women use to succeed in golf, coping with the gender bias of the game, which is, above all, a new approach in gender literature.

In order to understand gendered sports participation scholars have adopted a wide range of approaches (e.g. Banet-Weiser, 1999; Carroll and Alexandris, 1997; Crawley, 1998; Koivula, 1995; Roster, 2007; among others). Golf, for its marked gender asymmetries, has been studied under a historical perspective in order to establish the influence of British cultural traditions that were shifted to this practice (e.g. George, 2011; Vamplew, 2010), or under a more pragmatic and functional approach that aims at highlighting women's view points and advancing alternatives and solutions (Haig-Muir, 2000; McGinnis, Chun and McQuillan, 2003, 2005). McGinnis, Gentry and McQuillan (2009), for instance, go further in examining the various ways and modes adopted by women to stay in golf, and have presented findings that deserve to be considered.

Due to an increasingly competitive golf market environment and the threat of golf stagnation, marketers are eager to understand how can they reach new markets and make golf settings more attractive to women. This need is recognized by several scholars who have been researching on this issue. However, most of this research relies on acknowledging how women may or may not participate due to the golf courses' conditions that are definitely not prone to welcome women, for instance, the generalized lack of facilities in the clubhouses, the limitation to play on certain days or times ("men's days"), the lack of top competitions with visible media coverage thus involving higher prizes, and sponsorships that facilitate participation in a sport that is still expensive.

Golf course managers could apply the findings from these studies to adjust golf courses in line with women's needs and perform more goal-directed promotion towards female market customers. Nevertheless, this is a very limited approach since the adaptation of golf courses to women needs is far from being enough. The problem goes beyond structural conditions, as this is an engrained issue that slashes the boundaries of intrapersonal and interpersonal drivers of human behaviour (*see: Paper 5*).

Thus to further comprehend women's behaviour when engaging in a leisure activity where discrimination is more than evident, the intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors should be outlined. The former two emerge from the microsystem of the person: the intrapersonal relate to the inner self of the individuals, such as personality, motivation, self-esteem; the interpersonal addresses the relationships among individuals with family, friends, reference groups, as well as spousal interactions, family obligations, or an ethics of care (looking after the others' needs before one's own). The structural deriving from the macrosystem, consists of societal structures, associations, institutions within the individuals exist: golf courses environments, policies, as well as cultural and social attitudes and behaviours, or lack of time or money.

This thesis focuses on golf experiences and perceptions of gendered practices that induce negotiation behaviours. This brings us to essential research on tourism behaviour where Woodside, Caldwell and Spurr (2005) apply the "ecological systems theory to examine the contextual facilitating and constraining factors in the thoughts and actions of individuals regarding work, leisure and travel alternatives" (Woodside *et al.*, 2005: 1). Facilitating and constraining factors have been pertained by many researchers to leisure preferences and sports preferences. This thesis intends to understand whether these factors are perceived as enablers or inhibitors to the decision-making process, either in leisure and sports in general, or golf in particular.

In spite of the extensive application of the facilitators/constraints paradigm to travel decision-making, leisure, and sports participation, there is still a gap in understanding the importance of adverse environments that raise a number of new, still under-researched, constraints. It is claimed that gender influences individuals' choices and behaviour since childhood (White, Cox and Cooper, 1992). Traditionally, the variable

gender has been analysed as a structural constraint (Jackson and Henderson, 1995; Khan, 2011; Raymore, Godbey and Crawford, 1994; Scott and Jackson, 1996; Wimbush and Talbot, 1988) that moderates individuals' leisure behaviour. Aside from these findings, the variable gender could be regarded as a factor that influences the whole set of intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors of individuals' behaviour.

1.2 Aims of the Thesis

Therefore, the present thesis framework is as follows: the decision to participate in leisure relates to a set of external and internal processes that frame our decisions. These choices relate to personality traits, past experiences, family incentive or restriction, to groups of friends who choose the same leisure activity, and to issues such as the geographic location, lack of time, or money. Yet, when women are motivated to engage in a masculine leisure activity, another set of processes arises and has to be dealt with: clear or more subtle discriminatory practices that relate directly or indirectly to social and cultural traditions and values, life styles and behaviours that are manifest in sports such as golf and will be more difficult to surmount. Additionally, whereas some factors are easily identified, perceiving gender prejudice may be far less conspicuous. Many women are unaware of gender bias even in areas where discrimination has been openly acknowledged. Therefore, it is not expected that they should recognize and verbalize gender constraints in a male structured game such as this one.

This being so, the research issues can be formulated as the following four objectives:

- 1. To examine whether and to what extent Portuguese female golfers are aware of gender inequities in golf participation, an objective that is present in all the Papers.*
- 2. To identify and depict which factors act as facilitators or constraints to participation, covered in Papers 3, 4 and 5.*
- 3. To account for different perceptions and attitudes across the Champions/Professional and amateur women players, covered in Papers 4 and 5.*

4. To identify and analyse which strategies Portuguese women engage in, to continue to play golf despite its adverse environment, covered in Papers 6 and 7.

The intention of this chapter is to offer an overview of the theoretical and empirical backgrounds for the thesis. After establishing the importance of golfing activity to the economy of tourism in Portugal, and elaborating around how an increase in the female market women may add a contribution to its economic development, the aims of the thesis are set in four subjects. The following section discusses theories grounded in human behaviour.

1.3 Theoretical Insights

The present research is anchored on the Ecological Systems Theory (hereafter: EST) by Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1989, 1992) that places the individual within several systems, the two most frequently applied to leisure research being the micro and the macrosystem. The first relates to past and present roles, activities individuals have experienced in their interactions, whereas the macrosystem is the larger context in which the individuals function, including structures of society and its institutions plus societal conceptions of ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and gender. At the moment a decision is required, a causal historical wave originated in one's microsystem hits the individual, so decisions may be influenced by one's childhood, past experiences and beliefs. This idea is postulated by the causal historical wave theory (Woodside *et al.*, 2007) and interacts with the intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors (Crawford and Godbey, 1987; Crawford *et al.*, 1991; Godbey *et al.*, 2010) that act as facilitators or constraints. Yet because this is not a static process, the same factor may be perceived under more than one dimension. Further, the same factor may act as facilitator or constraint: for instance, family interactions is consensually seen as an enabler factor for participation: family interactions is consensually seen as an enabler factor for participation if another element of the family participates, whereas in case where the husband does not play, the wife tends to abandon the game. Facilitators are the factors that enable participation, i.e., motivation, testing your ability and skills, group of friends, socializing, whereas constraints inhibit participation, i.e., lack of time or money, family obligations, unfriendly golf club environments.

1.3.1 Facilitators and constraints

The present thesis concerns these factors that moderate the option for engaging in a sport clearly deemed as male-prevalent. Table 1.1 below presents the facilitators and constraints outlined in the literature and presented in Paper 1.

Table 1.1 - Map of Intrapersonal, Interpersonal and Structural Factors

Intrapersonal factor	Interpersonal factor
Personality	Family incentive
One's childhood	Friends; companion interaction; societal expectations and images
Past experiences or particular life experiences; ability, knowledge	Spousal interaction
Motivation; preference for another sport	The "ethic of care" constraint women's caring role; family obligations; Lifestyle factors and domestic situations; professional context
Individual beliefs, i.e., <i>self-esteem</i>	Stages in the family life cycle
Personal skills/performance; superior skills and/or tournament scores	Prevailing gender norms; Positive gender role model
Personal fears	A fear of selfishness; the guilt of having fun
Feeling of selfishness	Make space for themselves
Lack of / sense of entitlement to leisure	Company to travel / to participate
Previous tourist / sport experiences; longer practice sessions and greater concentration	Unable to find a partner to participate with
Lack of ability; lack of knowledge; sense of failure, "subordinate status or disadvantage"; skill acquisition	Cultural and social negative attitudes; social structure, support from parents, peers, and teachers
	Social networking; mentor with other women
Structural factor	
Money; economic factors; men obtain greater earnings	Course policies/conduciveness; exclusion from clubhouses; outdated dress code; on-course interactions: non-acceptance of men being beaten by women; excessive drinking, cigar smoking and folded arms
Time; time-pressure	Infra-structures; lack of facilities; disparate expertise in the coaching staffs and academic tutoring; provision of equipment and supplies; scheduling of games and practice time; merchandise discrepancies
Traditional society; cultural and social attitude	
Status quo	
Geographical location; socio demographics; proximity definitions (e.g., within neighbourhood, walking distance)	

Source: Own Elaboration - List of authors and full references are in Paper 1.

This table compiles a thorough overview of studies on leisure and sports addressing different approaches to gendered leisure participation. Researchers have built a vast

body of knowledge on the subject of the decision to participate in leisure and scoped the factors that facilitate or constraint that decision. By identifying the factors that facilitate or constraint participation decisions the above mentioned studies identify and describe the contexts in which the individuals live and with which they interacted in the past, in order to explain what moderates sports behaviour as facilitating or constraining, according to different lifestyles, life stages and facts. This list of factors, further developed in Papers 1 and 2, was used to draw a conceptual model that also combines the strategies outlined by McGinnis *et al.* (2009) from which this thesis developed.

1.3.2 Strategies for Succeeding in Golf

In spite of the unwelcoming atmosphere of the golfing activity women still participate, showing there are ways to deal with adverse contexts and prevail in the decision to be involved. Thus, exploring the variety of modes to negotiate participation is an objective of the thesis. Literature does not provide many studies addressing the issue of strategies in leisure and sports (Laurendeau and Sharara, 2008; Silva, Reis and Correia, 2010), so to frame the type of strategies used in golf, McGinnis *et al.* (2009) research was used. It allowed grouping of Portuguese women golfers under three ritual negotiation styles: *accommodating*, *unapologetic* and *unaware*. Table 1.2 outlines the above mentioned strategies, which are further explored in Papers 6 and 7.

Table 1.2 – Ritual-based Negotiation Strategies

Accommodating	(i.e. acknowledging masculine rituals and working around them); “not confronting the male hegemony of the game, preferring to participate in separate groups from men and helping to perpetuate difference between men and women; tending to defer to their male partners’ wishes.” (adp. McGinnis <i>et al.</i> , 2009: 26).
Unapologetic	(i.e. challenging masculine rituals that threaten entitlement to golf and attempting to create women-inclusive alternatives); “women are as entitled as men to play golf; Women in this group negotiated male bias in golf by directly challenging it and trying to change it” (adp. McGinnis <i>et al.</i> , 2009: 26).
Unaware	(i.e. focusing on golf as a sport; ignoring/denying masculine dimensions of golf rituals). “Enjoying golf intrinsically; not experiencing or thinking about gendered structures; seemingly oblivious to gendered ritualistic markers and activities: differentiated teeing areas, separate leagues, gender-specific equipment that could perpetuate sexism in golf” (adp. McGinnis <i>et al.</i> , 2009: 29).

Source: adp. McGinnis *et al.* (2009).

Departing from this framework that enlightens the theoretical fundamentals of the research, a summary of the main literature findings are in the following sub-section.

1.3.3 Summary of Prior Research

Literature on leisure and sports participation covers a variety of sports and research is spread around a multitude of countries and locations. Most analyses on decisions to participate in golf and consequent behaviours are carried out in the USA and UK, or in countries where golf was initially introduced by the British such as Australia and now Portugal. Cultural differences amongst people in various countries can cause significant variations in golfers' behaviour. The present study attempts to test and expand – in a systematic fashion – current theoretical underpinnings and relationships amongst important factors in golf participation, including past experience, motivation, family or friends' incentive, as well as cultural and social attitudes that are engrained in the male nature of the game and that are difficult to overcome.

Gender in tourism (*for instance see*: Swain, 1995; Shaw, 1994) has been the object of a plethora of studies, and golf tourism has kept the interest of numerous researchers (Hudson and Hudson, 2010; Farrally *et al.*, 2003). Consequently, the issue of gender in leisure and sports is addressed under various approaches (Henderson, 1994; Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; Roster, 2007) whereas gender asymmetries in the practice of golf also provide a body of research that emerges from different perspectives: a historical approach aims to understand gender prejudice as a tradition deriving from societal class stratifications (Crane, 1991; George, Kay and Vamplew, 2007; Hudson Jr., 2008; Mair, 1992); a sports viewpoint analyses skills and performances (Abrahamsen, Roberts and Pensgaard, 2007; Hume, Keogh and Reid, 2005; Moy and Liaw, 1998; Pyles, 2007) advancing suggestions and advice (Chambers, 1995; Hecker, 1904); or, and this is the core interest of the present thesis, highlighting gender discriminatory practices ascribed to golf tradition (Haig-Muir, 2000; Callan and Thomas, 2006) by understanding motivations (Correia and Pintassilgo, 2006) and factors that moderate female golf involvement (*for instance see*: McGinnis *et al.*, 2003, 2005, 2009; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006).

In reviewing existing literature on constraints and facilitators to participation, few empirical works seem to advance alternative ways women find to cope with adverse conditions and continue practising, despite not being welcomed. Previous studies have consistently demonstrated cross-cultural differences in various dimensions of factors that facilitate or inhibit the decision to engage in a male environment, but not many authors have addressed the strategies participants develop when immersed in such unfriendly leisure contexts (Laurendeau and Sharara, 2008). Nevertheless, McGinnis *et al.* (2009) do address this deficiency showing the need for further studies to evolve around this topic, since it may produce paramount guidelines for introducing changes in golf environments. To meet this topic, the last part of this thesis is elaborated around the strategies Portuguese female golfers adopt. Under these theoretical tenets the conceptual framework is described in the following section.

1.4 Conceptual Framework

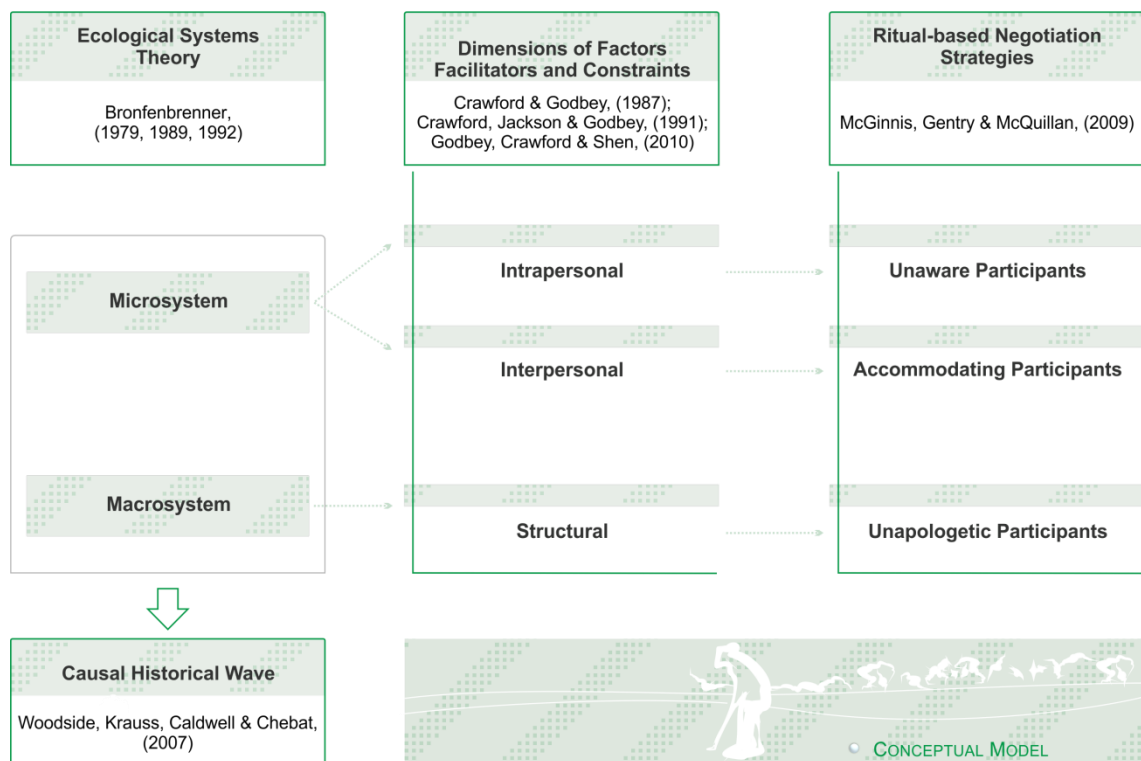
The main purpose of the research “Gender asymmetries in the golf participation: tradition or discrimination?” is to advance research on leisure sports participation by clarifying and describing the way women in Portugal choose and decide to participate, or not, in golfing activity. The findings reported will enhance gender behaviour analysis and elucidate on how, why, and to what extent gender heterogeneity relies on intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors.

This thesis departs from the three dimensions of factors theory and the facilitators/constraints paradigm to outline women’s life contexts as a way to understand their strategies. Hence, a collection of dimensions and factors presented on Table 1.2 was employed, integrating the factors gathered from the ethnographic approach of women’s stories over the centuries, as a foundation for the revisited model that is embedded in this paradigm.

The present study proposes the articulation of the Ecological System Theory (EST) (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1989, 1992), supported by the Causal Historical Wave theory (CHW) (Woodside *et al.*, 2007), and the three dimensions (3D) paradigm – intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors (Crawford and Godbey, 1987;

Crawford *et al.*, 1991; Godbey *et al.*, 2010). The results reflected the influence of the micro and macrosystem in which individuals exist on explaining current behaviours. Further, this research suggests the interaction of this framework with McGinnis *et al.* (2009) ritual-based negotiation strategies. The idea is to test if the importance of these theories on the behaviour of Portuguese female golfers determines the type of strategies these women adopt in order to continue to participate in a male-dominated sport. McGinnis *et al.* (2009) research was employed to frame the three strategic behaviours: accommodating, unapologetic and unaware. The conceptual framework is presented in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1 - Conceptual Framework of the Thesis



Source: Own Elaboration.

This research is grounded on qualitative and quantitative analyses (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2011; Burawoy, 2009; Denzin and Lincoln, 2003, 2011; Elliot, 2005; Jennings, 2010; Ren, Pritchard and Morgan, 2010; Riessman, 1993; Silverman, 2004, 2007; Veal, 1997) and is developed over several phases, which lead to the production of seven papers to accompany the different stages of the thesis. The Figure 1.2 summarizes in a succinct way the seven papers aligned with the research questions. Extended

clarification of each phase, methodology, findings and results, as well as conclusions, limitations and paths for future research are provided individually in each of the papers.

Based on the literature review and the conceptual model in Figure 1.1, twenty-one research proposals frame the study accordingly with the different stages that structured this thesis, as illustrated in Figure 1.2. Figure 1.2 evidences the sequence of the research proposals in light of the papers produced along this research.

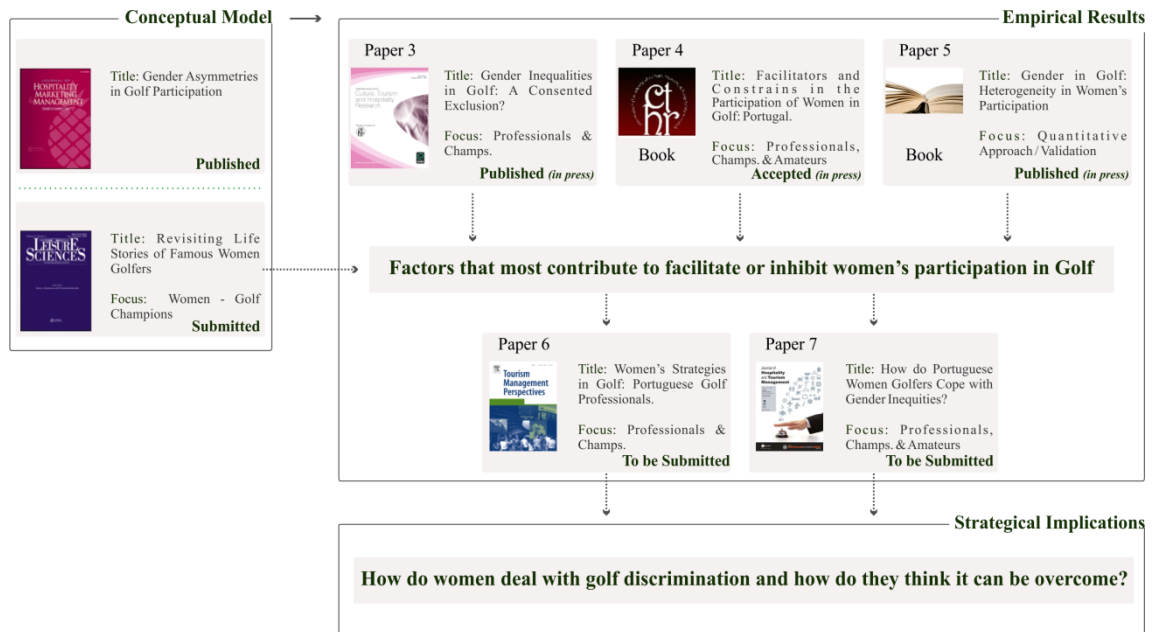
Figure 1.2 – Research Stages

Covered in all papers	Stage 1 Literature Review	Identify factors that may contribute to inhibit or facilitate sports participation grounded on the Ecological Systems Theory, the Causal Historical Wave and the 3D Factors paradigm.
	Research Proposals	P1: The intrapersonal factors inhibit or facilitate women's participation in golf. P2: The interpersonal factors inhibit or facilitate women's participation in golf. P3: The structural factors inhibit or facilitate women's participation in golf.
Covered in papers 1 and 2	Stage 2 Conceptual Model	To trace the discriminatory process from the first Anglo-American golf clubs and identify the more prominent factors that influenced female participation by means of ethnography and analysis of life stories.
	Research Proposals	P4 - How do famous Anglo-American women from the 19th and 20th centuries perceive the 3D factors that facilitate or inhibit their participation in golf?
Covered in papers 3 to paper 7	Stage 3 Test the Model	To test the feasibility of the Revisited Model in present days, across a sample of contemporary Portuguese women players, by means of content analysis.
	Research Proposals	P5: Did Anglo-American women who excelled in golf in the 19th and 20th centuries perceive the 3D factors as facilitators or constraints to their participation in golf? P6: Do Portuguese women who excel in golf in the 21st century perceive the 3D factors as facilitators or constraints to their participation in golf? P7: What are the factors that persisted over the centuries and across nationalities? P8: How did these women succeed in golf? P9: Identify the most important factors female golfers perceive as facilitators or inhibitors to their participation in the game. P10: Distinguish the most important factors by professional and amateur golfers. P11: Depict the influence of these women's socio-demographic characteristics on their perceptions. P12: Different age groups justify different golf participation perceptions and verbalizations of the 3D factors. P13: Different marital status (married/divorced/single) justifies different golf participation perceptions and verbalizations of the 3D factors. P14: Having children or not justifies different golf participation perceptions and verbalizations of the 3D factors. P15: What are the strategies women who excel in golf use in order to participate? P16: Golf participation choice is moderated by intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors; being these factors related with these women's contextual life settings, it is expected that cultural and social contexts play the biggest role in their choice. P17: Strategies adopted manage to overcome constraints and avail enablers so, even if in an indirect way, it could be expected that contextual life settings (even when not perceived), as well as cultural and social contexts, moderate these women's strategies. P18: Each dimension of factors conforms to each type of negotiation strategy P19: The higher perception of intrapersonal factors resides in the adoption of the unaware strategy P20: The higher perception of interpersonal factors resides in the adoption of the accommodating strategy. P21: The higher perception of structural factors resides in the adoption of the unapologetic strategy.

1.5 Organisation of the Thesis

Below, the organisation of the thesis, including empirical undertakings, is laid out followed by an overview and summary of the seven Papers that structure this thesis (Figure 1.3).

Figure 1.3 - Structure of the Thesis



Source: Own Elaboration.

The first objective aims to provide insight into cultural traditions that have kept women away from the practice of golf by studying what motivates women to join a male-dominated leisure activity where they are not welcomed. To meet the first part of this objective, information was gathered from a literature review and historical approaches (Papers 1 and 2). The second part of the objective is examined over Papers 3 to 5. Golf course managers and marketers are willing to find ways to attract new customers and are beginning to look at women as a potential market that should not be ignored. Paper 1 hypothesises the existence of facilitating and constraining factors in women's involvement in golf. Paper 2 deepens the understanding of the moderating factors by applying a historical ethnography approach to a timeline from the 19th and 20th centuries to the present day and across nationalities, from Anglo-American to Portuguese women golfers. This connection is enhanced in Paper 3 where the Portuguese champions'/professionals' perceptions and verbalizations of the factors are depicted.

The second objective attempts to understand whether Portuguese women with a larger spectrum of golf experiences (champions/professionals to amateurs) perceive the moderators that facilitate or constraint their participation. A sample stratification of 39 participants comprised several profiles in order to perceive differences across the profiles.

The third objective addresses the different perceptions by champions/professionals vs. Amateurs. By means of content analysis, Paper 4 hypothesises that the different golf behaviours (champions/professionals vs. amateurs) as well as the profiles under study present identifiable dissimilarities specific to each group. Paper 5 aims to validate the interpretation of interviews, through a questionnaire applied to the same participants, to meet the research presuppositions. The data triangulation allows gathering more insights about these women's behaviour.

The fourth objective endeavours to assess strategies which Portuguese women use the most to overcome or to avoid gender inequities in golf, a field that has not been thoroughly explored in sports participation. In fact, as marked dissimilarities moderate these two types of players' behaviours – champions/professionals and amateurs – they are looked upon separately, in Papers 6 and 7. The outcome of these studies will add new knowledge about the attitudes and behaviours that can be adopted to continue practising, despite the unfriendly conditions.

Paper 6 posits that these women's life contexts moderate the type of strategy they adopt to continue to play. It might be assumed that at top competitive levels, women might be easily accepted for their skills and performance but, despite the respect that men show for a present or past champion, the gender prejudice of the game endures. This Paper deals with a very specific group of players; thus assessing amateur golfers is the next step to further develop this proposal. Paper 7 focuses on amateur golfers and reinforces the idea that the higher perception of each dimension of factors interacts with each negotiation strategy.

1.6 Methodological Routes

1.6.1 Overview

This thesis uses a qualitative research approach (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2011; Burawoy, 2009; Denzin and Lincoln, 2003, 2011; Elliot, 2005; Silverman, 2004, 2007) to achieve the objectives. Since the methods used were not detailed in the papers that compose the thesis due to word limitations, this section offers a structured methodological route. Although not intending to replace the methodology readings of the aforementioned papers, it reinforces and relates all the methodological routes of this thesis under a more coherent and structured perspective.

The objectives and research questions show that this exploratory study aims to assess the factors that facilitate or inhibit the decision of Portuguese women golfers to participate in golf, a male-dominated leisure activity. Thus the research strategy consubstantiated according to previous studies addressing the facilitators/constraints paradigm (Woodside, Caldwell and Spurr, 2005, 2006; Woodside, Krauss, Caldwell and Chebat, 2007). Despite the advantages presented by the qualitative research (a richer and deeper understanding of life contexts and the verbalizations of the participants), quantitative research associated with the positivist paradigm has prevailed in the majority of tourism studies (Decrop, 1999; Riley and Love, 2000).

In the last decades many authors have enhanced the qualitative body of knowledge (Bryman, 2004; Seale *et al.*, 2004; Silverman, 2001) The option for qualitative methodologies conforms to the literature in this field so further details are provided so as to understand its application in the present study.

A major author who applied the qualitative methodologies to consumer behaviour studies enhancing what was designated by humanist research was Hirschman (1986), inspiring the current study to adopt this option instead of a positivist one. Table 1.3 briefly summarizes the main differences between these two approaches, in which the option for the humanistic approach is grounded.

Table 1.3 – Quantitative *Versus* Qualitative Paradigms

Quantitative	Qualitative
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Based on positivism (social facts have an objective reality).• Only observable phenomena can be counted as knowledge.• Knowledge is established through accumulated facts.• Hypotheses are derived and tested scientifically through fixed methods.• Evidence is collected in objective and unbiased way.• Variables can be identified and relationships measured.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Based on interpretivism (reality is socially constructed).• Knowledge of the world is based on thinking about and representing our experiences (social constructionism).• Emphasis on the human, interpretative aspects of knowledge of the social world.• Emphasis on social, historical, cultural contexts in which data are embedded.• Variables are complex, interwoven, difficult to measure.

Source: adp. from Torkington (2012).

Qualitative research is concerned with the meanings people give to phenomena built in the social world in close relation between the phenomena under study and the researcher, allowing the latter to immerge in the settings, for a much richer understanding of the contexts in which the research takes place. This will be reflected in the reliability of the researcher's interpretation of the contexts in which data are embedded.

Tourism and leisure behaviours are, above all, social phenomena and thus an interaction between the individuals and their experiences can only be understood under a holistic perspective, i.e., by observing the contexts in which decisions and options are taken (*cf.* Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1992). This is only achieved by giving voice to the participants; therefore, this thesis follows the qualitative methodologies under a humanistic perspective.

According to Yin (2003) the case study method is suitable to embed the present research for it examines a contemporary phenomenon. The case study method implies a detailed analysis using different data sources and various data collection methods that can be either qualitative or quantitative (Eisenhardt, 1989). This way, limitations of this method can be minimized. Yet, qualitative methods are criticized for lacking methodological credibility (Decrop,1999), deriving from the use of limited, small samples not allowing the generalization of findings and due to the fact that interpretation of the materials depends on the researchers.

At a certain point, due to the sample limitations, the Extended Case Study Method (hereafter: ECM) was applied. Actually, the sample of the female champions and golf professionals is only six women, even if it includes the whole universe existing in Portugal. Since these participants are crucial to an understanding of the whole subject under study in this thesis, the ECM was used for it applies reflexive science to ethnography in order to extract the general from the unique, to move from the ‘micro’ to the ‘macro’, (Burawoy, 1991, 2009a, 2009b). The extended case method “constructs *genetic* explanations, that is, explanations of particular outcomes (...) in the genetic mode the significance of a case relates to what it tells us about the world in which it is embedded” (Burawoy, 1991: 280-1) (*see: Paper 6*). Further, the authors posit that, since the champions and golf professionals are considered a “unique social situation” the ECM “pays attention to its complexity, its depth, its thickness” (Burawoy, 1991: 281). Holt (2002) explains why he uses this approach in his notable studies: “The ECM is aligned with the sociological variant of cumulative theory building in that it seeks to build contextualized theoretical explanations of social phenomena” (Holt, 2002: 73) (*see: Paper 6*).

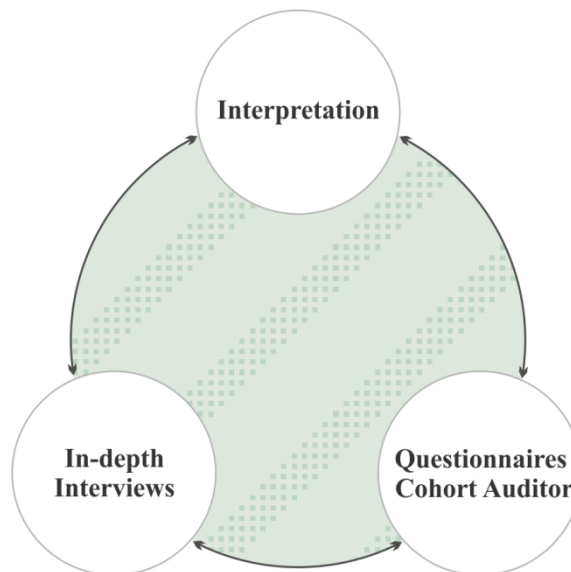
Further, qualitative research presupposes a method of validation that relies on data triangulation. Several authors (Decrop, 1999; Denzin, 1978; Eisenhardt, 1989; Hartmann, 1988; Hirschman, 1986) defend that in order to confirm and validate the interpretation and results of the interviews data triangulation should be applied. Decrop (1999) posits that it allows understanding a phenomenon or the research questions issues by means of three different and independent sources. Denzin (1978) advances four types of triangulation:

1. Data triangulation that uses several types of empirical evidence.
2. Method triangulation that implies different qualitative and quantitative methods.
3. Research triangulation that implies various approaches to the same theme or phenomenon.

4. Theoretical triangulation involving different perspectives to interpret the same theme or phenomenon.

Thus, according to these presumptions, data triangulation was applied in the present research, as shown in Figure 1.4.

Figure 1.4 – Data Triangulation



Source: Own Elaboration

The methods presuppose three procedures:

First – A literature review and an ethnographic approach were made to enumerate the factors that may be considered in order to develop the conceptual model. The initial questions derived from the pertinence of the factors that moderate the decision to participate in relation to tourism and leisure consumer behaviour and travel decision-making (Raymore, 2002; Jackson 2005; Silva and Correia, 2008). The details of this stage are in section 1.6.2.1.

Second – An in-depth interview was designed and data were collected via a snowball method. The structure of this interview, the sample procedures and

the data collection method adopted, as well as data analysis, are further explained in section 1.6.2.2.

Third – A questionnaire was drawn up to validate the author's interpretations; this validation was performed in two steps: first, the author questioned the same participants, at a different time; second, a cohort auditor was invited to participate. The details of this stage will be explained further in section 1.6.2.3.

1.6.2 Methodological Procedures

1.6.2.1 Literature Review

This initial stage involved an exhaustive literature review on the subject in order to build a conceptual framework in which to embed the research questions that drive the thesis. The literature helped define the questions in a clearer way, since the fundamental concepts were well identified through the analysis of the core authors in gender in tourism, leisure and sports participations. This phase resulted in the production of the **Paper 1**.

Following the literature review, the study used a historical ethnography approach to further understand and determine why and how golf began to be ascribed as a men's game, but, above all, to identify the ways women found to excel in golf in the 19th and 20th centuries despite all the gender constraints. This historical ethnography was applied to 25 life stories of Anglo-American female golfers and confirmed facilitators and constraints from the literature review. Further, more factors were revealed, such as race discrimination, a factor that is not so relevant in present days. The secondary data employed derive from books by golf historians, autobiographies and narratives (Bell, 2001; Chambers, 1995; Crane, 1991; Hudson, Jr. 2008; Kahn, 1996; Mair, 1992; Tinkler, 2004), who highlighted gender inequities in this sport. The outcomes of this analysis are detailed in **Paper 2**.

1.6.2.2 In-depth Interview Procedures

This second stage focused on the choice of a theoretical sample, the interview script, and application of the interviews to the selected participants as well as data collection, and data analysis.

The sample included the Professional and Amateur Champions and the four Golf Professionals existing in Portugal (out of 110 only four are women – Associação de Profissionais de Golfe de Portugal, PGA, 2013). The 33 remaining respondents participated through snowball sampling, adding to a total of 39 in-depth semi-structured interviews. It is a theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; McCracken, 1988; Ragin, 1994; Woodside, MacDonald and Burford, 2005), according to which the profiles are chosen by theoretical reasons and not on a statistical basis. The sampling strategy used is not intended to offer representativeness, but to focus on exploring and describing facilitators and constraints relating to a specific group of Portuguese female golfers. The theoretical sampling considers combinations of case profiles across 4-7 attributes and recommends 5-8 interviews per cell (McCracken, 1988; Woodside *et al.*, 2005).

Table 1.4 displays the stratification of the interviewees, illustrating the number of profiles created based on social status, in accordance with McGinnis *et al.* (2003), who argue that most of the constraints women experience in sport participation are mainly due to their social condition. The profiles created were: the level of golf experience; age group; marital status; with and without children. Ages ranged from 14 to 67 (one woman did not answer), 18 were single or divorced, 21 married; 27 without children and 12 with children. Five were students, and the others have different occupations. Some profiles are unfeasible to reach, namely single women with children, thus this profile is not considered.

Table 1.4 - Sample Stratification

Golf experience	Age Group	Marital Status	Married With/Without children
Champions & Golf Professionals 6 women	Under 40 24 women	Single/Divorced 18 women	With Children 12 women
Amateur golfers 33 women	Over 40 15 women	Married 21 women	Without Children 27 women

Source: Own Elaboration

Interview Script and Data Collection

To prepare the data triangulation the interview script was developed. The in-depth interview (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Jennings, 2010; Ragin, 1994; Woodside *et al.*, 2005) intended to reach a holistic interpretation of the participants, their present and past environments and to realize their participation decision. The interviews were semi-structured, but we also “allowed the respondents’ answers to guide the flow of the interview” (Laurendeau and Sharara, 2008: 31).

The script was divided into three parts: the first presents a matrix covering earlier sport experiences and the second comprises 80 open-ended questions, detailing the person’s life background and socio-demographics, daily life routines regarding professional and extra-professional activities; the last part centres on sport experiences, behaviours and factors the female golfers face when choosing a male-dominated sport. Questions were inspired by and borrowed from various studies (Alexandris *et al.*, 2011; Hennessey, Macdonald and Maceachern, 2008; Ramkissoon and Nunkoo, 2012) (*see*: Appendix 2 - Interview).

Interviews with the 39 women golfers occurred during the years 2010 and 2011. Champions/Professionals’ interview duration ranged from 90 minutes to 180 minutes, whilst the amateurs’ interviews lasted between 45 minutes to 300 minutes, at a place chosen by the participants, such as club houses or the respondent’s house. They were all conducted in Portuguese, even with the two foreign women who are Swedish but living in Portugal and showing good Portuguese language ability. Data collection is detailed in Paper 7, as follows: “When this research was delineated, the first author had the opportunity to join women golfers in three different periods throughout the year: the “Ladies’ Week” in Vilamoura, October 2010, where she had the first contact with a

group of women. She went along with this group, was invited to meals and events, prize award ceremony, and other activities, which created opportunities for extended discussions and participant observations. The second occasion arose in January 2011 when she was invited by the female Professional at Estela Golf Club to attend a “Ladies’ Weekend”, where she met some women from the first group and new golfers. The third contact happened a week later at a tournament held at the Aroeira Golf Club, where the club Professional was a women. This conforms to the notion that the researcher needs to be with the individuals who are engaging in the behaviours under investigation (Sandstrom *et al.*, 2010, cited in Wood and Danylchuk, 2011: 370)” (*see: Paper 7*).

Data Analysis: Transcripts, Code Book

All interviews were recorded and the *verbatim* transcripts were subject to interpretative and comparative analyses, in order to determine analytical categories, following McCracken’s (1988) recommendations. Content analysis, a qualitative method of empirical material interpretation (Bardin, 2009; Jennings, 2010), was used to offer a comparative study of these interviews, since it provides detailed information that allows interpretation on various levels, according to different contexts. 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 had emerged from the literature. This matrix is in Appendix 1. Each reference, sentence or block of sentences is allocated to the corresponding factor (or more than one when applicable) (e.g. “golf is quite an expensive game and frankly, I don’t have much time, also...” goes under the “lack of money” and “lack of time” factors). The theme codebook allows us to count the number of instances per factor, as well as to know how many women mentioned each factor and which respondent mentioned it. Women verbalize more frequently the factors that they recognize more intensely, which therefore get a higher number of instances. Accordingly, the factors with a higher number of instances are clearly perceived, whilst a lower number of instances indicates that even when women are aware of the relevance of those factors, they do not verbalize them so spontaneously.

Overall the research draws essentially from the transcripts of 39 semi-structured in-depth interviews, articulated with the enabling and constraining factors derived from the literature, that were analysed by content analysis. The most important factors arose from the interviews and were integrated into a questionnaire that was applied to the same participants. This data analysis was used in Papers 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7. Papers 6 and 7 rely on an interpretative analysis of recorded data used to categorize the strategies these women adopted.

1.6.2.3 Data Validation: Questionnaire – Structure, Sample, Data Collection, Data analysis.

Nevertheless, the interviews present disadvantages associated with the fact that this is a subjective epistemological approach and its critics raise the question of the “reliability and validity” of the material (Jennings, 2010: 175). To validate the interpretation of the interviews, and to test if the interpretations are exactly what the women state in the interviews, a questionnaire incorporating the most recurrent factors derived from the transcript statements was applied to the same 39 participants.

This questionnaire included two sections, one with a concordance scale of five points with 20 questions related to the factors that may act as facilitators or constraints. The second part comprises a set of 30 questions to characterise the women in socio-demographic terms and their perceptions (*see: Appendix 3 – Questionnaire*). The questionnaire was codified and treated with SPSS software. To test the interpretation of the interviews and observe whether these women’s discourses reflect exactly what they really think, non-parametric tests were performed using the Kruskal-Wallis test. The Kruskal-Wallis test assumes that there is no previous ordering of the populations, from which the samples are drawn, thus making this the most appropriate test for categorical variables as is the case (*see: Paper 5*).

Cohort Audit

As strategy identification may not rely only on author interpretations, Woodside (2010) recommends a cohort audit. A cohort auditor is someone who validates the author's interpretations. As not many authors address the subject of strategies, and since Lee Phillip McGinnis is a referential researcher, he was invited to act as cohort auditor expert on this thesis. This cohort audit method was used on Papers 6 and 7, with the cohort auditor as a guest author on both papers.

The above mentioned methodological route gave rise to the papers' developments that feed this thesis over the following chapters and an overview of these papers is offered in section 1.7.

1.7 Overview of the Papers

This section displays a brief summary of the seven papers that structure the research in order for the objectives to be accomplished. The first two papers build the conceptual framework that drives this thesis, i.e., a conceptual model to articulate the theories in which the study is embedded is advanced in the first paper. The second one offers a historical approach to better understand the discriminatory processes that have excluded women from the early beginnings of golf. The following three papers evolve around the factors that most contribute to facilitating or inhibiting women's participation in this sport, considering its unfriendly environment. Participation at different levels of golf experience (from champions to amateur golfers), as well as different sorts of backgrounds, life-contexts and life stages, are presented in a wide scope perspective leading to the display of empirical results; the content analysis of the interviews depicted in Papers 3 and 4 provided the data to assemble a questionnaire that was applied and described in Paper 5, and was later treated with SPSS. The last two Papers (six and seven) address the strategies women adopt to negotiate their participation in the game. Based on the proposal to articulate the factors perceived with the chosen strategy, and by means of content analysis, both papers intend to bring insights into the strategic implication issues.

In summary, the thesis is composed by seven papers: the first two advance the theoretical framework, the following three present empirical results and the last two papers highlight the strategies adopted by Portuguese women to cope with gender inequities in golf.

The following papers that compose this thesis address the research objectives:

Paper 1 – Gender Asymmetries in Golf Participation - Presents a thorough literature review on the factors that inhibit or facilitate the decision to participate in leisure activities. Thus the concept of gender has been examined in the decision to participate in leisure, sports and golf. The paper advances a Conceptual Model embedded in the interaction of the theories used to identify these factors. From an extensive list of factors, a Revisited Model was created with the ones that most relate to sports/golf participation.

Paper 2 – Revisiting Life Stories of Famous Women Golfers: A Historical Approach - Tests the persistence of those factors over the centuries and nationalities by means of historical ethnography and the content analysis of 25 life stories (narratives, biographies, auto-biographies) of Anglo-American women who excelled in golf in the 19th and 20th centuries. This study contextualizes and provides the framework for discrimination processes, sheds light on the exclusion of women and consequences arising from this social behaviour.

Paper 3 – Gender Inequalities in Golf: A Consented Exclusion? - Attempts to assess the feasibility of the Revisited Model in the present day, across a sample of contemporary Portuguese female Champions/Professionals, since the previous paper contemplated women who succeeded in golf. The interview script was produced and applied to Portuguese champions and golf professionals and interpreted by means of content analysis. Extracts of the interviews were translated and proofread to become part of the body of the paper.

Paper 4 – Facilitators and Constraints in the Participation of Women in Golf: Portugal - Aims to unveil if champions/professionals and amateur golfers show different perceptions and behaviours therefore the sample was extended to amateur

female golfers and comprised profiles that were referred on the literature, allowing a comparative assessment of the influence of factors in golf participation by the different groups. The analyses highlighted behaviour differences across the profiles under study.

Paper 5 - Gender in Golf: Heterogeneity in Women's Participation - Intends to validate the interpretation of the interviews; consequently, a set of the most important factors that arose from the interviews integrated a questionnaire that was applied to the same respondents. Questionnaires were codified and treated with SPSS. Non-parametric tests were performed using the Kruskal-Wallis test.

Paper 6 – “Women's Strategies in Golf: Portuguese Golf Professionals”- Proposes to assess the strategies women use the most to enable their participation in golf, depicting Portuguese golf champions/professionals. This study is a first attempt to articulate the three dimensions of factors with the type of ritual-based negotiation strategy adopted by Portuguese champions/professional golfers.

Paper 7 – How do Portuguese Women Golfers Cope with Gender Inequities? - Extends the sample to a group of female participants with a large spectrum of golf experience degrees, so as to understand strategies Portuguese amateurs use to overcome or to avoid or even outwit gender inequities in golf.

The driving question in the present thesis is to observe how, and to what degree, intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors moderate women's decision to engage in a male-cultured sport such as golf and how their life contexts may contribute to adopt a strategy to persist in golf. Each of the seven studies that assemble this thesis plays a specific role in achieving the research objectives.

1.7.1 Summary of Paper 1 - “Gender Asymmetries in Golf Participation”

This first paper discusses the concept of gender in leisure and sports/golf participation. The paper conceptualizes the theories used to frame this research having established gender inequities engrained in leisure, sports and golf that moderate women’s decision to participate in leisure in general and a masculine sport such as golf in particular. The main issues this paper deals with are to understand what factors moderate female participation. It researches existing literature on the subject, the pertinence of life contexts and environments in decision-making, grounded on the Ecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1989, 1992), which established that the micro and macro systems in which the individuals exist determine their option for one activity over one other. This is sustained by the Causal Historical Wave (Woodside *et al.*, 2007) that hits the individual whenever a decision is required. The articulation with the 3D factors - intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural (Crawford and Godbey, 1987; Crawford *et al.*, 1991; Godbey *et al.*, 2010), that constraint (Jackson, 1997, 2005) or facilitate (Raymore, 2002) participation led to a theoretical model. The literature review resulted in a comprehensive list of factors that was filtered to allow working with the factors that most relate to sports/golf involvement. The following research presuppositions were raised:

P₁: The intrapersonal factors inhibit or facilitate women’s participation in golf;

P₂: The interpersonal factors inhibit or facilitate women’s participation in golf;

P₃: The structural factors inhibit or facilitate women’s participation in golf.

Findings reveal the most preponderant factors, such as the facilitators *motivation* (intrapersonal), *friends’ or family support* (interpersonal) or the constraints found mainly on the structural level, such as *course conduciveness*, or the rules of golf that inhibit female participation. This study is theoretical in its essence, its main contributions being the proposal of a structured piece of research in this field: the

conceptual framework model, articulating these theories, which provided the grounds to cluster the factors that inhibit or enable the individuals' decisions to participate in leisure and sports activities. A second contribution derives from the compilation of studies from a multidisciplinary approach that allowed substantiating knowledge in this field, brought insights into gender theory in leisure and provided the possibility for further studies to conceptualize possible changes in golf policies to attract more women to the game.

1.7.2 Summary of Paper 2 - “Revisiting Life Stories of Famous Women Golfers: A Historical Approach”

The second paper addresses the fact that, despite discriminatory practices, many women succeeded in such a male-dominated environment. The aim is to understand:

P₄: How do famous Anglo-American women from the 19th and 20th centuries perceive the 3D factors that facilitate or inhibit their participation in golf?

Based on 25 life stories of women who excelled in golf in a highly discriminatory era, 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, 1996; Mair, 1992; Tinkler, 2004), who highlighted gender inequities in this sport. A historical ethnographic approach was used and these life stories were analysed by means of content analysis. Reis and Correia (*see: Paper 2*) explain the sampling strategy: “The criteria to choose these women’s stories were their performance in golf, their ability to win or their provocative behaviour in golf. The sample comprises five leaders or presidents of Ladies’ clubs (...); two women, who were the first to be invited to a male clubhouse (...); three victims of racism (...); one with a peculiar behaviour for her time, she being the first woman to wear trousers for a major competition in 1933 (...); three women whose marriages were crucial to their participation or not in golf (...); the remaining women were chosen because their family contexts (traditional, wealthy families or low-income families) and also 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”

(see: Paper 2). Further, results reveal a set of factors that were ascribed to the social and cultural environments of the British and American life styles, being context-dependent on historical, social, cultural and economic environments, such as race discrimination, that is not so determinant in the present day. Despite only addressing female players, this paper is relevant for informing sport/golf history.

1.7.3 Summary of Paper 3 - “Gender Inequalities in Golf: A Consented Exclusion?”

The third paper, which belongs to the empirical block, attempts to build a connection on a time-line approach, comparing 19th and 20th century Anglo-American women who excelled in golf, with present day Portuguese champions/ professionals golfers. The paper reveals the two major behaviours found among golf participants: highly professional, competitive women who play golf to compete and win; and the group of social golfers who enjoy the socializing facet of this open-air activity. The first group became the object of study, examining the participation behaviours of contemporary Portuguese champions/professionals, attempting to test the persistence of discriminatory practices in golf. Hence, research proposals were formulated:

P₅: Did Anglo-American women who excelled in golf in the 19th and 20th centuries perceive the 3D factors as facilitators or constraints to their participation in golf?;

P₆: Do Portuguese women who excel in golf in the 21st century perceive the 3D factors as facilitators or constraints to their participation in golf?;

P₇: What are the factors that persisted over the centuries and across nationalities?;

P₈: How did these women succeed in golf?.

The sample included the two professional and amateur champions and the four golf professionals existing in Portugal. The interview script (see: Appendix 2) comprised 80 open-ended questions covering three sections about the person’s life background and

socio-demographics, daily life activities and routines, concerning professional and extra-professional activities; the final section focuses on sport experiences, behaviours and factors the interviewees face when choosing a male-dominated sport. The interviews were conducted at the clubhouses where these women work and/or play, were all in Portuguese, recorded and *verbatim* transcribed. These interviews were interpreted by means of content analysis. Life backgrounds, previous experiences, professional/academic contexts and environments of these women were depicted in detail throughout the paper, to better understand their option for this unfriendly environment. Research questions P5 and P6 were answered affirmatively, whereas P7 provided the possibility to verify some factors that persisted until today in the practice of golf, like family incentive or friends' support; the structural dimension proves to be strongly perceived as enclosing the majority of constraints that inhibit female participation. Results show that some aspects of women's lifestyle did not change much; social values are difficult to overcome. In fact, women's exclusion is a cultural factor engrained in their daily lives, meaning that women exclude themselves, tacitly accepting this discrimination. The research proposal P8 stresses that "women accept discrimination, even though, to succeed in golf, they have to avoid or outwit this hegemony. Even when showing some dissimilarity, this behaviour persists from the early days of women playing golf to the present, and it is not likely to change: to accept, avoid and/or outwit are the strategies women used, have used and will keep on using" (*see: Paper 3*).

1.7.4 Summary of Paper 4 - "Facilitators and Constraints in the Participation of Women in Golf: Portugal"

This fourth paper applies the framework delineated in the first two papers and enlarges the sample to include levels of participation ranging from the champions/professionals to social golfers without handicap, who only go along to accompany their husbands and/or friends. This paper develops in three research proposals:

P₉: Identify the most important factors female golfers perceive as facilitators or inhibitors to their participation in the game;

P₁₀: Distinguish the most important factors by *professional* and *amateur* golfers;

P₁₁: Depict the influence of these women's socio-demographic characteristics on their perceptions.

In order to interpret the extensive amount of data produced by these interviews, a “theme codebook” listing a matrix of the 33 factors within the three dimensions acting as facilitators or constraints was created (*see*: Appendix 1). Extracts from the transcripts were coded under a factor and a dimension so in the end, it was possible to know which factors are more frequently perceived and verbalized by the respondents. Findings highlight discrepancies between the champions/professionals and the amateur groups: the first enjoy travelling everywhere on account of golf, the latter will engage in golf if there is a course in the area of residence. Within the amateurs group the various profiles also show different perceptions: for example, the single/divorced group enjoys socializing, whereas married women with children find golf very time-consuming,

1.7.5 Summary of Paper 5 - “Gender in Golf: Heterogeneity in Women’s Participation”

The fifth paper relies on the perception and verbalization of the three dimensions of factors and intends to validate the interpretation of the interviews; a set of factors that emerged from the discourses integrated a questionnaire (*see*: Appendix 3) that was then applied to the same 39 respondents, grouped under three profiles: age, marital status and with or without children. Some profiles are unfeasible to reach, namely single women with children, thus this profile is not considered. The research presuppositions addressed the various profiles that composed the sample:

P₁₂: Different *age groups* justify different golf participation perceptions and verbalizations of the 3D factors;

P₁₃: Different *marital status* (married/divorced/single) justifies different golf participation perceptions and verbalizations of the 3D factors;

P₁₄: Having children or not justifies different golf participation perceptions and verbalizations of the 3D factors.

The questionnaires were codified and treated with SPSS. Non-parametric tests were performed using the Kruskal-Wallis test. Thus, a theoretical sampling and data triangulation support this research. Differences across profiles were found. Findings confirm the factors that women perceive most, depending on the socio-demographic contexts that drove each profile.

1.7.6 Summary of Paper 6 - “Women's Strategies in Golf: Portuguese Golf Professionals”

This sixth paper deals with strategic implications by advancing an innovative proposal: the interaction of the three dimensions of factors examined and confirmed in the previous papers and the “ritual-based negotiation strategies” by McGinnis *et al.* (2009): interpersonal factors articulate with the *accommodating* negotiation strategy, the intrapersonal with the *unaware* strategy and the structural with the *unapologetic*. The merger of the two different frameworks is necessary and makes a contribution. Actually, in order to truly grow the game and make it more enjoyable for women, it is necessary for women to come in on their terms, defining their own rituals, and allowing for maximum transcendence. Clearly, the unaware strategy is the most effective toward this end, and understanding the constraints that still exist in this experience mode sheds light on how practitioners can approach growth initiatives.

The underlying idea is that by understanding how female golfers deal with gender inequities and continue to play, more insights into their behaviours, expectations and ways to persist in the game can be disclosed. The outcome of such findings may provide guidelines for marketers and course directors to plan changes in club policies aiming to enhance female participation. Following the same methodology adopted in Paper 3, the analysis looked upon the champions/professionals' behaviour, perceptions and verbalizations. Since the sample is so small, even if comprising the whole universe existing in Portugal, the Extended Case Study Method (Burawoy, 1991, 2009a, 2009b) was used. The research proposals were:

P₁₅: What are the strategies women who excel in golf use in order to participate?;

P₁₆: Golf participation choice is moderated by intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors; as these factors are related with these women's contextual life settings, it is expected that cultural and social contexts play the biggest role in their choice;

P₁₇: Strategies adopted manage to overcome constraints and avail enablers so, even if in an indirect way, it could be expected that contextual life settings (even when not perceived), as well as cultural and social contexts, moderate these women's strategies.

The originality of the study relied on the proposal to articulate the 3D factors with the type of ritual-based negotiation strategy adopted by Portuguese champions/professional golfers. Findings prove that top female players in Portugal adopt different strategies, but, even at a high competitive level, a conforming behaviour towards cultural traditional values is found, which appeared as a surprising result.

1.7.7 Summary of Paper 7 - “How do Portuguese Women Golfers Cope with Gender Inequities?”

The final paper, number 7, aims at testing and confirming the proposal from Paper number 6: the interaction of the factors perceived with the strategy adopted because strategic lines to make golf more women-friendly may be highlighted from the results. The sample was expanded and the discourses of the 33 amateur golfers were explored. By confirming the articulation of the 3D factors with the negotiation strategies, this study reinforces the connection between each dimension and each strategy mode. The following research proposals drove this paper:

P₁₈: Each dimension of factors conforms to each type of negotiation strategy;

P₁₉: The higher perception of intrapersonal factors resides in the adoption of the unaware strategy;

P₂₀: The higher perception of interpersonal factors resides in the adoption of the accommodating strategy;

P₂₁: The higher perception of structural factors resides in the adoption of the unapologetic strategy.

Findings indicate that the strategies Portuguese amateur golfers adopt most frequently to negotiate their participation in the game are in the accommodating mode, which may be a consequence of the strong cultural and social values of the Portuguese society. This strategy is also adopted by the professional golfers, which is surprising since these women regard this sport as part of their daily lives (as it is shown in Paper 6). According to Hofstede's cultural dimensions (2013), in Portugal "hierarchical distance is accepted and those holding the most powerful positions are admitted to have privileges for their position". Female golfers seem to consider men are still in the "powerful position", and accept women are second class golfers. Further, Hofstede posits that Portugal's scores indicate this country as a "Collectivist society" meaning that "people belong to 'in groups' that take care of them in exchange for loyalty. (...) This is manifest in a close long-term commitment to the member 'group', be that a family, extended family, or extended relationships". So, again the influence of cultural traditions in golf is noticeable when concerning the group of social golfers.

Following the introductory chapter, chapters two to eight of the thesis comprise the contribution of seven papers presented in conferences and/or published or submitted to academic journals that will be depicted separately. Chapter nine provides the main conclusions, theoretical and practical contributions, limitations of the study and paths for future research.

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CHAPTER 2

GENDER ASYMMETRIES IN GOLF PARTICIPATION

(PAPER 1)

GENDER ASYMMETRIES IN GOLF PARTICIPATION

HELENA REIS & ANTÓNIA CORREIA¹

Abstract

The golf industry in Portugal is facing substantial difficulties In keeping courses running—as is happening in the United States, for example—because the number of golf tourists and federate players has drastically decreased in recent years; from 17,642 players in 2005 to 14,679 in 2012 (European Golf Association, n.d.). Golf marketers and course owners have realized that this sector needs to undergo considerable changes to attract more clients to the game. Among potential clients, women are presently viewed as a segment that deserves attention since they can make a difference to the economy of the sector, which desperately needs to be enhanced. Nowadays, women tend to outlive men; they are more aware of the benefits of open-air activities and are willing to play, so golf could be a lifelong sport for them. Nevertheless, at present they only account for roughly 18% of golf players in Portugal (European Golf Association, n.d.).

Keywords: Golf, gender, EST, CHW, facilitators and constraints.

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Introduction

Golf is a male-dominated leisure activity, interdicted to women since its beginning in the 18th century. This reality has persisted until the present day and seems difficult to overcome, since nearly 80% of golf players worldwide are men. Recent research reinforces an exclusion practice repeatedly attributed to golf:

“Historically, the game of golf as a professional sport systematically excluded minority participation. African Americans and females were systematically excluded or denied active and direct participation” (Fjelstul, Jackson and Tesone, 2011: 1, 5).

This exclusion derives from many different factors, such as tradition or discrimination, social class stratification, or the cultural role attributed to women. Consequently, this plethora of factors calls for a methodological framework able to classify all these factors. The framework used in this research is grounded in the ecological systems theory (EST) by Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1989), substantiated by the causal historical wave by Woodside, Caldwell and Spurr (2006) and, Woodside, Krauss, Caldwell and Chebat (2007). The three dimensions of factors (interpersonal, intrapersonal, and structural) advanced by Crawford and Godbey (1987), and the constraints/facilitators paradigm by Jackson (1997) and Raymore (2002), build on the adequate theoretical support for this study. By setting this framework, the factors highlighted in the research that stand out from the literature review, provide a comprehensive and critical agenda to further development.

The articulation of these theories has been used to understand the decision whether or not to participate in tourism and leisure. Our intention is to propose a theoretical model that accommodates the different factors stressed in the literature that are determinant in understanding women's behaviour towards golf participation. According to McGinnis, Gentry and McQuillan (2009), it is essential to further develop gender theory in leisure and to advance feasible changes in golf environments that might facilitate women's full engagement. Furthermore, we have found justification for our research in Barrows and Ridout (2010: 457), who outlined areas of future research including recreation and golf, since there are significant challenges facing golf operations in clubs. The authors advanced that “gaps still remain as do research challenges, particularly with regard to

methodologies”. The need to frame previous literature was also claimed by these scholars, which has led to our work.

The present study intends to offer a comprehensive reflection on the factors that have mostly contributed to keeping women away from golf and suggests a methodological approach to frame these factors. This research will result in a theoretical contribution to the study of gender behavior as well as of sports and golf participation. The main contribution of this Paper is the critical and synthetic overview of the plethora of studies on this topic, accommodating a multidisciplinary approach and providing a theoretical framework that allows a deeper insight. To the authors’ best knowledge, a comprehensive literature review on this subject is still missing in sports and golf literature, in particular when this is framed by methodologies able to accommodate the multidisciplinary and complexity of this subject.

The next section of this Paper presents a brief conceptualization of gender in leisure and sports/golf. The third section covers the theoretical background that structures this research, while the fourth section deals with the theoretical model suggested in this research. The final section consists of conclusions, limitations, and perspectives for future research.

Literature Review

Gender studies are transversal to other disciplines such as history (Duby and Perrot, 1991; Guinote, 1997), sociology (Amâncio, 1994; Guerreiro, 1998; Standley and Soule, 1974), anthropology, philosophy (Gilligan, 1982; Butler, 1990, 1999), social politics, literature (Beauvoir, 1949; Woolf, 1945), and psychology (Funk and Brunn, 2007; McCrea, Hirt and Milner, 2008; McDaniel, Lim and Mahan, 2007), to name a few. Researchers of economy or business administration (Marshall, 1995; Meyerson and Fletcher, 2000; White, Cox and Cooper, 1992), marketing (Koc, 2002; McDaniel *et al.*, 2007), or tourism (Cave and Kilic, 2010; Frew and Shaw, 1999; Kim, Lehto and Morrison, 2007; Swain, 1995), have analyzed the significance of gender in their work.

From the very first references, from classical antiquity to the early 20th century, literature contemplates gender/women under masculine scope domination. The influence of the platonic system inferring that there is no place for women's activity in the public sphere of a *polis* organization has preserved this male supremacy, perpetuating it throughout history, which has greatly affected women's status in Western societies. Modern societies reproduce a patriarchal pattern, and many different sectors of public life— such as politics, economy, education, law, medicine, and engineering—have excluded women. Sports, in general, and golf in particular, are no exception. In sport, we verify a clear sex division and a systematic exclusion of women from male-dominated activities: “There were socially determined limits on women's access to public spaces, and anxiety that certain activities were inherently unfeminine and/or might threaten their reproductive and maternal functions” (Borsay, 2006: 118). A consequence of this gender discrimination is clearly reflected in leisure, recreational time, and the type of activity. Besides the exclusion and the traditional role attributed to women in Western societies, the factors of time and financial resources stand out as strong constraints to female participation in tourism and leisure activities. Borsay (2006:118) further claimed that:

“at the practical level, caring for home and family rested primarily with women, and whatever resources of time and money they commanded had to be directed first of all towards meeting their domestic responsibilities” .

Many researchers have analyzed leisure and sports or physical and outdoor/recreational activities mediated by gender preferences (Henderson and Hickerson, 2007; Shaw, 1994; Sylvia-Bobiak and Caldwell, 2006; Thomsson, 1999).

In her essay, “Gender in Tourism,” Swain (1995: 247) advanced that:

“a feminist approach to research is based in an understanding of gender, used... to mean a system of cultural identities and social relationships between females and males, as a significant variable in any study of human relations”.

Furthermore, “women and men are... involved differently in the construction and consumption of tourism. Gendered ‘realities’ shape tourism marketing, guests’ motivations, and hosts’ actions” (Swain, 1995: 249). More recently and on a practical

level, Cave and Kilic (2010: 283) highlighted that “imagery in tourism brochures perpetuates gender stereotyping. Males are depicted as being adventurous and active whereas females are shown as being more family oriented and domestic”.

Gender in Leisure

Considering gender as a social structure on individual, interactional, and institutional levels of social life (McGinnis, McQuillan and Chapple, 2005: 317), referring to gender as a “social structure that organizes society into different and unequal categories based on sex and as an ideology that promotes inequities between the socially constructed categories of men and women.” Thus, the concept of gender is a social construction quite distinct from biological differences between the sexes. In her research on gender identity in consumer behavior, Palan (2001:1) presented an explanation:

“For many years, sex and gender were thought to be inseparable that is, men were masculine and women were feminine. But what consumer behavior researchers, among others, recognized long ago was that some men were more feminine than masculine while some women were more masculine than feminine. In the postmodern culture in which we now live, this separation of gender from sex is even more apparent”.

The study of women’s leisure is intrinsically related to the gender roles in society and constraints women face, deriving from gender inequities in most domains (Crawford and Godbey, 1987; Fjelstul *et al.*, 2011; Henderson, 1990; Henderson and Hickerson, 2007). According to the leisure historian:

“Historically the central motifs in women’s leisure have been home and family. Thus practical activities—such as sewing, knitting, embroidery, cooking, and gardening—which support domestic life and where the line between the work and leisure is unclear, have often contained a strong but concealed recreational element...” (Borsay, 2006: 116).

Parry and Shinew (2004) stated that the body of research on women’s leisure constraints has been explored from two main approaches. The first focused on the “ways in which women are disadvantaged or oppressed within a patriarchal society, and how their subordinate status within society limits their access to, and enjoyment of, leisure. (Shaw, 1994:8). The second approach perceives leisure activities that can act as

constraints to women, since they support and reproduce inequitable gender structures (Shaw, 1994). In effect, when examined women's and men's everyday experiences and perceptions of family time and leisure, it was found that:

The caring aspects of family leisure have negative repercussions for women. In particular, the planning, organizing, and scheduling work, as well as the emotional work that goes into trying to create successful family leisure is indeed experienced as "work" for women. (Parry and Shinew, 2004: 296)

Miller and Brown (2005:406) affirmed that "many cultural and social practices relating to women and leisure suggest that the gender ideologies that inform women's behavior are unlikely to encourage engagement in independent or active leisure". In his study about the process of searching for information for the family's holidays, Koc (2002) concluded that women/wives and men/husbands showed fundamental differences when processing marketing information to plan a domestic family holiday. Broverman (as cited in Koc, 2002: 259) found that "there is sufficient research stating that men are analytical and logical in their information processing, while women are characterized as being more subjective and intuitive".

Research on women's leisure highlights several constraints such as: "the fear of selfishness..." (Thomsson, 1999: 48); the "guilt associated with leaving children with others to take time out for themselves..." (Miller and Brown, 2005: 410); "the sense of guilt for having fun when others need care..." (McGinnis and Gentry, 2006: 231), but the most recurring is "the ethics of care" i.e., women provide for the others' needs before their own (Day, 2000; Gilligan, 1982; Henderson and Allen, 1991; Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007; Lloyd and Little, 2010; Miller and Brown, 2005; Roster, 2007; Thomsson, 1999). Family obligations are deeply related to making time for oneself and women are the most constrained, as men do not allow "paid work or familial obligations to compromise golf participation" (McGinnis and Gentry, 2006: 230). Furthermore, Borsay (2006: 121) stated: "leisure has thus been a powerful arena for the molding and expressing of sexual identities. Not that the boundaries between male and female leisure have been fixed historically".

Gender in Sports

According to George (2010: 288), “sport can be an important agent for social change and social control and is said to have reinforced and reproduced gender divisions and contributed to definitions of masculinity and femininity”. Gendered sports participation has been a topic of interest for many authors, who have identified discrepancies in various areas: sports participation and physical education (Koivula, 1995; Lensky, 1991; Matteo, 1986); elite sports (Abrahamsen, Roberts and Pensgaard, 2007); recreational sports (Carroll and Alexandris, 1997); basketball (Banet-Weiser, 1999); professional sailing (Bricknell, 1999; Crawley, 1998); the Olympics (Eastman and Billings, 1999); skiing (Gilbert and Hudson, 2000); football (Kim and Chalip, 2004); motorcycling (Roster, 2007); tennis (Thomsson, 1999); parks and recreation (Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007); and golf (Callan and Thomas, 2004, 2006; Haig-Muir, 2000; Hudson, 2008; Pyles, 2007). Borsay (2006: 121) clarified that:

“Sport is often taken to be a recreation which is biologically male orientated, with its emphasis upon strength, competition, and combat. However, historically the extent of female participation in physical sports remains unclear”.

Most authors agree that the physical barriers to women’s integration into traditionally masculine sports are disappearing; however, profound institutional “unequal distribution of work and leisure time for women and men”, (McGinnis *et al.*, 2005: 314) and psychological barriers and constraints remain (McGinnis, Chun and McQuillian, 2003; McGinnis *et al.*, 2005), inducing behaviour differences rooted in cultural, traditional, and social values. In 1995, Koivula (1995: 555) concluded: “the appropriateness of participation in sports is still based on gender and not simply on ability and/or interest.” Various studies about the role of women in sports show significant differences in relation to men, concerning participation, behaviour and performance, justifying those behavioural differences with physical dissimilarities or distinct ways of perceiving competitiveness (Abrahamsen *et al.*, 2007; Mair, 1992; Moy and Liaw, 1998). Some authors claim that females reported higher levels of performance anxiety, concentration disruption and somatic anxiety than males (Abrahamsen *et al.*, 2007).

In reality, there are competitive sports and spectator sports, both of which have unique games for men and women. Nevertheless, for its specificities (competency measured by a handicap system, no age limit to start playing, no request of extreme physical strengths or resistance, among others) golf could provide mixed grounds that accommodate both genders: “handicapping, staggered tees, variably sized equipment, beautiful grounds, social interaction, and endurance all suggest that golf should be an ideal sport to embody gender equity” (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009: 20).

It is more common to find research on women in male-dominated sports (Abrahamsen *et al.*, 2007; Banet-Weiser, 1999; Bricknell, 1999; Crawley, 1998), gender inequities in leisure time (Bittman and Wajcman, 2000; Henderson and Allen, 1991; Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007) or gendered sports coverage (Eastman and Billings, 1999; Koivula, 1999; McDaniel *et al.*, 2007; McGinnis *et al.*, 2003; Messner, Dunbar and Hunt, 2000) than studies exploring the social context of women in golf (Haig-Muir, 2000; McGinnis *et al.*, 2005; Pyles, 2007).

Gender in Golf

Golf historians are unanimous about the masculine nature of the game’s focus, since its inception (George, 2010; George, Kay and Vamplew, 2007; Vamplew, 2010). Vamplew (2010: 372) highlights that:

“The club was a site for men of similar social standing to meet together in a homosocial environment. 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”.

“Golf has been called one of the last bastions of male exclusivity” (Chambers, *as cited in McGinnis et al.*, 2009: 32). For example, “older males retire to the golf course and take their more traditional values with them...” (Chambers, *as cited in McGinnis et al.*, 2009: 32). Some of their female interviewees attested that men try “to preserve golf as a male playpen”. Many women have difficulty entering golf as they have to participate on men’s terms. In fact, Borsay (2006: 115) indicated that “the position of women in golf has always been stronger [than in football] and the opportunities for gender mixing

much greater, but this depended upon accepting segregationist practices and inferior roles that still riddle the sport”. Some authors are more acute:

“Discrimination against women golfers is as long as the history of the sport itself... the game of golf spread from Britain across the Anglophone world in the late-nineteenth century. The establishment of clubs followed close behind... golf clubs were sporting extensions of late Victorian “clubland,” which was “an almost exclusively, and often aggressively, masculine sphere.” (Haig-Muir, 2000: 19).

Despite the number of scholars that contest this sort of chauvinism, highlighting that there are no physical differences that justify different treatments (Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; McGinnis *et al.*, 2003, 2005; Roster, 2007), evidence proves that this sort of prejudice still persists, thus influencing the contextual setting of women and men (Haig-Muir, 2000; McGinnis *et al.*, 2009; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006). Moy and Liaw (1998) asserted that men’s larger physical size and superior strength explained the advantage enjoyed by professional male golfers over their female counterparts, as men can drive the ball farther. However, others argued that successfully driving the ball requires more than strength (Hume, Keogh and Reid, 2005), since having analyzed driving and putting, they observed that strength is important in both areas, but flexibility and timing are also critical for success. Myers *et al.* (*as cited in* Pyles, 2007), found statistical support for this; male golfers score higher in strength and stamina, while females have superior flexibility. Furthermore, women are often considered slower golfers than men because, on average, they have shorter drives. This may be true, but that does not necessarily translate into a slower game because shorter drives can be more accurate (McGinnis *et al.*, 2005).

Theoretical Background

This section introduces the different theories that provide the framework of this study and in it we explain how these theories relate and interact with each other. The study builds on the following: the EST by Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1989), sustained by Woodside *et al.* (2006, 2007) concept of causal historical wave; Crawford and Godbey's (1987) three dimensions of factors (interpersonal, intrapersonal, and structural); and on the constraints/facilitators paradigm by Jackson (1997) and Raymore (2002). The literature on gender sports is based on the EST, even if this theory is not explicated in previous research. Nevertheless, many authors have applied the facilitators/constraints proposal to leisure preferences and sports, broadening the understanding of women's leisure choices: Callan and Thomas (2006); Carroll and Alexandris (1997); Gilbert and Hudson (2000); Haig-Muir (2000); Kaczynski and Henderson (2007); Lloyd and Little (2010); McGinnis *et al.* (2003, 2005, 2009); McGinnis and Gentry (2006); Miller and Brown (2005); Parry and Shinew (2004); Roster (2007); and Shaw (1994), to name a few. These scholars have found that the intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural factors acting as constraints or facilitators are the grounds to explain the decision to travel or to participate in leisure. By articulating these theories, we propose a theoretical model that should accommodate the different factors highlighted by the literature that are determinant for understanding women's behavior towards golf participation.

The EST

In the field of human development psychology, Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1989) developed the EST. This theory assumes that one can only understand the individuals by understanding their environment, and that "the ecological environment is conceived as a set of nested structures, each inside the next, like a set of Russian dolls" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979: 3). An ecological perspective of human development is concerned with understanding the contexts in which an individual exists, incorporating interactions between individuals, other individuals, and social structures of society to explain human development. The author suggested that two key contexts influence both behavior and development: the *microsystem* and the *macrosystem*. The microsystem includes past and present roles, individuals, and activities a person has experienced in

their interactions, while the macrosystem is the larger context in which the individual functions. The macrosystem includes belief systems such as societal conceptions of ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and gender, as well as other structures of society and its institutions. To provide more detail:

Microsystems refer to the setting in which the individual lives—the objects to which he or she responds to or the people with whom he or she interacts, including the person’s family, peers, school, and neighborhood. Equally important, stated Bronfenbrenner (1979: 7) “are connections between other persons present in the setting, the nature of these links, and their indirect influence on the developing person through their effect on those who deal with him or her at first hand”. The individual is not a passive recipient of experiences in these settings, but someone who helps construct the settings.

Macrosystems are “the complex of nested, interconnected systems viewed as a manifestation of overarching patterns of ideology and organization of the social institutions common to a particular culture or subculture” (Bronfenbrenner, 1979: 8). The macrosystem describes the culture in which individuals live.

Causal Historical Wave

Woodside *et al.* (2007: 16) analysis indicated that:

“A great deal of travel-related behavior is not part of a constructive or rational process, but is the result of a causal historical own (i.e., informant) interpretation in which an individual perceives him/herself experiencing a wave-of-events which come together, interact, and cause the individual to participate in certain behaviors and not participate in alternative behaviors that may come to his/her mind consciously”.

The personal history relates to the individuals’ life background and lived experiences, which emphasize their past experiences. The authors propose that the “causal history could be one’s childhood, personality traits, or particular life experiences which shaped one’s wants and desires” (Woodside 2007: 19).

Three Dimensions of Factors

Crawford and Godbey (1987) identified three dimensions of factors: intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural. The intrapersonal refers to the individuals' inner self and consists of their characteristics, fears, and beliefs. Some of the intrapersonal factors identified by the literature are: motivation, personality, past experiences, and personal performance (Raymore, 2002). The interpersonal constraints are related to social interactions established among individuals and consist of family, groups of reference, strangers, and opinion leaderships/market mavens (Raymore, 2002). The structural constraints are external factors that inhibit participation, like institutions, infrastructures, socioeconomic status, social background, money, gender, and race (Raymore, 2002). These factors are assumed to be the main drivers of consumer behavior; therefore, they can be the starting point to understand why women do not participate in golf activities.

The work of several scholars in tourism presupposes that the three dimensions of factors may act as facilitators and constraints to the decision to participate or not (Daniels, Rodgers and Wiggins, 2005; Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; Nyaupane, Morais and Graefe, 2004; Pennington-Gray and Kerstetter, 2002; Raymore, 2002; Silva and Correia, 2008; Woodside *et al.*, 2007). Gilbert and Hudson (2000: 910) recalled the controversy around the "negotiation of constraints" advanced by Crawford *et al.* (1991), who

"...proposed that individuals who participate in a given leisure pursuit might have successfully negotiated a sequential or hierarchical series of constraints, whereas individuals who do not, have experienced barriers that might have occurred at any one of several stages".

Moreover, each level must be overcome in order for an individual to face the subsequent level of constraint. The first level of constraints is intrapersonal. According to Crawford *et al.* (1991), these involve individual psychological states and attributes that interact with leisure preferences rather than intervening between preferences and participation. Examples include "stress, depression, religiosity, anxiety, perceived self-skill, and subject evaluations of the appropriateness of various leisure activities" (Gilbert and Hudson, 2000: 910).

The authors explained this hierarchy:

“Leisure preferences are formed following the negotiation or absence of intrapersonal constraints. The next stage, interpersonal constraints, occurs as a result of interaction or the relationship between individuals’ characteristics. For example, individuals may experience an interpersonal constraint if they are unable to find a partner or friends to participate with. Once interpersonal barriers have been overcome, an individual may face structural constraints, the type that has received most attention in previous research. This type includes... *economic barriers, availability of time, access, opportunity, etc...*” (Gilbert and Hudson, 2000: 911).

In fact, this would mean that “individuals who are most affected by intrapersonal difficulties would be less likely to want to participate in a given leisure activity and thus would not reach higher order constraints (interpersonal and structural)” (Gilbert and Hudson, 2000: 911). Nevertheless, Gilbert and Hudson (2000: 911) indicated that the “negotiation of constraints” model was not tested enough and it is difficult to understand the relevance of the proposal, due to lack of testing. Further research would be needed.

Constraints/Facilitators

The literature defines constraints and facilitators as factors (Jackson, 1997), or conditions (Raymore, 2002), that are assumed by researchers and perceived or experienced by individuals to enable/promote or limit/inhibit the formation of leisure preferences and encourage/enhance or prohibit participation. Raymore (2002) proposed a new formulation to define “facilitator,” using a direct adaptation of Jackson’s (1997) definition of constraints: “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” (Raymore, 2002: 39).

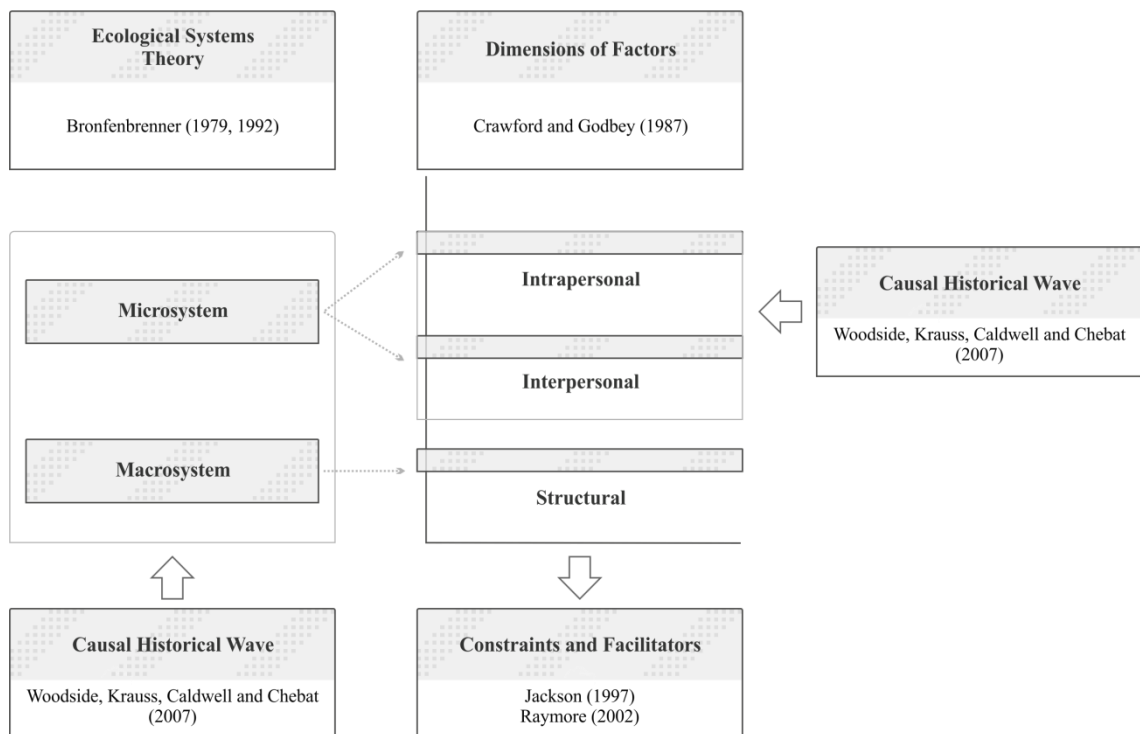
Simply put, facilitators to leisure promote the formation of leisure preferences and encourage participation. Moreover, Raymore advanced that “constraints and facilitators are not always polar opposites... suggesting that the absence of constraints does not necessarily facilitate participation” (Raymore, 2002: 40). Many scholars are working with the facilitators/ constraints proposal (Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Silva and Correia, 2008), departing from the assumption that

“the facilitators-constraints interaction proposition is that specific combinations of facilitating and constraining factors create paths leading to, versus preventing, certain outcomes (e.g., overnight travel or no travel during available leisure time periods)” (Woodside *et al.*, 2007: 259).

Methodology and Findings

Figure 2.1 explains the theoretical framework that articulates the selected theories that the present research uses. The intrapersonal and the interpersonal factors belong to the microsystem of the individuals, while the structural factors are found within their macrosystem. All the factors act as constraints and/or facilitators, even if showing different levels of influence.

Figure 2.1 – The 3D Factors – Conceptual Framework



The first attempt to derive the model was to classify and group the factors found in the literature under the three major dimensions: intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural, according to the examples of the authors that work around those factors. Table 2.1

depicts a list of the most frequent three dimensions of factors deriving from the literature: the conceptual basis to understanding female golfers.

The basis of our model is the intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural factors outlined in the literature.

Table 2.1 - Map of Intrapersonal, Interpersonal, and Structural Factors

	Factor	Examples of Literature
Intrapersonal	Personality One's childhood	Crane, 1991; Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; Mair, 1992; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Pizam <i>et al.</i> 2004; Plog, 1974; Powell, 1994; Raymore, 2002; Schrader and Wann, 1999; Sylvia-Bobiak and Caldwell, 2006; Tinkler, 2004.
	Past experiences or Particular life experiences; Ability, Knowledge	Crane, 1991; Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; Mair, 1992; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Raymore, 2002; Sylvia-Bobiak and Caldwell, 2006; Tinkler, 2004; Woodside <i>et al.</i> 2007.
	Motivation; preference for another sport	Crane, 1991; Carroll and Alexandris, 1997; Correia and Pimpão, 2007; Fodness, 1994, 2009; Grouios and Alexandris, 2002; Kim and Beck, 2009; Kim and Chalip, 2004; Kozak, 2002; Mansfeld, 1992; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Pearce and Lee, 2005; Silva and Correia, 2008; Sylvia-Bobiak and Caldwell, 2006; Um and Crompton, 1990, 1992.
	Individual beliefs, i.e., <i>self-esteem</i>	Raymore, Godbey and Crawford, 1994; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Shaw and Henderson, 2005.
	Personal skills/performance; superior skills and/or tournament scores	Callan and Thomas, 2006; Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; Lloyd and Little, 2010; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Raymore, 2002; Sylvia-Bobiak and Caldwell, 2006.
	Personal fears	Blazey, 1987, 1992; Jackson, 2005; Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; McGuire, 1984; Nyaupane <i>et al.</i> 2004; Sönmez and Graefe, 1998.
	Feeling of selfishness	Miller and Brown, 2005; Thomsson, 1999.
	Lack of / Sense of Entitlement to leisure	Henderson and Bialeschki, 2005; Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007; McGinnis <i>et al.</i> 2003; Miller and Brown, 2005; Roster, 2007.
	Previous tourist / sport experiences; longer practice sessions and greater concentration	Callan and Thomas, 2006; Crane, 1991; Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; Raymore, 2002.
	Lack of ability; Lack of knowledge; Sense of failure, "Subordinate status or disadvantage"; Skill Acquisition	Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007; Lloyd and Little, 2010; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006.
	Family incentive	Blazey, 1987, 1992; Caldwell and Baldwin, 2005; Crane, 1991; Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007; Lloyd and Little, 2010; Mair, 1992; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; McGuire, 1984; Raymore, 2002; Robertson, 1999; Roster, 2007; Shaw, 1994, 1997; Thomsson, 1999; Sylvia-Bobiak and Caldwell, 2006; Tinkler, 2004; Woodside <i>et al.</i> 2007.
	Friends; companion interaction; societal expectations and images	Blazey, 1987, 1992; Day, 2000; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; McGuire, 1984; Raymore, 2002; Roster, 2007; Shaw and Henderson, 2005; Sylvia-Bobiak and Caldwell, 2006; Um and Crompton, 1992; Woodside <i>et al.</i> 2007.
	Spousal interaction	Crane, 1991; Mair, 1992; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Tinkler, 2004.

The “ethic of care” constraint women's caring role; Family Obligations; Lifestyle factors and domestic situations; Professional context	Gilligan, 1982; Day, 2000; Henderson and Allen, 1991; Henderson and Bialeschki, 2005; Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007; Lloyd and Little, 2010; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Miller and Brown, 2005; Roster, 2007; Shaw, 1992, 1994; Thomsson, 1999.
Stages in the family life cycle	McGinnis <i>et al.</i> 2005; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006.
Prevailing gender norms; Positive gender role model	McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Roster, 2007.
A fear of selfishness; The guilt of having fun	McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Miller and Brown, 2005; Thomsson, 1999.
Make Space for Themselves	Lloyd and Little, 2010.
Company to travel / to participate	Blazey, 1987, 1992; Daniels <i>et al.</i> 2005; Fleischer and Pizam, 2002; Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; Nyaupane <i>et al.</i> 2004; Pennington-Gray and Kerstetter, 2002; Raymore, 2002; Silva and Correia, 2008; Woodside <i>et al.</i> 2007.
Unable to find a partner to participate with	Haig-Muir, 2000; Lloyd and Little, 2010; McGinnis <i>et al.</i> 2003, 2005, 2009; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Roster, 2007.
Cultural and Social negative attitudes; Social Structure, Support from Parents, Peers, and Teachers	McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Roster, 2007; Sylvia-Bobiak and Caldwell, 2006.
Social Networking; Mentor with other women	Roster, 2007.
Money; Economic Factors; Men obtain greater earnings	Blazey, 1987, 1992; Callan and Thomas, 2006; Fleischer and Pizam, 2002; Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; Henderson, 1996; Kim and Chalip, 2004; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Pennington-Gray and Kerstetter, 2002; Raymore, 2002; Shinew and Floyd, 2005; Silva and Correia, 2008; Thomsson, 1999; Woodside <i>et al.</i> 2007.
Time; time-pressure	Bittman and Wajcman, 2000; Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; Henderson, 1996; Hume <i>et al.</i> 2005; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Miller and Brown, 2005; Pennington-Gray and Kerstetter, 2002; Silva and Correia, 2008; Thomsson, 1999; Woodside <i>et al.</i> 2007.
Traditional society; Cultural and social attitude	Borsay 2006; Crane, 1991; Haig-Muir, 2000; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; McGinnis <i>et al.</i> 2005; Vamplew, 2010.
Status quo	Borsay 2006; George, 2009, 2010; George <i>et al.</i> 2007; Vamplew, 2010.
Geographical location; Socio demographics; Proximity definitions (e.g., within neighborhood, walking distance)	Blazey, 1987, 1992; Caldwell and Baldwin, 2005; Crawford and Godbey, 1987; Fleischer and Pizam, 2002; Floyd <i>et al.</i> 1994; Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; Henderson and Hickerson, 2007; Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007; Kim and Chalip, 2004; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; McGuire, 1984; Nyaupane <i>et al.</i> 2004; Pennington-Gray and Kerstetter, 2002; Phillip, 1998; Raymore, 2002; Shaw and Henderson, 2005.
Course policies/conduciveness; exclusion from clubhouses; outdated dress code; on-course interactions: non acceptance of men to be beaten by women; excessive drinking, cigar smoking and folded arms	Barrows and Ridout, 2010; Borsay 2006; Crane, 1991; George, 2009, 2010; George <i>et al.</i> 2007; Haig-Muir, 2000; Licata, and Tiger, 2010; McGinnis <i>et al.</i> 2005; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Vamplew, 2010.
Infra-structures; lack of facilities; disparate expertise in the coaching staffs and academic tutoring; provision of equipment and supplies; scheduling of games and practice time; merchandise discrepancies	Barrows and Ridout, 2010; Blazey, 1987, 1992; Borsay 2006; Callan and Thomas, 2006; Crane, 1991; Daniels <i>et al.</i> 2005; Fleischer and Pizam, 2002; George <i>et al.</i> 2007; Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; Haig-Muir, 2000; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; McGinnis <i>et al.</i> 2005; Raymore 2002; Thomsson, 1999; Vamplew, 2010.

Intrapersonal Factors

The first level of constraints is intrapersonal. These factors concern the inner self of the individuals and consist of their characteristics, fears, and beliefs; they relate to the individuals' background, past experiences, and the varied settings in which the individuals interact, helping to determine their development and behavior. According to Crawford and Godbey (1987) and Crawford *et al.* (1991), these factors involve individual psychological states and attributes that interact with leisure preferences, rather than intervening between preferences and participation.

Interpersonal Factors

The next stage, the interpersonal constraints, occurs as a result of interaction or the relationship between individuals' characteristics and comprises family, friends, groups of reference, company to travel, strangers, and opinion leaderships/market mavens, (Lloyd and Little, 2010; Roster, 2007; Sylvia-Bobiak and Caldwell, 2006; Silva and Correia, 2008; Thomsson, 1999; Woodside *et al.*, 2007). The same factor may function as a constraint or facilitator (e.g., the family can provide an enabling environment that facilitates participation). Yet, family obligations are one of the strongest constraints that women face.

Almost unanimously, investigators agree that among the strongest constraints women face, the "ethics of care" (Gilligan, 1998) seem to stand out: women "provide for the needs of others first (e.g., children, domestic partner) and neglect their own leisure needs" (Henderson and Allen, 1991: 11) because they lack "a sense of entitlement to leisure" (Lloyd and Little, 2010: 372). This interpersonal factor causes the intrapersonal constraint identified as "the guilt associated with leaving children with others to take time out for themselves" (Miller and Brown, 2005: 410). Moreover, women's caring role entails a set of family obligations embedded in cultural and traditional gender norms: "gender expectations guide individuals, parents, and institutions into doing what is deemed gender appropriate, thus possibly limiting the scope of leisure opportunities for those expected to attend to others' needs before their own" (McGinnis and Gentry, 2006: 220). Miller and Brown (2005) substantiated previous research, stating that women "typically subordinate leisure participation in a hierarchy of demands that

include family and work responsibilities, while men are more likely to give precedence to personal leisure over domestic responsibilities” (Miller and Brown, 2005: 406). Women’s and men’s everyday experiences and perceptions of family time were argued:

The caring aspects of family leisure have negative repercussions for women. In particular, the planning, organizing, and scheduling work, as well as the emotional work that goes into trying to create successful family leisure is indeed experienced as “work” for women. (Parry and Shinew, 2004: 284).

Structural Factors

In the final stage, after overcoming interpersonal barriers an individual may face structural constraints, referring to external factors that inhibit participation, such as institutions, infrastructures, lack of facilities, socioeconomic status, social background, money, gender, and race (Callan and Thomas, 2006; Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; Haig-Muir, 2000; Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007; Lloyd and Little, 2010; McGinnis *et al.*, 2003, 2005, 2009; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Miller and Brown, 2005; Parry and Shinew, 2004; Raymore, 2002; Roster, 2007; Sylvia-Bobiak and Caldwell, 2006). This type of factor also includes “availability of time, access, opportunity, etc.” (Gilbert and Hudson, 2000: 911).

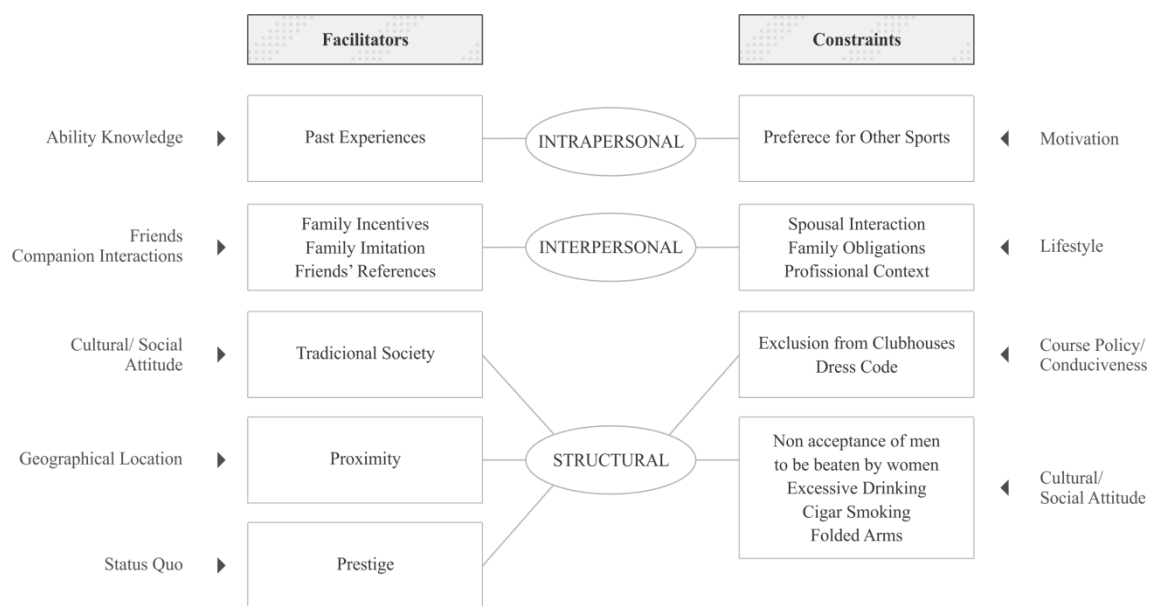
Structural factors relate to a broader context, external to the person, and include physical and social institutions, organizations, and belief systems associated to the society that the person belongs to (Silva and Correia, 2008). Earlier research highlighted money, time, and sociodemographic factors. Raymore (2002) further suggested the inclusion of the variables health or wellness under structural factors. She defended that wellness enables participation in society and in leisure and “during old age, people in good health have greater access to leisure activities such as sport, travel and outdoor recreation” (Lefrancios, Leclerc and Poulin, *as cited in* Raymore, 2002: 48).

Figure 2.2 further develops the theoretical framework by grouping the factors underlined by the literature under the tenets of the EST and facilitators/constraints paradigm. These factors are found within each of the three dimensions and strongly

either inhibit or facilitate individuals' choices. Figure 2.2 displays our framework, showing how the three dimensions may influence women's decision to participate in golf.

On the basis of the literature review and the conceptual model in Figure 2.2, the study is framed by the following research hypotheses, revolving around gendered participation in golf in terms of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural dimensions.

Figure 2.2 - Conceptual Framework: A Revisited Model of Women's Golf Participation



P₁: The intrapersonal factors inhibit or facilitate women's participation in golf.

P₂: The interpersonal factors inhibit or facilitate women's participation in golf.

P₃: The structural factors inhibit or facilitate women's participation in golf.

Building on the aforementioned assumptions, the research strives to illustrate different options. By applying this model to the analysis of diverse life contexts, perceptions of gender bias participation, and the resultant closing stages chosen by the individuals, the following conclusions are feasible: on the intrapersonal level, for example, past

experience acts as a facilitator when ability/knowledge is orientated towards participation in golf. The same factor will constrain participation if a woman chooses not to abandon her previous sport preference, other than golf.

On the interpersonal level, family incentive and imitation may be a strong facilitator when women learn to play golf with their father, mother, brother, or husband, whereas it is also a strong constraint if, for example, the husband does not support his wife playing golf. Family obligations or professional contexts are often considered limiting factors to participation, mainly due to the weight of women's role in their households.

Under the structural dimension, the positive choice for golf may be facilitated if a woman belonged to a social group that values golf (cultural, social attitude, and status), or if they live near a golf course (geographic location). On the other hand, the strongest constraints are shown to be the course policies and conduciveness, especially when manifested through the exclusion of women but also through subtler discriminatory practices, such as the interdiction to play on busier days of the week, which are restricted to male players. The masculine culture of the game can be expressed by men's attitudes of discontentment (non acceptance to be beaten by women, excessive drinking, cigar smoking, or folded arms).

In brief, this methodological framework provides the path to develop further research in order to understand how these factors may act to enable or constrain the participation of women regardless of the strain of gender inequities.

Conclusions, Limitations and Future Research

Understanding how women experience golf becomes increasingly essential to making golf courses more women-friendly. Considering that this sector is facing serious difficulties deriving from a marked decrease in the number of players, golf marketers regard women as a potential market that can help their economy. The line of research proposed by the present study will bring insights into how to decode women's behavior, and offer suggestions to bring in adjustments that will attract more women to this practice. Evidence shows that cultural and social attitudes, golf course policies, and

conduciveness may be highly demotivating for female participants. The sector acknowledges the necessity to introduce changes, but in order for these changes to be effective, in-depth research to better understand women's choice decisions is needed.

After a thorough literature review on gender and gendered leisure and sports participation, the present study suggests an incipient theoretical framework (Figure 2.1), which was built up from theories that analyze the human behavior. The methodology is based on the EST, focusing on both the microsystem and macrosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1989); is sustained by Woodside *et al.* (2007) concept of causal history wave, that hits the individual whenever a decision is required; followed by Crawford and Godbey's (1987) three dimensions of factors (interpersonal, intrapersonal, and structural); and finally the constraints/facilitators paradigm by Jackson (1997) and Raymore (2002). We then endeavored to develop the model by classifying and grouping the factors found in the literature under each dimension, in order to better understand their influence and their interconnection (Table 2.1).

The articulation of these theories provided the grounds to cluster the factors that inhibit or enable the individuals' decisions to participate in leisure and sports activities. These factors have a strong beneficial or limitative influence, which is perceived differently and at various levels by the participants. Our conceptual framework model (Figure 2.2) forms a structured piece of research in this field, from which further research should be developed.

Moreover, by compiling studies from a multidisciplinary approach, we offer deep and substantiated knowledge in this area, contributing to enhance gender theory in leisure and to conceptualize possible changes in golf policies that can induce a more significant female participation in golf.

This is the starting point for further investigation on female golf participation. Establishing the basis of previous research, beyond the grounds of a theory, this is a step forward in structuring the knowledge in a field where the need for further studies is more than evident (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009).

This study is theoretical in its essence; consequently, empirical work is needed to test whether these factors really do influence female golf participation in different contexts, or to prove that more factors need to be considered.

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CHAPTER 3

REVISITING LIFE STORIES OF FAMOUS WOMEN GOLFERS:

A HISTORICAL APPROACH

(PAPER 2)

REVISITING LIFE STORIES OF FAMOUS WOMEN GOLFERS: A HISTORICAL APPROACH

(Working Paper)

HELENA REIS & ANTÓNIA CORREIA²

Abstract

This Paper aims to analyse strategies by which famous women from 19th - 20th centuries succeeded in golf. Data was collected from narratives about 25 female golfers in a highly discriminatory era. This study uses a historical ethnographic approach, examining life stories via content analysis. The structural, interpersonal and intrapersonal factors theory used revealed factors that facilitate or constrain women's participation in golf. Results suggest a relation to intrapersonal facilitators such as *past experience* and *motivation*, but also to interpersonal factors as *family incentive*. Structural factors such as *cultural/social traditions* or the *gendered male-dominated focus* of golf are strong constraints. This study contributes to contextualizing the discrimination process from its early beginnings. Furthermore, it provides a historical perspective, illuminating how we comprehend gender in sport. Its limitation is the use of secondary data but considering the era referred to, this is the only way to frame a still persistent phenomenon.

Keywords: Gender Asymmetries, Golf, Historical Ethnography, Facilitators/ Constraints.

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Introduction

The rules of the game of modern golf were first laid down in 1744 by the Gentlemen Golfers of Leith, (now the Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers), who wrote the Rules of Golf for the Annual Challenge for the Edinburgh Silver Club (<http://golf.about.com>). However, 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, 2008). Historians Flannery and Leech (2004) posit that golf was possibly influenced by games like *Crosse* or the Persian *Chawgán*, or *Pallemail*, a multi-club driving and putting game, among others. These authors elaborate around the manifest resemblance of the golf etiquette and equipment with the Dutch game *Kolf* or *Ijskolf* (on ice), from the 17th century. Centuries before the Rules of Golf were written, the game was played, yet not always freely. References to the act of parliament by James II (1430-1460) are recurrent:

“...the earliest known written reference to golf [is] contained in the decree of March 6, 1457, from James II [King of Scots] where football and golf were banned because they were distracting his subjects from their archery practice. This edict suggests that both football and golf were popular with the common people but frowned on by the authorities” (George, 2011: 302).

It is undeniable that the British were the great popularisers 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: 289) 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”. Actually, female admission or even participation was subject to men’s approval. Various researchers conform to Haig-Muir’s (2000: 19) observation: “women’s access to, and participation in, sporting and social activities was accordingly controlled, constrained and channeled in the interests of hegemonic masculinity”.

The main aim of the present Paper is to ascertain 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 historical assumption, some women from the 19th and 20th centuries, excelled in golf against all odds. Their stories were recovered here to offer a historical perspective of how discrimination is perceived and could be overcome. A stream of studies examines discriminatory practices in present-day golf but works outlining these inequities from a historical perspective are scarce, to the authors' best knowledge.

This research attempts to frame this phenomenon since “you have to know the past to understand the present” (Dr. Carl Sagan, 1934-1996). A historical perspective is of the utmost importance for tracing golf discrimination to the present day. 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, 2008; Kahn, 1996; Mair, 1992; Tinkler, 2004), who highlighted gender inequities in this sport. For this Paper, the authors used a historical ethnographic approach and analysed life stories of famous women golfers by means of content analysis. According to Jennings (2010: 75)

“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”,

This being one of the best sources to analyse this topic. 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.

Following this introduction, section two of this Paper 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 Framework

Brief history of Golf and Women's Exclusion from Clubhouses

It is well documented fact that Mary, Queen of Scots, played frequently, and her clubs were carried by students whom she used to call "cadets." This may be the origin of the word "caddie". 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). Leisure historian Borsay (2006: 85) explains:

"...throughout the period from 1500 to the present day the elite used sport and the arts to define and justify its position in the social order. Over time the size of the elite and range of pastimes expanded, and this required the development of new organizational structures and calendars. To the medieval poles of court and castles/country house were added a range sophisticated urban venues, exclusive clubs, and a social calendar that moulded those involved into a community and gave them a sense of caste identity".

Within this context, golf clubs have been known as one of the last men's bastions due to its male hegemony persisting over the centuries. Until recently, well known golf clubs either did not allow any female members or strictly limited women's access to membership. Historians such as Vamplew (2010), George *et al.* (2007) and George (2009) have contributed to a better clarification of the reasons that keep women away

from golf. Borsary (2006: 111) pointed out the “invisibility of women’s leisure”; in his research about British golf clubs before 1914, Vamplew (2010: 372) 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”. This secondary position of women in the clubhouses finds echo over the years: “Susan Pappas (Pappas MacDonnell, Connecticut) became a “full” member of Brooklawn Country Club in 1990:

“We are having lunch”, she said, “and the owner comes up to us and said, ‘Are you a new member?’ I said, ‘Yes, I am’ and he said, ‘That’s great. You girls are real nice. If any of you want a job, I’m looking for waitresses” (Chambers, 1995: 48).

When looking at narratives and life stories of Anglo-American 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 these women showed when facing prejudice. Joyce Wethered, 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 and Frances “Bunty” Stephens were unexpectedly invited for tea. Jeanne remembers:

“One Wednesday afternoon [around 1952], we were invited for tea by the “Honorable 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).

To balance this exclusion, some of the initial golf clubs opened Ladies’ courses, or a ladies section, functioning separately but very dependent from the men’s courses. Effectively, these ladies’ clubs or sections were run by men, as the example of Edinburgh Ladies where sixteen of the twenty committee positions belonged to men

(Vamplew, 2010: 366). 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: 360) 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”.

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).

McGinnis *et al.* (2009: 20) suggest that “golf is an intriguing sport/leisure activity because nothing is inherent in the sport, except for the rituals, that should advantage men or require segregated play. (...) golf should be an ideal sport to embody gender equity”. However, golf history proves otherwise. Presently, a vast research on physical activity indicates that women are more aware of its benefits and are willing to get involved/play; additionally, the recent trend to build more women-friendly courses, stemming partially from economic reasons, may not be so recent. According to Vamplew (2010: 364, 372):

“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”.

Recently, there has been pressure from golf clubs to promote initiatives targeted at the female market-segment. This also motivated our research.

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). The question that "the Council of Macon (585 AD) decreed that women do not have a soul" or the sentence ascribed to Aristotle that "the female is as it were a deformed (or defective) male" were raised, yet thoroughly elucidated by Michael Loan (2005) to be a myth. Since ancient times, 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.

Literature regarding the lack of female participation in physical activity and male-dominated sports has increased in the last decade (Abrahamsen *et al.*, 2007; Henderson and Bialeschki, 2005; Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007; Lloyd and Little, 2010; Roster, 2007; Sylvia-Bobiak and Caldwell, 2006) but there is still a need for further studies. Studies exploring the social context of women in golf (Arthur *et al.*, 2009; Callan and Thomas, 2006; Pyles, 2007; Vamplew, 2010) are less profuse. Moreover, works about the role of women in sports show significant differences in relation to men, concerning participation, behaviour and performance, justifying those behavioural differences in physical dissimilarities or distinct ways of perceiving competitiveness (Abrahamsen *et al.*, 2007; Callan and Thomas, 2006; Moy and Liaw, 1998; Roster, 2007). 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 (Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007; Lloyd and Little, 2010; McGinnis *et al.*, 2009; Stodolska and Shinew, 2010; Roster, 2007) claim that profound social and psychological barriers continue, inducing behavior discrepancies rooted in cultural, traditional and social values.

Discrimination has many faces but it always refers to attitudes and beliefs taken towards a person or a group based on class, gender, race, religion, creed, among others. There are endless definitions of discrimination (*see for eg.*: Stodolska, 2005; Kivel, 2005). For the present study, this one was selected, since it expresses the significance of belonging

to a group (men) that can provide or limit another group's (women's) access to "opportunities, benefits, and advantages":

"Discrimination may be described as a distinction, whether intentional or not, but based on grounds relating to personal characteristics of the individual or group, which has the effect of imposing burdens, obligations, or disadvantages on such individual or group not imposed upon others, or which withholds or limits access to opportunities, benefits, and advantages available to other members of society. Distinctions based on personal characteristics attributed to an individual solely on the basis of association with a group will rarely escape the charge of discrimination, while those based on an individual's merits and capacities will rarely be so classed" (Canada's Supreme Court, 2013).

The United Nations indicates: "Discriminatory behaviors take many forms, but they all involve some sort of exclusion or rejection" being clear that sexism is a form of discrimination/exclusion that occurs against women or men, as highlighted by the various examples throughout this study. Despite the number of authors that strive against this sort of chauvinism there is evidence that prejudice still persists, influencing the contextual setting of women and men (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006).

One might assume that nowadays, golf courses do not openly exclude women from their premises conveying the idea that "for its specificities (competency measured by a handicap system, no age limit to start playing, no request of extreme physical strengths or resistance, among others) golf could provide mixed grounds that accommodate both genders" (Reis and Correia, 2013a: 72) (*see: Paper 1*), but the famous Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews (Scotland, UK) still bans female members and the Augusta National Golf Club (USA) changed their gender policies only very recently. Actually, concealed forms of exclusion have been present over the years: "many women golfers find themselves subject to forms of discrimination and prejudice unparalleled in almost any other part of their lives [referring to the 90s] (Chambers, 1995: 3). Somehow, the clubs find ways to "keep the women's issue invisible"; "There were very few clubs that allowed women members. But if you call and ask, 'Do you have women members?' the answer is always yes" (Chambers, 1995: 46). Borsay (2006: 111) also highlights "the relative invisibility of women's leisure" positioning it under the social and economic dimensions: "This is compounded by the sharp physical and temporal

distinction between male work and leisure as compared with the fluidity of women's position" (Borsay, 2006: 111). Furthermore, the author explains: "Better-off women, for example, especially those of independent means, possessed more room for manoeuvre, and were more able to "trespass" into male-defined areas of leisure – such as sports, arts patronage, tourism, writing, and gambling – than their poorer sisters. As the recreational symbols of masculinity and femininity became increasingly commodified so the issue of economic access for both sexes became more acute" (Borsay, 2006: 112).

In her book "Golf for Women" written in 1904, Hecker 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" (Hecker, 1904: 14).

The author of the first book of golf for women was quite ironic when referring to the importance of female golfers: "until quite recently – that is to say, the last six or seven years – women's place in golf has been so comparatively unimportant that no woman has felt it incumbent upon her to blaze the path, as it were, for her faltering yet enthusiastic sisters" (Hecker, 1904: 12), but on the other hand, the author is clearly excessively optimistic when she predicts: "happily, that time has now gone, and it has gone never to return" (Hecker, 1904: 12). In fact, that time may "never return", but only because it was "never gone" after all.

Facilitators and Constraints

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: Daniels, Rodgers and Wiggins (2005), Gilbert and Hudson (2000), Nyaupane, Morais and Graefe (2004), Pennington-Gray and Kerstetter (2002), Silva *et al.* (2010) and Woodside *et al.* (2007), 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 Alexandris *et al.* (2011);

Arthur *et al.* (2009); Callan and Thomas, (2006); Drakou *et al.* (2010); Grouios and Alexandris, (2002); Haig-Muir, (2000); Hudson *et al.* (2010); Kim and Chalip, (2004); Lamont *et al.* (2011); McGinnis *et al.* (2009); McGinnis and Gentry, (2006); Reis and Correia, (2013a); Palen *et al.* (2010), among others.

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. Discriminatory practices are easily contemplated under the structural factors.

Several theorists 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: 370) 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”. The authors support what Shaw (1994) considered a constraint almost unique to women, the “ethics of care” (Gilligan, 1982) 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). Miller and Brown (2005) confirm that women have less free time to devote to leisure and are less involved in organized leisure activities. 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 ascertain 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 Anglo-American women who excelled in golf in the 19th and 20th centuries (Bell, 2001; Chambers, 1995; Crane, 1991; Hudson, 2008; Kahn, 1996; Mair, 1992; Tinkler, 2004). We depart from a map of factors presented by Reis and Correia (2013a) (*see: Paper 1*) and by means of content analysis, apply it to the interpretation of the secondary data collected in these narratives, aiming to understand:

P₁: How do famous Anglo-American women from the 19th and 20th centuries perceive the 3D factors that facilitate or inhibit their participation in golf?

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. The analysis of these life stories is couched in historical ethnography and allows a framing of the beginning of women's exclusion. Inspiration for this data gathering came from the suggestion that "much information is stored, indexed, and retrieved in the form of stories" (Woodside *et al.*, 2008: 97). Secondary data presents 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: 75) 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".

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 applies a historical ethnographic approach in order to analyse this group of women from the 19th and 20th centuries, who challenged the masculine culture of the game, which served to undermine women's participation in the sport. 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. We parsed "life stories, fictionalized "facts" and biographical and autobiographical materials" of women who excelled in golf in order to

identify the factors that they perceived most. Quotations from these women's stories will be introduced throughout the text to display the influence of the different factors on their decision to play. Under the umbrella of "qualitative methods of empirical material interpretation/(re)construction" we find content analysis (Jennings, 2010: 203, 211); content analysis is termed in literature as "textual analysis", giving us the possibility to understand these stories.

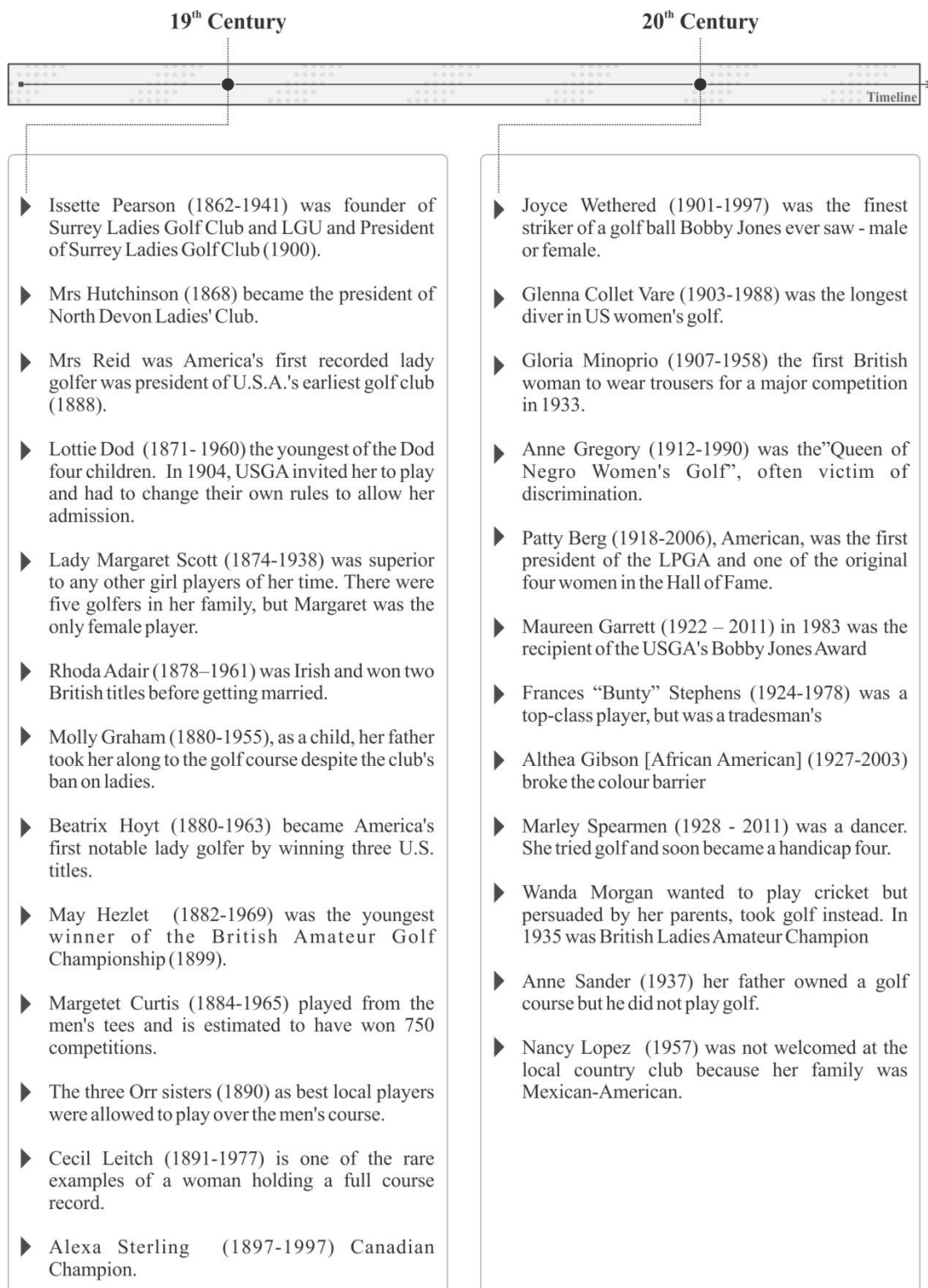
More precisely, "Explanation", one of the types of content analysis suggested by Jennings (2010: 212), states that "the text is explained only on the content of the documents or in the conjunction with the documents not included in the original units of interpretation/(re)construction", being this proposals the most appropriate method to embed our research. 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 had emerged from the literature. Each reference, sentence or block of sentences is allocated to the corresponding factor (or more than one when applicable). The theme codebook allows for counting the number of instances per factor.

Sample and Data Collection

The facilitators/constraints theories evaluate the varied aspects of participation/non-participation in leisure activities, regarding golf also as a leisure activity, rather than just a sport. We consider that this is the most adequate framework for this study since the historical perspective has the potential to add great insight into how we understand gender in sport as it has evolved. Significant elements were extracted from these 25 women's life stories. A chosen sampling of life stories provides the interpretative data for this study, the sample characterization is in Figure 3.1. The attempt was to find different stories, and the sampling strategy used, is not to offer representativeness. 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. The criteria to choose these women's stories were their performance in golf, their ability to win or their provocative behaviour 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 with a peculiar behaviour 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 women were chosen because their family contexts (traditional, wealthy families or low-income families) and also 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 3.1 - Chronological Sample



Findings

In order to achieve our aims, we rely on Reis and Correia (2013a) (*see: Paper 1*) factor matrix that derived from the literature and displays the 3D 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 3.1 shows the most relevant intrapersonal factors illustrated by extracts from the data.

Table 3.1 – Relevant Intrapersonal Factors

Intrapersonal Factors	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, *family* or *friends’ incentive* leads to participation. The influence of male elements of the family: father, brother(s), nephew or cousin is seen 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. These women abandon golf when they get married and have children, which is in line with the research by McGinnis *et al.* (2005, 2009) 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*, showing a clear acceptance of the male supremacy. Table 3.2 shows the most relevant interpersonal factors illustrated by extracts from the data.

Table 3.2 – Relevant Interpersonal Factors

Interpersonal Factors	Extracts from life stories
Family incentive (facilitator)	<i>Lady Margaret Scott "learnt from her three brothers" (Crane, 1991: 18). "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). "Rhoda won two British titles before marriage brought about early retirement" (Crane, 1991: 22).</i>
Ethics of care (constraint)	<i>"May Hezlet dropped out of the championship scene to concentrate on being a minister's wife" (Mair, 1992: 28). "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>
Spousal interaction (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). Joyce Wethered, considered the greatest female golfer of her time, wrote: "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>

While the other dimensions mostly conform to later research on constraints and facilitators to participation, the structural dimension conveys some factors that have faded away across the centuries and are less present nowadays: *traditional society, social status, dress code, exclusion from clubhouses* or *race discrimination*. Most of these women belonged to polite, wealthy and *traditional families*. McGinnis and Gentry (2006: 239) 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, 2008: 109-111). Or Nancy Lopez, who was not welcome at the local country club because her family was Mexican-American (Hudson, 2008). Actually, some of these aspects may now be less powerful 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 undergoing. 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, among others. Table 3.3 shows the most relevant structural factors illustrated by extracts from the data.

Table 3.3 – Relevant Structural Factors

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, Joyce Wethered</i> ” (Mair, 1992: 95).
Race discrimination (<i>constraint</i>)	Anne Gregory [1 st African-American] faced aggravated discriminatory constraints due to her colour: “ <i>The Queen of Negro Women’s Golf - segregation prevented her from entering the highest stages</i> ” (Hudson, 2008: 108).

Some tentative conclusions can be drawn: in the interpersonal dimension, the facilitators are more related to family, mostly male elements, who defy the male-

dominated culture of this sport by introducing women relatives to the game. The majority of the studies incorporating women's decisions for sport participation uncovered more constraints than enabling factors. These constraints stand out on the structural level and 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.

Conclusions, Limitations and Perspectives for Future Research

This study is a first attempt to compile historical data from narratives of famous women golfers' life stories. The authors selected 25 narratives of women's life stories – biographies, autobiographies and historical golf books. The period under study goes over the 19th - 20th centuries and covers the two major golf locations: the U.K. (Scotland, England, Wales and Ireland) and the 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 research uses a historical ethnography approach and these life stories were analysed through content analysis, by means of the construction of a theme code book. By reading this variety of life stories the authors 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 functioning as a facilitator factor (father, brother, husband). 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 start 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 were ready to help them when realizing their potential. The Ladies golf courses and separate competitions appeared as a solution but they 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, many aspects of women's life style have changed, 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.

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 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.

Yet, 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 behaviour across the years.

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CHAPTER 4

GENDER INEQUALITIES IN GOLF: A CONSENTED EXCLUSION?

(PAPER 3)

GENDER INEQUALITIES IN GOLF: A CONSENTED EXCLUSION?

HELENA REIS & ANTÓNIA CORREIA³

Abstract

Purpose – In the late 18th century, golf emerged as a men’s game. Since then, women have striven to play, yet without success. A ratio of around 80% of male players against 20% female proves that women are far from being accepted in golf. This study, supported by qualitative analyses of women golfers’ life stories attempts to evaluate to what extent this prejudice exists.

Design/Methodology/Approach – The Ecological System Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1989), the Causal Historical Wave model (Woodside *et al.*, 2007), the intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors (Crawford and Godbey, 1987), and the constraints/ facilitators paradigm (Jackson, 1997; Raymore, 2002) were firstly used to support the theoretical model that was defined based on the literature. Secondly, the model was revisited according to textual data collected from 25 narratives of women in the 19th century. The present research applies this model throughout a set of six life stories of contemporary Portuguese women who excelled in golf, attempting to test the persistence of this discrimination.

Findings – The results highlight that structural and interpersonal factors persist across time. Some aspects of women’s lifestyle did not change much since

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some cultural values are difficult to overcome. The research highlights that the exclusion of women, more than explicit discrimination, is a cultural factor engrained in their daily lives, meaning that women exclude themselves, tacitly accepting this discrimination.

Originality – The low participation of women in golf is acknowledged by golf stakeholders in Portugal, but this has not been the object of research thus, to the authors' knowledge, this is the first Paper about this subject in Portugal.

Research limitations/implications – The research focuses only on Portuguese women. Further studies should evaluate the pertinence of these factors amongst other nationalities and cultures.

Keywords: Gender, Discrimination, Golf, 19th - 21st Centuries, Facilitators/ Constraints.

Introduction

The origins of golf go back to ancient times and it is believed that the game was played from China to Rome (Crane, 1991; Flannery and Leech, 2004; Hudson and Hudson, 2010; Hudson, 2008). Since the 18th century, the British have introduced the game worldwide and with it their cultural tradition of *for-gentlemen-only-clubs* that has excluded women from clubhouses and from practising golf. In his research, Vamplew (2010: 372) highlights that:

“The club was a site for men of similar social standing to meet together in a homosocial environment. 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”.

Still today, neither the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews (Scotland, U.K.) nor the Augusta National Golf Club (USA) allow female members. Statistics released by the European Golf Association in 38 European countries between 1985 and 2011 show that more than 70% of golf practitioners are male and this *status quo* persisted over those 25 years (EGA, 2011). Portugal is no exception and since golf was introduced in the country by the British, this discriminatory practice of excluding women has probably been responsible for the low participation of Portuguese female golfers in this sport (18.6%) (*for instance see: www.ega-golf.ch*), following the Anglo-American pattern.

Nevertheless, history along the centuries reveals that a number of women not only managed to learn and play but went beyond that to excel in this sport. In the 19th and 20th centuries, a group of athletes from England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland and USA did not accept this exclusion and somehow dared to challenge the male hegemony of the game, finding ways to cope with the inequitable practices of policymakers and club managers. These women's life stories are critical to understand the extent of the male-hegemony of the game.

Research on gender inequities in sports focuses mainly on differences in relation to men, concerning participation, behaviour and performance, justifying these behavioural differences in physical dissimilarities or distinct ways of perceiving competitiveness

(Abrahamsen *et al.*, 2007; Callan and Thomas, 2006; Mair, 1992; Moy and Liaw, 1998; Roster, 2007). Only a few studies examine the strategies women use to cope with golf bias (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009) so we find justification for the present study that aims to frame strategies women used across the centuries to succeed in golf.

The historical analysis is the first step to comprehend and outline the contemporary situation. The secondary data used in this study derive from the interpretation of biographies and books written by golf historians who highlighted gender inequities in this sport. The present research follows a historical analysis to examine narratives and biographies of different women, as well as the strategies applied by six Portuguese women, who are the top ones to have excelled in golf in this country.

The results of this study prove that women accept discrimination, even though, to succeed in golf, they have to avoid or outwit this hegemony. Even when showing some dissimilarity, this behaviour persists from the early days of women playing golf to the present, and it is not likely to change: to accept, avoid and/or outwit are the strategies women used, have used and will keep on using.

This study contributes to the literature in different streams: first, the analysis of life stories from the 19th and 20th centuries allows the beginning of exclusion/discrimination to be framed. This is of utmost importance since the exclusion of women was more prominent at that time. Furthermore, applying a model supported by those life stories to test discrimination in the 21st century allows the persistence of this phenomenon to be assessed. Secondly, it underlines the factors that mostly supported and still support this *status quo*. Thirdly, as the focus of the study is famous women golfers, analysing the strategies they have used to play and stay in golf will provide guidelines for contemporary women to cope with inequitable practices.

The limitations of this study derive mainly from the fact that the sample only comprises present day life stories (in Portugal) whilst the conceptual model comprises life narratives (Europe and USA) that in today's context can be considered limited in time and scope. Yet, on the other hand, this becomes one of its greater contributions, since the study contextualises and provides the framework for discrimination processes. To the author's knowledge, it is the first study of this kind in Portugal.

Following this introduction, section two of this Paper presents the literature review on gender and sports/golf. Section three covers the theories that structure this research. Section four advances the methods used, followed by the results in section five. The final section includes conclusions, limitations and perspectives for future research.

Literature Review

McGinnis *et al.* (2005: 17) interpret gender as a “social structure that organises society into different and unequal categories based on sex and as an ideology that promotes inequities between the socially constructed categories of men and women”. Equally, Swain (1995) advances that gender is a system of cultural identities and social relationships between females and males, as a significant variable in any study of human relations. Based on this system, feminist theories have conceptualised institutionalised barriers as practices, which apparently perpetuate themselves because they are built into the formal structure of work organisations (Acker, 1990) or in sport participation, such as golf (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009).

Discrimination takes many forms, but they all involve exclusion/rejection:

“Discrimination may be described as a distinction, whether intentional or not, but based on grounds relating to personal characteristics of the individual or group, which has the effect of imposing burdens, obligations, or disadvantages on such individual or group not imposed upon others, or which withholds or limits access to opportunities, benefits, and advantages available to other members of society” (Canada’s Supreme Court, Duhaime.org).

Gender discrimination has many faces. Yet, blaming discrimination for gender asymmetries in golf may be reductive. It seems there is a temporal ordering with tradition leading or causing discrimination. Borsay’s reflection (2006: 75) upon the British experience portrays a traditional society and culture with very pronounced class division, where leisure was enjoyed differently by the upper, middle and working classes, according to the social order “based upon differential possessions of wealth, status and power”. This distinction between the upper and the working classes further

deepens since “of undoubted importance was the requirement for a substantial expenditure of money and time since this was precisely what the productive orders could not afford” (Borsay, 2006: 81).

According to the historian, “throughout the period from 1500 to the present day the elite used sport and the arts to define and justify its position in the social order” (Borsay, 2006: 85), whereas the working class was extremely competitive, which typified most leisure activity, “whether it be football, fishing, or brass bands (to which the notion of contesting was central)” (Borsay, 2006: 87). However, as the author clarifies, social order was not static, different classes could evidently participate in the same leisure activities but he adverts that “they frequently did so in very dissimilar ways, which tended to accentuate rather than mitigate differences of class” (Borsay, 2006: 104).

Over the last decades, a vast body of research evidences that women’s leisure is intrinsically related to the gender roles in society and constraints women face deriving from gender inequities in most domains (Crawford and Godbey, 1987; Fjelstul *et al.*, 2011; Henderson, 1990; Henderson and Hickerson, 2007). Reverting to Borsay (2006) from his historical perspective, “the relative invisibility of women’s leisure” (Borsay, 2006: 111) originates in a “sharp physical and temporal distinction between male work and leisure as compared with the fluidity of women’s position” (Borsay, 2006: 111). Amongst several leisure activities, a number of women were interested in golf: “middle-class women tended towards feminine-appropriate sports such as tennis and golf which offered opportunities for social contact and moderate exercise” (George, 2009: 335). Nonetheless, golf was and still is a male-dominated sport that imposes strong restrictions to women, from interdiction to play on busier days or times, to full exclusion from clubhouses. One way of being accepted was or is to accommodate the biased norms of the game: “the position of women in golf (...) depended upon accepting segregationist practices and inferior roles that still riddle the sport” (Borsay, 2006: 115). Just as an example, the dress code defined in the rules of the game and societal expectations was very rigid and for a long time, limitative of female performances: “in the 1890s the majority of women golfers complied with what was expected and appeared in clothing which hampered to some degree their style of play” (George, 2009: 335).

Vamplew (2010) advances a contextualisation of the beginning of golf within this strict society referring to the exclusion of women from clubhouses. Further, George *et al.* (2007) and George (2009) highlight gender discrimination in golf, providing a consistent historical perspective of constraints women had to face in order to play. Since the British divulged this practice worldwide, golf absorbed some of their strong cultural traditional values:

“Discrimination against women golfers is as long as the history of the sport itself. (...) The game of golf spread from Britain across the Anglophone world in the late nineteenth century. The establishment of clubs followed close behind. (...) golf clubs were sporting extensions of late Victorian ‘clubland’, which was an almost exclusively, and often aggressively, masculine sphere” (Haig-Muir, 2000: 19).

Or, as Crane (1991: 39) puts it: “The British golfing establishment, long after South Africa apartheid reforms in sport, still allows women to be banned from courses and clubhouses in its domain”.

Discriminatory practices of exclusion from golf clubs imply exclusion from learning, coaching, better equipment, more competitive tournaments, larger media coverage, and sponsorships, amongst others. Additionally, “golf links and the country club are the locale for developing professional and business contacts. Golf and the country club lubricate the advance of careers. Deals are cut on the fairway and in the clubhouse” (Marsha Kazarosian, 2007 *in*: Hudson, 2008: 117). Examples of discrimination were found in the literature about women golfers from Europe to USA (Crane, 1991; Hudson, 2008; Mair, 1992).

Episodes reflecting women’s exclusion may not be as striking as “the sign alleged to hang outside one East of Scotland club which read: “No Dogs and Women” (Crane, 1991: 141), but they are clearly illustrative:

“Joyce Wethered (1901-1997), one of England’s best players ever, 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).

“In 1952, Jeanne Bisgood and Frances Bunty were invited to tea “by the Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers”. They thought it was a great honour to be the first women ever to enter Muirfield [Scotland], but then they 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).

Despite all this, numerous women have persisted in the game and can be considered from two perspectives (George, 2010; Vamplew, 2010):

“The women who perceive golf as an opportunity to combine an open air activity with social interaction, i.e., “an excellent means of combining fresh air, exercise, and society, as a gentle form of healthy exercise that required skills rather than force, and which allowed time on and off the course for social interaction” (*Ladies Field*, February 25, 1899: 493, in Vamplew, 2010: 365).

“More serious golfers who want to compete, i.e.: “it soon became evident that they could play better than a large number of the male members of the club” (Hutchinson, 1899: 71, in Vamplew, 2010).

It is this latter group that is critical to the present research. By examining narratives and life stories at different time lines, we aim to identify what intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors most contributed to these women’s strategies in golf. First, the biographical stories were used to revisit a conceptual model grounded on the Ecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1989) and the Causal Historical Wave (Woodside *et al.*, 2007). Second, these stories were used to frame the behaviour of Portuguese women who excel in this homosocial sport on two levels: to assess the extent of discrimination over the centuries and across nationalities.

Theoretical Framework

Following Woodside *et al.* proposal (2007), the contexts in which these women lived were considered in order to fully understand their behaviours. Additionally, the authors based the methodological framework on the Ecological Systems Theory (EST) by Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1989) and the Causal Historical Wave model (CHW) (Woodside *et al.*, 2007). Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1989) asserted that one can only understand the individuals by understanding the environments in which they live. An ecological perspective of human development concerns the contexts in which individuals exist and

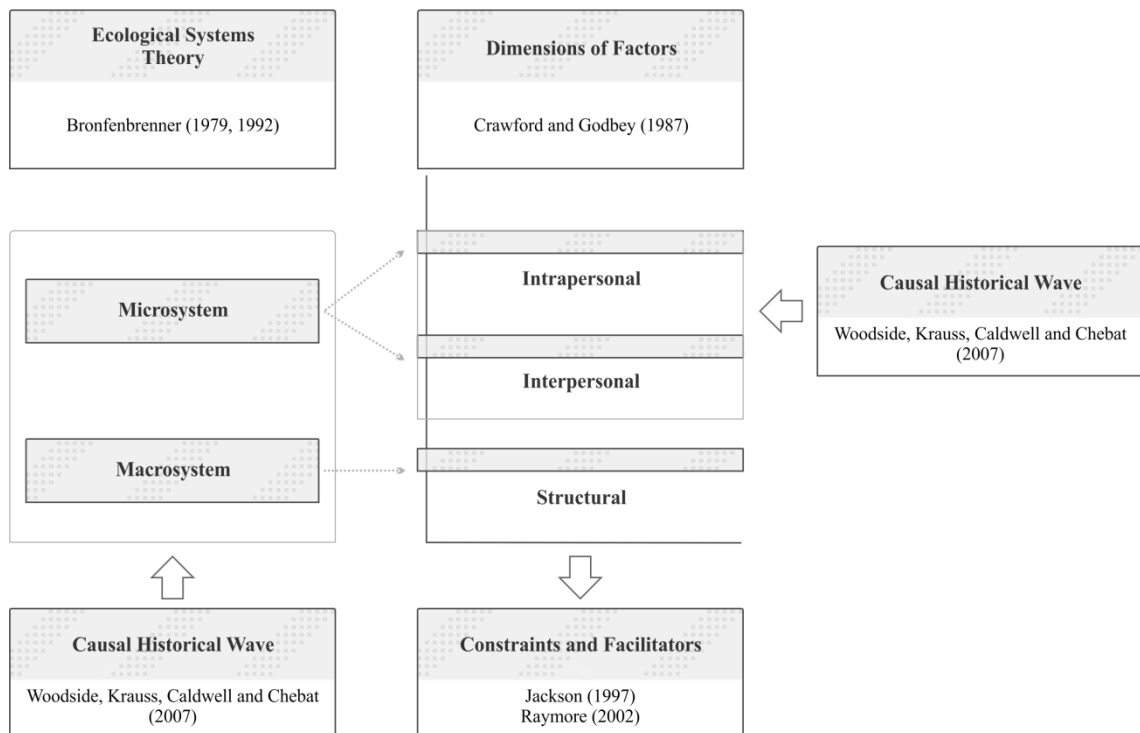
reveals the influence of several environmental systems; the micro and the macro systems are the most significant.

The micro system integrates the living context of the individual (intrapersonal); the individuals and the interactions between individuals (interpersonal). The macro system consists of the social structures of the society in which individuals live (structural). Furthermore, the intrapersonal factors relate to psychological states, characteristics, beliefs and personality traits. The interpersonal factors arise from interactions and relationships that individuals establish with others. The structural factors refer to a broader context, outside the individual and include physical and social institutions, organisations and belief systems associated to the society in which the individuals live.

Woodside *et al.* (2007) affirm that a CHW hits the consumers when making a decision or a choice. The individuals' life experience combined with their history, social environments and enabling factors make up this CHW. The causal history refers to one's childhood, personality traits or particular life experiences that delineate the individuals' wishes and desires.

Crawford and Godbey (1987) confirm that intrapersonal (motivation, individual beliefs and personality) and interpersonal factors (friends and family) are within the micro system of the individuals and the structural dimension (socio demographic) belongs to the macro system. The suggestion that these 3D factors may function as constraints or facilitators (Jackson, 1997; Raymore, 2002) will enable us to identify which factors mostly influence women's decision to participate in golf. Haig-Muir (2000), Gilbert and Hudson (2000), Grouios and Alexandris (2002), and McGinnis and Gentry (2006) argue that this is the most suitable framework to understand the choice for a male-dominated sport and some authors (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009) went further advancing that, when within unfriendly environments, women develop competencies and strategies to cope with the situations. Figure 4.1 shows the theoretical framework that supports this research.

Figure 4.1 – The 3D Factors Paradigm



Source: Adpt. From Reis and Correia (2013a) (*see: Paper 1*).

On the basis of the literature review and the conceptual model in Figure 4.1, the study is framed by the following research presuppositions:

P₁: Did Anglo-American women who excelled in golf in the 19th and 20th centuries perceive the 3D factors as facilitators or constraints to their participation in golf?;

P₂: Do Portuguese women who excel in golf in the 21st century perceive the 3D factors as facilitators or constraints to their participation in golf?;

P₃: What are the factors that persisted over the centuries and across nationalities?;

P₄: How did these women succeed in golf?.

Building on the above assumptions, the research strives to illustrate different options and analyses diverse life contexts, perceptions of gender bias participation and the resultant closing strategies chosen by these women.

Methodology

Having identified in the literature the factors that facilitate or inhibit women's participation in leisure and sports and having analysed women's life stories from the 19th and 20th centuries, this study aims to understand if the same factors apply to present day female golfers in Portugal. To evaluate the research proposals of this study, the authors selected both qualitative and quantitative methodologies as the most appropriate approach to obtain a holistic interpretation of undisclosed facts, since the research becomes richer and fuller due to the multiple methods used.

At the first stage, we conducted a textual analysis of the narratives from the 19th and 20th centuries. These women's life stories were found in biographies and books by golf historians and were written in the "natural language of the setting" (Lincoln and Guba 1985: 277), these being one of the best sources to analyse this topic. 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 can get a better understanding of gender barriers in sports and leisure that has persisted until the present day.

According to Woodside, Krauss, Caldwell and Chebat's method (2007), the contexts in which these women lived were considered, in order to fully understand their behaviour. This understanding will be the first step to build a model that can be applied to present-day female golfers. Our objective was to verify whether these factors and strategies persist and if it is possible to find similarities over the centuries, different nationalities and cultures. The second part of our research was conducted by means of semi-structured in-depth interviews of the six Portuguese champions.

We examined these women's antecedent facts, living conditions and previous sport experiences in order to assess how different lifestyles influence the perception and verbalisation of gender inequities and consequently, how these affect participation. A qualitative method of empirical material interpretation, the content analysis (Jennings, 2010) was applied to the comparative study of these interviews. Finally and in order to validate the interpretation of the interviews, a questionnaire was applied to the same six women generating a triangulation method. The results suggest that the 3D factors

clearly influence women's participation at different levels and function either as facilitators or inhibitors. Moreover, findings reveal that although they are aware of the masculine focus of the game, Portuguese champions accommodate themselves to bias in order to stay in the game.

The in-depth interview is the most appropriate technique to get a holistic interpretation of the interviewees, their past and present contexts and their decision to participate (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Jennings, 2010; Ragin, 1994; Woodside *et al.*, 2005). The sample consists of six women covering the total spectrum: four golf Professionals (out of 110, only four are women) and the two Pro- and Amateur national champions who exist in Portugal. The sampling strategy used intends to focus on exploring and describing facilitators and constraints reported by this group of Portuguese female golfers.

The interviews were conducted in Portuguese, at the clubhouses where these women work as golf professionals and where the Amateur champion plays. They were conducted face-to-face, lasting between 90 minutes and 180 minutes and were divided into three main parts: the first part provides a matrix detailing all previous sport experience and the second comprises 80 open-ended questions, covering three sections about the person's life background and socio-demographics, daily life activities and routines, concerning professional and extra-professional activities; the final section focuses on sport experiences, behaviours and factors the interviewees face when choosing a male-dominated sport. This method involves a person-to-person interaction and an immersion of the researcher in the research setting, which results in a better understanding and significance of the social phenomena under study (Ragin, 1994). All interviews were recorded and *verbatim* transcribed. By means of content analysis:

“The interviews were interpreted and a set of factors emerged as the most important ones. These were incorporated in a survey that was applied to the same six women at a later stage, to corroborate the interpretation of the interviews, reversing the researchers' subjectivity”. (Jennings, 2010: 211).

Discrimination over the Centuries: The Path for Revisiting the Conceptual Model

A discriminatory pattern of exclusion is present along the times lines of both groups under study and by revisiting the conceptual model, we intended to verify whether there were other similarities over the centuries either in the 3D factors or in the type of strategies used by female golfers.

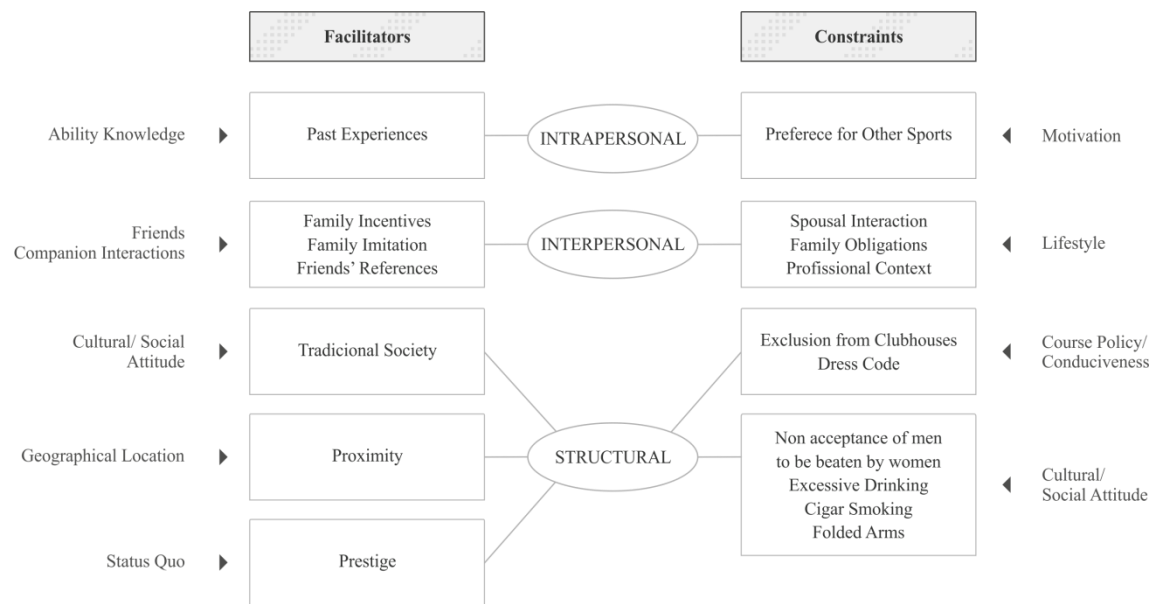
According to the literature, the most significant intrapersonal factors are *past experience* and *skills/ability/knowledge* (Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; McGinnis *et al.*, 2009; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Sylvia-Bobiak and Caldwell, 2006), whilst the interpersonal are *family reference* and *gender norms* that strongly penalise women (an “ethics of care” Gilligan, 1982; Callan and Thomas, 2006; Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007; Lloyd and Little, 2010; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Miller and Brown, 2005; Sylvia-Bobiak and Caldwell, 2006; Roster, 2007) and the structural relate to *cultural/social attitudes* and *course policies/conduciveness* (Callan and Thomas, 2006; Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; Haig-Muir, 2000; Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007; McGinnis *et al.*, 2009; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Miller and Brown, 2005).

Moreover, the model was revisited according to the findings deriving from 25 women’s life stories. These stories enriched the model as it was possible to confirm determinant factors already outlined in the literature review, such as: *past experiences* (intrapersonal); *family references* (interpersonal) and *cultural/social attitude* (structural). Some excerpts from these women’s narratives evidence the importance of the referred factors: Amongst the intrapersonal factors, contact with golf from childhood facilitates participation in this game, e.g., **past experience**: champions like Cecil Leitch (1891-1955), Molly Graham (1880-1955) and Joyce Wethered (1901-1997) amongst others, grew up in a golf environment since their fathers and brothers played. In fact, Lady Margaret Scott’s (1874-1938) family was rich and built “their own golf course on the family estate” (Crane, 1991: 18). Her father and three brothers were keen golfers and quite often “Margaret was the only female player” (Crane, 1991: 19).

Amongst the interpersonal factors, the strongest facilitator is the **family reference** - “Sister of two of Royal Liverpool’s greatest players, Molly Graham (1880-1955) learnt

her golf from her father” (Crane, 1991: 24). Yet, some life stories show that **marriage** and an “**ethics of care**”- the traditional role of women taking care of others before attending to their own needs (Gilligan, 1982), may function as constraints: “Rhoda [Adair] won two British titles before marriage brought about early retirement” (Crane, 1991: 22). Or “May Hezlet (1882-1969) dropped out of the championship scene to concentrate on being a minister’s wife” (Mair, 1992: 28). The **cultural/social masculine values (Structural)** that women acknowledge as superior and tend to accept with no perception of discrimination are a strong structural constraint. Alexa Sterling (1897-1997) recommended that “you had to imitate the men’s deliberate and mechanical club action if you were to get results” (Crane, 1991: 57). Figure 4.2 illustrates the revisited model that will be used to assess the strategies within Portuguese women.

Figure 4.2 - Conceptual Framework: Women’s Golf Participation Model

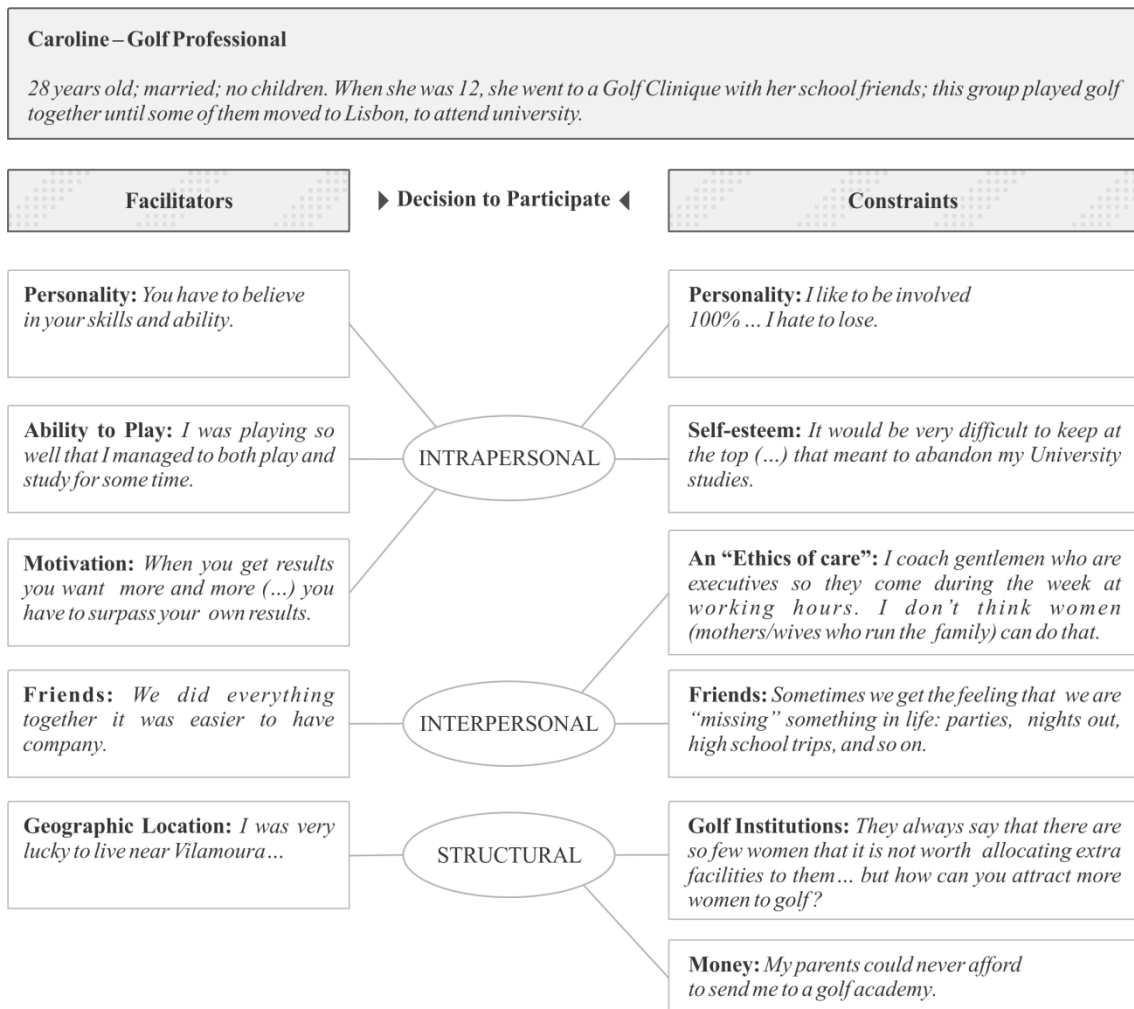


Source: Adpt. From Reis and Correia (2013a) (*see: Paper1*).

Findings

The 3D factors model is the most suitable to support this research since it allows the factors which inhibit or facilitate women’s involvement in golf to be identified. Interpretation of these women’s statements leads to a characterisation of each life story. Content analysis of the data highlights which factors are more significant and influential and reveals the type of strategy used by each woman to succeed. Comparing their backgrounds, past experiences, interaction with family and friends, their perception of the gender prejudice that derives from social and cultural traditions, (i.e., the gendered male-dominated focus of the game) will add insight into how we comprehend gender in golf participation. The interviews with the six champions are depicted below.

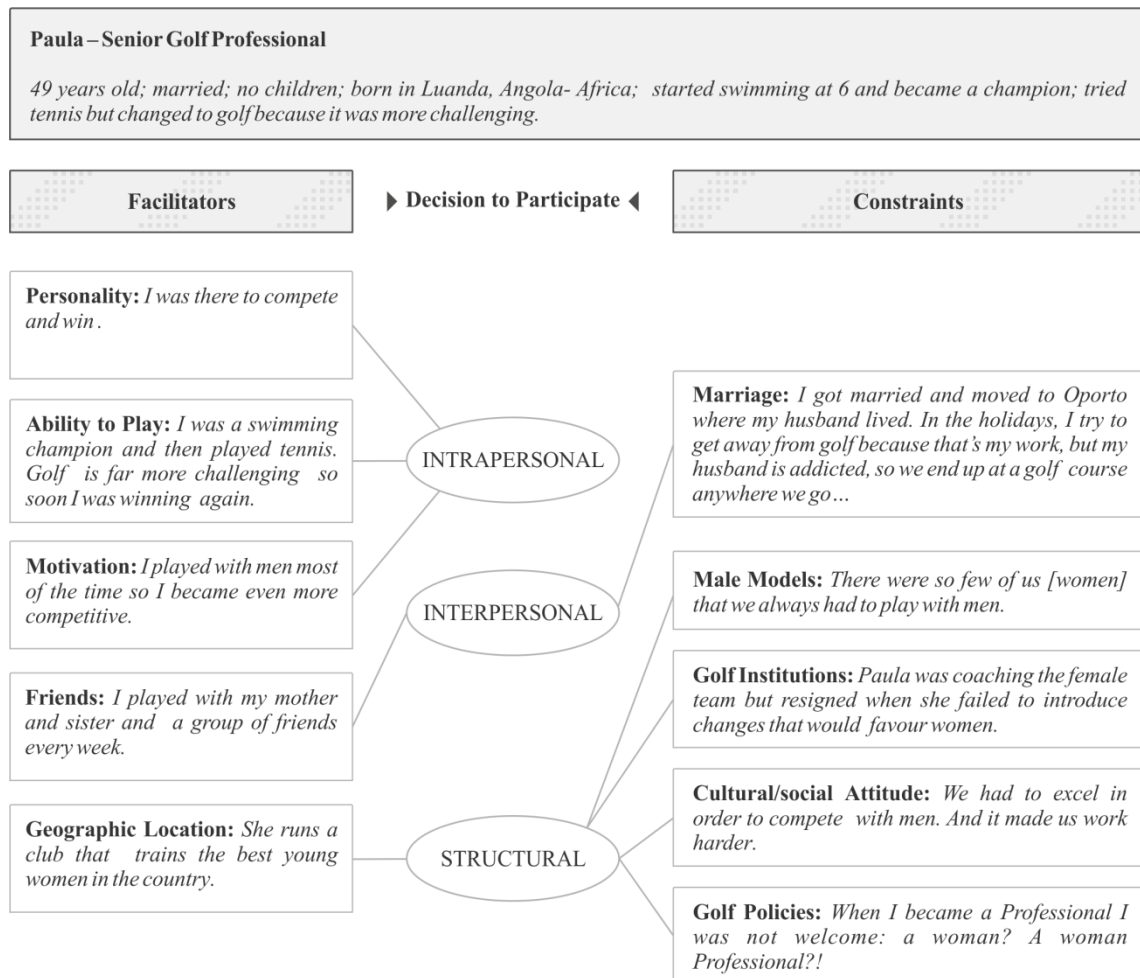
Figure 4.3 – Caroline’s Golf Participation Model



This 28-year old woman started playing golf at the age of 12; her family had no connection to sports but they lived near Vilamoura, a tourist complex with several courses and a golf Clinique that offered free classes for youngsters who could not afford the fees. Whilst at school, one of her teachers sent some pupils of low economic means to learn golf at the Clinique. Thus, though lack of money was a constraint (structural), this Clinique enabled Caroline to play. This group of youngsters played together for several years and Caroline became the national champion. She emphasizes that these friends were crucial for her success (interpersonal). At this level, those who learnt, practised and competed with her acted as facilitators. Some of them moved to Lisbon to attend university. For a while she managed to play and study, but the pressures at university forced her to abandon the top competitions. In order to stay connected to golf, she became a professional coach at one of the local golf courses. Although at the beginning of the interview, she held her studies responsible for abandoning competitive golf (structural), later on she admitted that the fear of not being able to “stay at the top” was - as strong, indicating how *self-esteem* can become a constraint (intrapersonal). Overall, interpersonal constraints outnumber the facilitators: she “*misses the social life*” and refers to “the ethics of care” (*for instance see: Gilligan, 1982*) constraint. This is not affecting her at the moment as she has no children and her husband is very supportive, but she teaches executives that come in the week during working hours and says:

“I don’t think women could ever do that”. She criticises golf decision makers (structural): “They always say that it’s not worth allocating extra facilities for women, because we are only a few, but if things don’t change, how can we attract more women to the game !?”

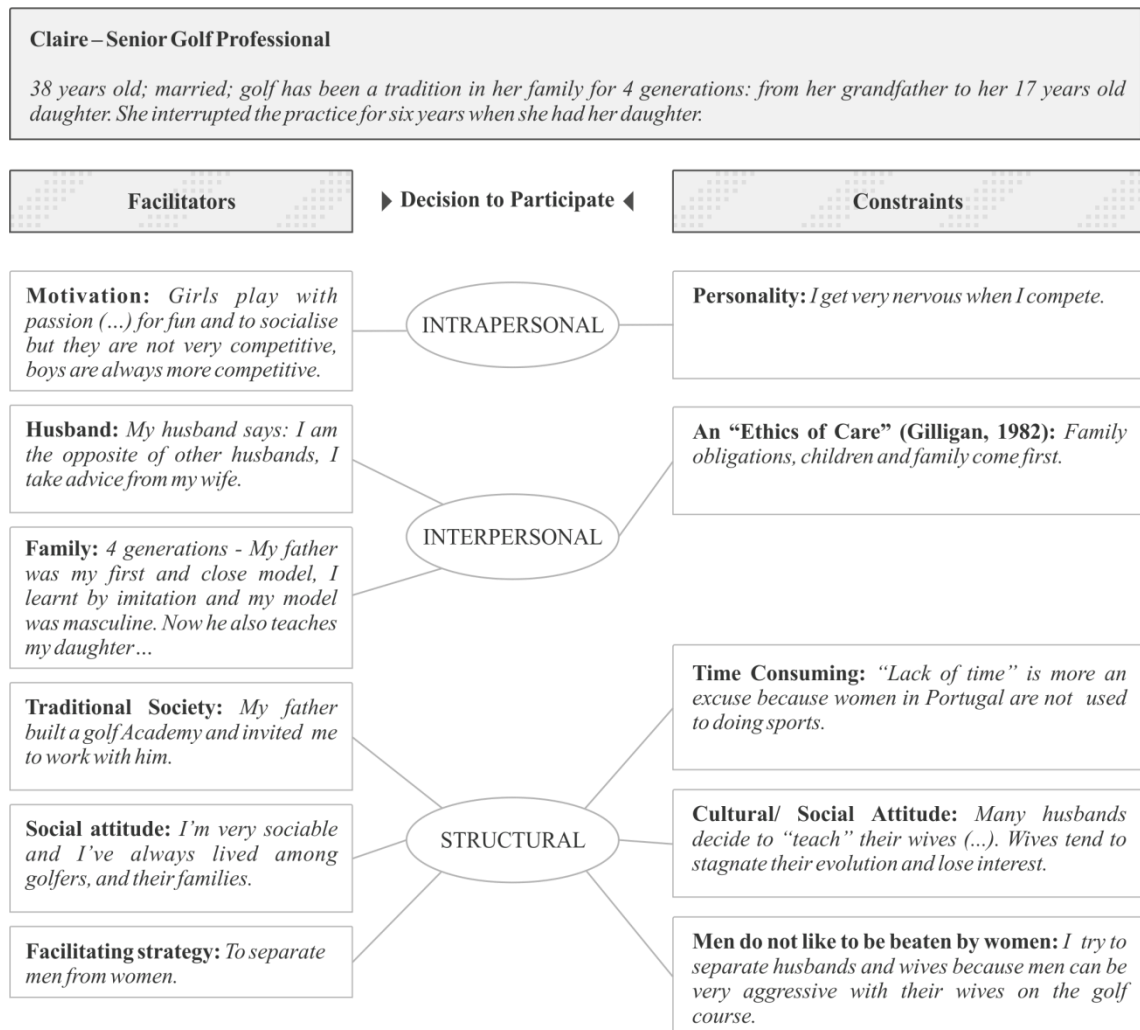
Figure 4.4 - Paula's Golf Participation Model



Paula was born in Angola, Africa. Her mother was German and her parents played golf at the local golf course (made in oil tar sands) but instead Paula and her sisters learnt how to swim. She became a swimming champion. In 1975, the family moved to Lisbon, Portugal. The lack of facilities to keep on swimming (structural) made Paula change and play tennis. Her previous sport practice facilitated Paula's choice for golf (*Past experiences*, intrapersonal). Her family used to play at the Lisbon Golf Club and Estoril Golf Club, both courses which were opened by the British. Paula does not refer to any intrapersonal constraints, as she is passionate about golf. She met her husband in a tournament and they are both keen golfers (family/husband's influence - interpersonal). When she got married, she moved to Oporto where her husband lived and not the opposite (cultural gender norms - structural). For their holidays, he chooses a golf destination. She wants to relax from golf (her job), but ends up accommodating his choices.

She perceives structural factors mostly as constraints: She has the masculine cultural assumption engrained in her mentality that men are superior and women have to work harder to compete with men. When she started teaching, she did not expect to be welcome because she was coaching mostly men: “*Men couldn’t accept to be taught by a woman, the only thing I had on my side was having been The National Champion for some years...*” – she emphasises. This concurs with McGinnis and Gentry (2006) finding that men do not like to be beaten by women. For some years Paula was the national female team coach working for the FPG. However, she resigned since she could not introduce changes she found essential to motivate women (structural), leaving space for a man to take up her position. Many women find it easier to tacitly accept discrimination and contribute to maintain the *status quo*. As a strategy, Paula creates a “separate” world where women are welcome and successful (her golf club is known for its excellent group of young women golfers). Paula states that golf managers and policymakers should find ways to attract more women. The stakeholders respond that there are so few women that there is no point in changing policies.

Figure 4.5 – Claire’s Golf Participation Model

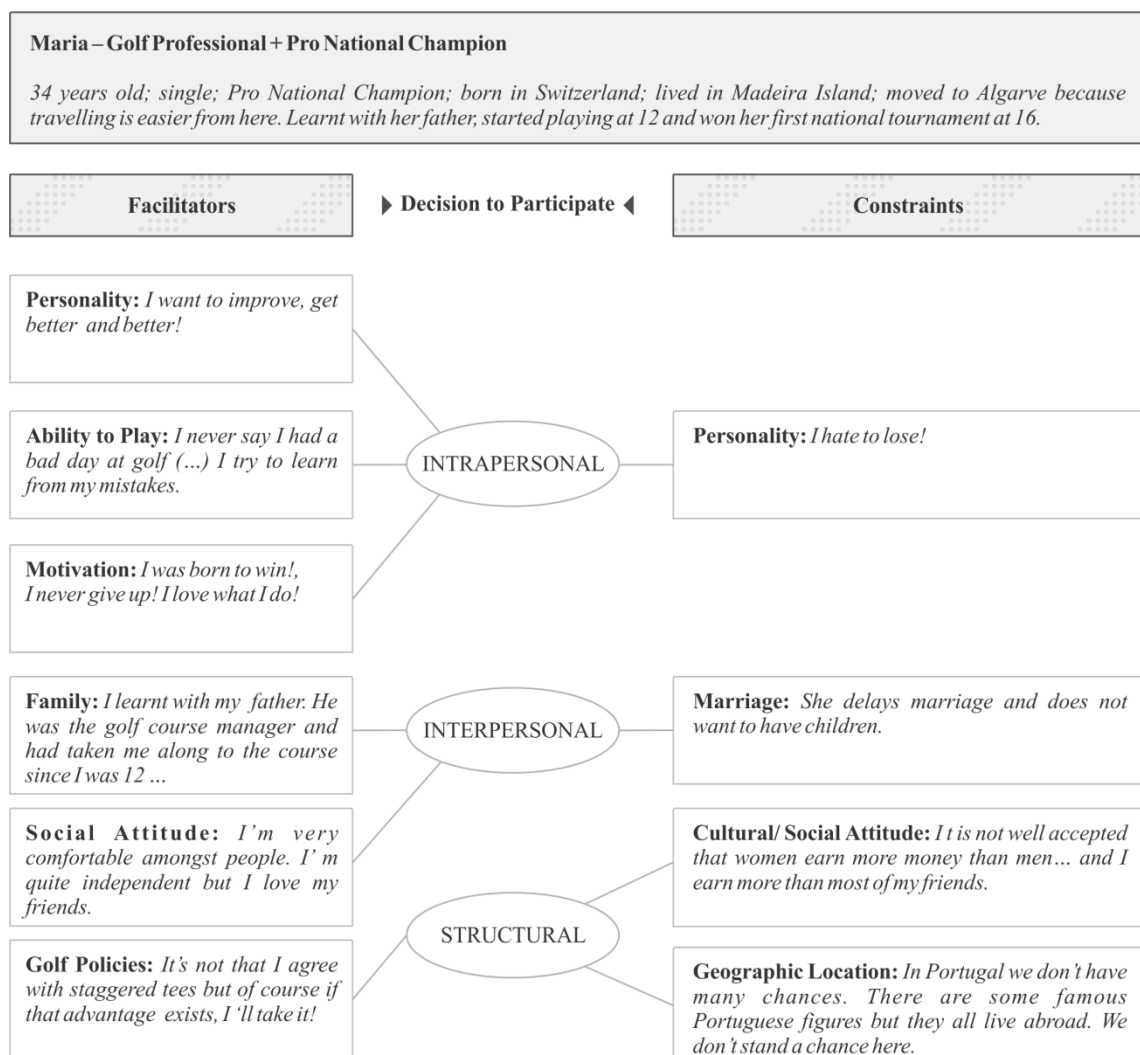


The factors that induced this woman’s participation in golf relate to her *family* (interpersonal). Four generations, from her grandfather to her daughter, have been connected to golf; she is a golf professional at her father’s Academy. Her speech indicates that she assumes golf is a male-orientated sport. To enhance women’s involvement, Claire tries to separate them from their husband’s: she says that many men tell their wives off in front of the class and they lose interest in the game. Although not clearly assumed, Claire accepts masculine cultural orientations (structural) which are not exclusive to golf but can be found in - traditional Portuguese culture at all levels. She reports that her husband is supportive, yet she admits:

“He accepts my teaching, but he jokes: I’m the opposite of the other husbands, I take advice from my wife” (cultural gender norms).

He did not play golf until he met her. Claire’s familiar and professional golfing environment attenuates the “ethics of care” effects but she mentions that, at times, it is very hard for women to conciliate all their tasks; moreover, she admits that “*family obligations and children come first*” and recalls interrupting golf for six years after her daughter was born. When her daughter was twelve or thirteen, she started finding golf slow and boring, as many girls that age do. So Claire decided to teach her daughter’s friends for free, as she understands it gets much easier to play with a regular group, as boys often do. For Claire, golf is a masculine sport where women can be tolerated especially if they adopt a masculine model being this the sole facilitator. Other facilitators arose from the avoidance of facing and questioning men (interpersonal). Further constraints were the *cultural/social attitudes* (structural) that shape women’s participation.

Figure 4.6 – Maria’s Golf Participation Model

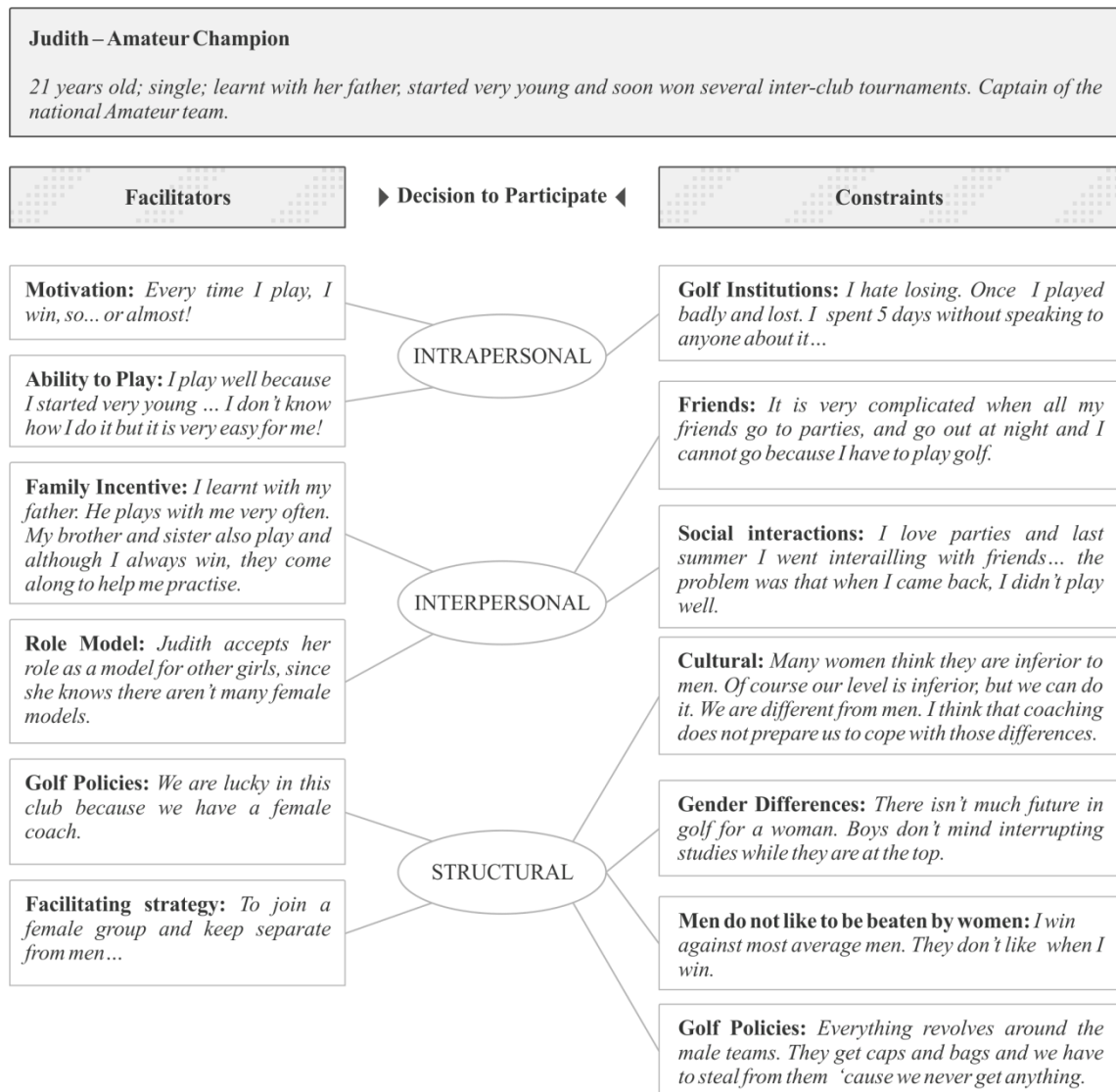


Maria's father started taking her to the golf course when she was twelve and at sixteen she won her first national tournament. The facilitator factors are within her micro system, especially the intrapersonal, deriving from her *personality, motivation* or *ability to play*. On the interpersonal level, the enablers are clearly her father and also her *ability to socialize*. Maria's father was a determinant to her success and has always been very encouraging, supporting her when she needed it. The only interpersonal constraint she refers to is "*considering marriage*". She wants to get married but realizes men's resistance to accept that women may earn more money than them:

"I earn more than most of my friends and I think that this is still not well accepted...women earning more than men, I mean."

Furthermore, finding a man who accepts all her travelling, irregular schedules, her commitment and obligations is not easy. Having children is not even an option for her. Maria has a close group of friends; most of them do not play golf. They look after her house when she is away and keep her company when she is back in the Algarve. Nevertheless, apart from her job, she spends many hours practising alone. Music helps her concentrate and she also loves reading. Maria perceives structural factors mostly as constraints: *geographic location, golf policies*. She has the masculine specificities of golf engrained in her mentality and does not try to change them. She plays on men's grounds and by their rules: she is very competitive, likes to bet, takes advantage of all the rules that favour women and does not think that "family comes first". "*I don't know how I do it, but it is very easy for me!*" (Maria).

Figure 4.7 - Judith's Golf Participation Model



Judith started playing with her father (interpersonal). Her sister and brother also play whilst their mother just accompanies the family to the clubhouse. Her model is masculine. She is young and lively; as interpersonal constraints, she mentions that she misses going out at night and partying with her friends.

Although presently she has a female coach that she admires, she absorbed the cultural/social attitude which causes her to say that women are different and inferior. Moreover, she is aware of the constraints of living in Portugal: the lack of support given to students who engage in sports and want to succeed (structural). Judith considered becoming a “tour professional” but suddenly she had a serious accident, broke her leg and has been recovering since then. She thought of abandoning golf but, on her return

after the accident, she won the national tournament once more, and started playing again. She says: *“I’m lucky, because in golf we just walk... if I was a runner, I could never go back with a leg like this”*. Presently, Judith intends to go abroad where she can attend university and continue to play golf. She advances:

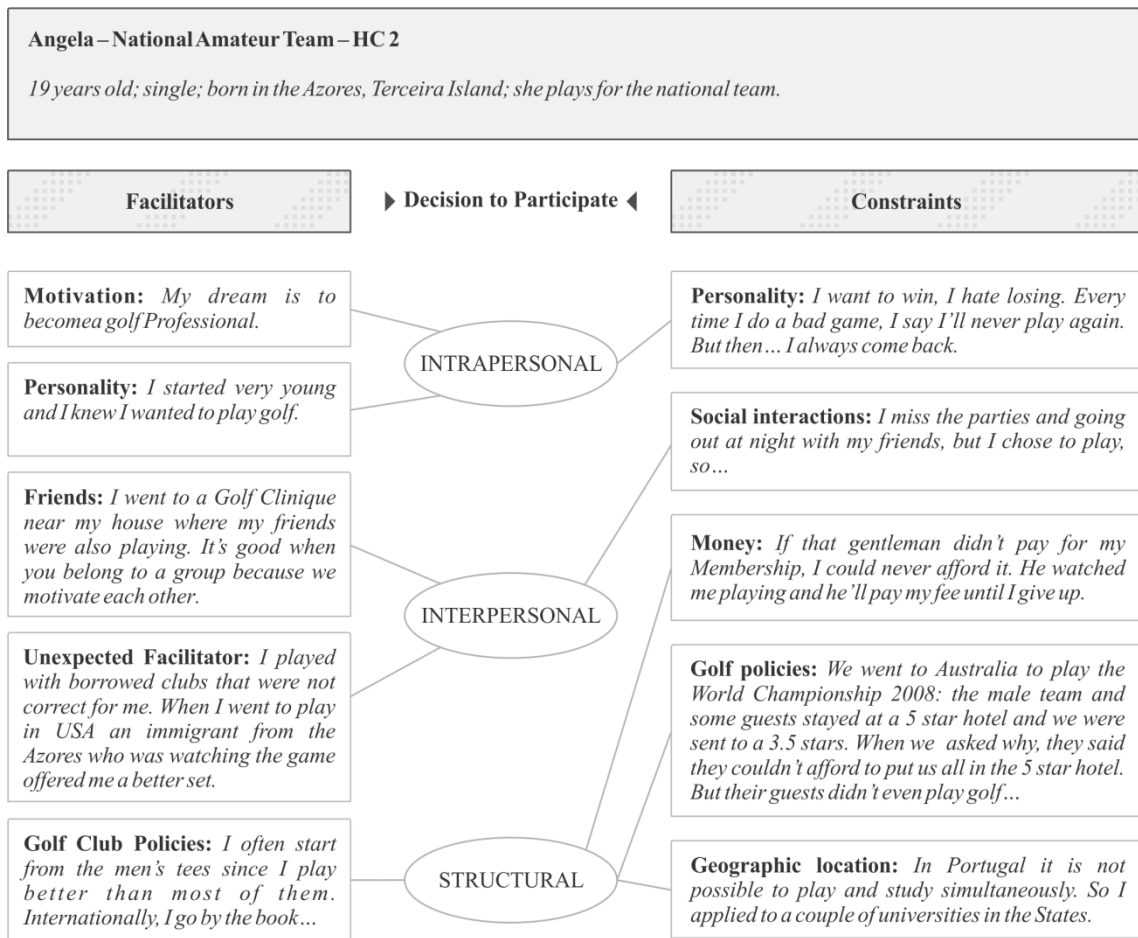
“in Portugal, there isn’t much future in golf for a woman... for the boys it might be also difficult but they don’t mind interrupting their studies for some years whilst they are at the top” (Judith)

Judith highlights that official institutions (structural) are not supportive of women: *“The men’s team gets caps and bags and we have to steal from them, because we never get anything. Not even the shoes... Everything revolves around the male teams”*. Judith is aware of the gendered focus of the game:

“Although men are superior, I play better than the average, because I’m very tall and I hit the ball very far, my swing is very powerful. They hate to lose against me as I often play from the men’s tees, I don’t use the women’s tees (this rule is a bit paternalistic) ... and I still win!” (Judith)

Her parents made her understand that she is an example for other girls to look up to her, and she is now more conscious of this role. As a strategy, she follows the pattern: keep male and female groups separate. *“My dream is to become a Golf Professional”* (Judith).

Figure 4.8 – Angela’s Golf Participation Model



No one in her family plays golf. However, her parents practised sports, so they realised its importance. Angela became involved in golf accidentally: she attended a golf demonstration at the age of 6 near her house and she was so resolute that her parents registered her in a Golf Clinique. The children in this group were the main determinant to her participation, acting as a facilitator factor (interpersonal). Soon she started playing well and the club where she played was a great support, since her parents could not afford the costs of keeping her in golf (structural). Because she lived on the Azores Island, every time she wanted to compete, she had to pay for the flights and accommodation. Later on in life, she received unexpected support:

“I played with borrowed clubs, as I could not afford them. When I went to play in the USA, there was a gentleman, an immigrant from Azores, who offered me a better set of clubs. Since then, he has been paying for my membership fee until I decide to stop playing. Otherwise, I could never afford it” (Angela)

For her, the structural factors act as strong constraints: *money, the geographic location* and *institutional policies*. She is very critical of golf institutions in Portugal and she is very aware of gender inequities in this practice. Just as an example, Angela highlights the injustice imposed on the Ladies' national team when they participated in the 2008 world tournament in Australia: the men's team was booked in at a 5-star hotel along with some accompanying guests who did not even play golf, whilst the female team stayed at a 3.5 star hotel. When questioned, the answer was that the Federation could not afford to put them all in 5-star accommodation.

Conclusions, Limitations and Further Research

From the excerpts above, some partial conclusions can be drawn: these women were educated in Portugal according to a masculine pattern that they accept almost unconditionally. They all learnt with male elements of their families (father, grandfather and husband) or in school groups with a male coach who facilitated their participation. These women developed a strong sense of competitiveness and an intrinsic will to win. More than men, these women discriminate themselves by accepting that they are inferior to male golfers, not only physically, but also because they have to work harder to get similar recognition for their achievements. They accept the "double task" (ensuring their family's wellbeing) thus they have less time for themselves. Furthermore, some of the interviewees follow their husbands by accommodating to and playing by men's rules, thus helping to perpetuate this *status quo*. Their main strategy is accepting to be separate from men and competing separately.

Meanwhile, men handle the presence of female golfers in two ways: either they accept women's supremacy using this "acceptance" to show their own superiority towards other men who do not; or, they become aggressive, intimidating women who silence their own interests and avoid confronting men. The attitude of golf courses is also not conducive to facilitating women's participation: some of our interviewees tried to introduce policies to attract women to this sport. Yet, golf stakeholders resist changes on the grounds that the low number of female golfers does not justify them. This attitude reveals that golf policymakers do not consider the female market very relevant.

The present research expanded the insight into how gender biases in golf affect the participation of women. From the comparative analysis of life stories of Anglo-American women who excelled in golf in the 19th and 20th centuries, with the contents of six semi-structured interviews and a questionnaire applied to present-day Portuguese female champions/professionals, the two presuppositions that sustain the research were confirmed:

- 1) Life stories of Anglo-American women who excelled in golf in the 19th and 20th centuries indicate perception of the 3D factors as inhibitors or facilitators to their participation.
- 2) Contemporary Portuguese female champions perceive the 3D factors similarly to the previous group of women from the 19th and 20th centuries.

This clearly indicates that these factors persist across the centuries, influencing the decision to participate in leisure, sports and golf. Results from this study highlight that on an intrapersonal level, the strongest facilitators common to both groups under study are **motivation** and **past experience**. Findings also confirm that from the interpersonal factors, **family** (father, brother or husband) and **friends' incentive** are the main drivers for participation; furthermore, **marriage** may be perceived both as a facilitator or a constraint, depending on the circumstances, whereas the “**ethics of care**” is mostly regarded as a strong inhibitor. The structural constraints outnumber the other dimensions, being the strongest these women had to face: *status quo*, **cultural and social attitudes** and **course policies** and **conduciveness**, amongst others. We conclude that some aspects of women's lifestyle have not changed much. Social values are very difficult to overcome even when women are motivated to participate in leisure activities such as golf. Moreover, our research finds that the exclusion of women, more than explicit discrimination, is a cultural factor engrained in their daily lives, meaning that women exclude themselves and tacitly accept discrimination.

This study contributes to the literature in different ways: Firstly, a conceptual model deriving from the literature and the analysis of life stories (19th and 20th centuries) allows the beginning of female golfers' exclusion or discrimination to be framed. Secondly, the study identifies the factors that mostly supported and still support this

status quo. Thirdly, since it analyses the strategies used by famous women golfers across the centuries, this research introduces more awareness into this subject, which clearly needs further research.

Factors of participation found in Portugal coincide with ones previously mentioned in studies from other countries. This suggests that these factors are transversal to various nationalities. Nevertheless, the present research focuses only on the Portuguese champions by comparing their life stories with those of international champions in past centuries, which by reinforcing the transversality of these factors, is actually a limitation since we just examined Portuguese women. Further studies should evaluate the pertinence of these factors amongst other nationalities and cultures.

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CHAPTER 5

FACILITATORS AND CONSTRAINTS IN THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN GOLF: PORTUGAL

(PAPER 4)

FACILITATORS AND CONSTRAINTS IN THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN GOLF: PORTUGAL

(Working Paper)

HELENA REIS & ANTÓNIA CORREIA⁴

Abstract

This study aims analysing facilitators/constraints Portuguese women golfers face. The research presents 33 intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors, being supported by a theoretical sampling and data triangulation. The 39 interviews were interpreted by content analysis. Results suggest all participants perceive factors that moderate their participation and highlight dissimilar perceptions by champions/ professional and amateur players.

Contributions address a manifest heterogeneity: social values prevail even when women are encouraged to join leisure activities. Study limitations derive from the geographical scope restricted to Portugal, yet raising awareness to gender in golf. Stakeholders acknowledge women's low participation; however, this is the first Paper about the subject.

Keywords: Facilitators, Constraints, Gender, Golf, Portugal.

⁴ The authors retained copyrights in the Appendix 4

Paper status:

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Introduction

For centuries, golf has been perceived as an elitist sport for older people with a high socio economic background: golf was a “man’s game” following the pattern of the “for-gentlemen-only” British clubs (Chambers, 1995). Under this influence, it was acceptable for golf clubs to exclude women, not admitting any female members. The British introduced golf around the world and maintained gendered practices. Reis *et al.* inform that “when the British opened the 1st course, some Portuguese were allowed to play, especially if they had businesses with the British, but the first Portuguese member was only accepted in 1921. It was only after 1932 that women who were close relatives to a member of the club (“still alive or deceased”) could eventually become members (*see: Paper 6*). Nonetheless, many women have succeeded in golf and today, 20% to 25% of the golf population in USA, Europe or Australia, are women (EGA, 2012; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006). This study emerged from evidence that Portugal follows this pattern (EGA, 2012; *see: Paper 2*).

Considering that more female golfers may contribute to the economic growth of this sector, we found grounds for our research that aim at disclosing the factors that most inhibit or facilitate women’s participation. This research relies on the three dimensions of factors (intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural) (Crawford, Jackson and Godbey, 1991; Godbey, Crawford and Shen, 2010) acting as constraints/facilitators (Jackson, 2005; Raymore, 2002) to participation. The study comprises 39 interviews with Portuguese female golfers, from champions to ‘social golfers’ without handicap. Our aim is to verify whether these women perceive any facilitators /constraints to their participation and if champions/professionals and amateur golfers show different behaviours.

Facilitators / Constraints on Female Golf Participation

Literature on sports (McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Reis and Correia, 2013a) (*see: Paper 1*) has applied the facilitators/constraints paradigm to deepen the research on leisure and sports participation. Crawford *et al.* (1991) posit three dimensions of factors: intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural. The intrapersonal relate to the individual's inner self. The interpersonal examines social interactions and the structural constraints are external factors that inhibit participation, such as social background, socioeconomic status, institutions, infrastructures, race and gender (Raymore, 2002). This theory was "widely adopted as an important lens through which to view leisure behaviour" (Godbey *et al.*, 2010: 111) and the authors revisited and assessed their models in 2010, since they have been a reference used in countless leisure research studies.

The 3D factors are assumed to be the main drivers of consumer behaviour; thus leading to an understanding of what inhibits women's participation in golf. Reis and Correia (2013a) (*see: Paper 1*) advanced a theoretical model deriving from the literature and life stories of Anglo-American women who excelled in golf in the 19th and 20th centuries. These authors tested the model with six Portuguese champions/professionals having concluded that a number of factors persist throughout the centuries and across nationalities (*see: Paper 3*). It is our aim to adopt the aforementioned research to a large sample of women players to assess which factors and to what extent they are perceived as inhibitor/enablers by players with varied levels of golf experience, different life contexts and backgrounds.

Methodology

The study is based on 39 in-depth interviews using a theoretical sampling approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Woodside *et al.*, 2005). This sampling strategy focuses on exploring inhibitors and enablers relating to Portuguese female champions/professionals and Amateur golfers, comprising the profiles based on social status, in accordance with McGinnis *et al.* (2003), since many constraints women experience in sport participation derive from their social condition: *age group, marital status and with or without children*. The sample comprises different sub-groups: dissimilar golf experience (from

the Professional and Amateur champions to women without handicap who are still starting, “social golfers”); *age group* (24 under 40; 15 over 40); *marital status* (21 married; 18 single/divorced), and *women with* (12) or *without children* (27).

The following presuppositions frame this study:

P₁: Identify the most important factors that *female golfers* perceive as facilitators/inhibitors to their participation;

P₂: Distinguish the most important factors by *professional* and *amateur* golfers;

P₃: Depict the influence of these women’s socio-demographic characteristics on their perceptions.

To evaluate the research proposals of this study, the authors relied on Denzin and Lincoln’s (2011: 12) suggestion that “qualitative investigators think they can get closer to the actor’s perspective through detailed interviewing and observation”, which is why we consider it the most suitable approach to get a holistic understanding of undisclosed facts. Our research draws on a snowball sampling, to reach participants through “formal and informal networks connections” (Jennings, 2010: 140). The interviews were all conducted face-to-face, in Portuguese, duration ranging from 1h30 to 4h30. Interviews were recorded and *verbatim* transcribed. The interviewees’ verbalizations were interpreted through content analysis (Jennings, 2010), since it provides detailed information that allows interpretation on various levels, according to different contexts. A “theme codebook” (La Pelle, 2004) was created including the three dimensions and the set of 33 factors that had emerged from the literature. This allows counting the number of instances per factor, to know how many women mentioned each factor and which respondent mentioned it. The factors with a higher number of instances are clearly perceived, whilst a lower number of instances indicates that even when women are aware of the relevance of those factors, they do not verbalize them so spontaneously.

Findings

Our sample comprises women from all over Portugal, having recorded 1, 272 instances, each corresponding to a sentence/extract. Table 5.1 displays percentages by factor and interpretative extracts from interviews illustrate the factors with “the voices of the participants”.

Table 5.1 - Dimensions and Factors Illustrated by Excerpts from Interviews

Dimensions	%	Factors	Excerpts from interviews
Intrapersonal 274 instances	Facilitators 80.6%	Personality	I was born to win! I never give up! I love what I do! (Maria, 34, single).
		Motivation	First we start practicing, and then we win a tournament and another one and again, more and more, until one day you represent your country and go abroad... (Lilly, 28, single).
	Constraints 19.34%	Lack of motivation	I do not like sports. I tried golf and it is different...but, honestly, I only play because I work here and they [the managers] incentivize us to participate. (Nelly, 39, single).
		Lack of self-esteem	I don't play well, my husband does. (Leila, 61, married, son+daughter).
Interpersonal 481 instances	Facilitators 56.34%	Group of friends Social golf	We did everything together and we even had a “special group-suntan” because we spent most of our time on the course, not on the beach. So the sleeves, the shorts, the socks, but above all, the glove, just one hand... It was good; no one made fun of each other because we were all alike. (Rose, 25, single).
		Family incentive	Golf has been in my family for four generations, from my grandfather to my daughter. (Claire, 38, married, one daughter).
	Constraints 43.66%	Gender differences	Men buy souvenirs with the course logo or the Masters logos... but ladies like the polos without the logos and they want things to match. (Nelly, 39, single).
		Ethics of care	I didn't want to leave my mother so I didn't go abroad for some years, I was afraid something might happen to her whilst I was away. (Berta, 67, single).
Structural 517 instances	Facilitators 18.2%	Good course conduciveness	The courses environment is quite comfortable, not masculinised, this has changed a lot. The clubhouses now are really charming, they are all very elegant. (Jo, 53, married, two children).
		Geo location (near)	When I bought the house, I chose that condominium also because the golf course is within the condominium. (Maggie, 46, divorced, no children).
	Constraints 81.8%	Golf institutions Course policy/ Conduciveness	The female National Team doesn't even have a coach...it is the same as the masculine team, <i>in his spare time!</i> (Katie, 24, single).
		Cultural/Social attitudes	Many men don't want to play along with women, no matter what their handicap is... it is a cultural prejudice, it is the chauvinistic tradition, independently from the game itself. (Rachel, 31, married, one child).

Lack of time	Time is a strong problem: it is not the same as using your lunch pause to go to the hairdresser or do some quick shopping. Here you have to change cloths, get equipped, warm up, and then take a shower after the game... it all takes time. (Joana, 47, married, no children).
Geo location (far)	Now, with my daughter, I end up doing something else, nearer to our home... the beach, for instance. (Candice, 36, married, one child).

On the intrapersonal level, personality and motivation emerged as the most significant, conforming with the literature. According to Khan (2011: 107) women’s “personality traits rely on being understanding, caring, nurturing, responsible, considerate, sensitive, intuitive, passionate and having the ability to focus on communal goals”. Regarding motivation, Evans *et al.* (2006: 6) posit that:

“as positive motivation, people are looking for positive situations, positive mood; pleasure, sensory gratification, intellectual stimulation, social approval and comfort: things that may enrich their lives and are worthwhile to strive for and goals that they want to reach”.

Professionals and amateurs with low handicaps show competitive personalities and are motivated to beat men.

On the interpersonal level the strongest facilitator is group of friends followed by family incentive, normally father or husband/boyfriend. The more verbalised constraints are gender differences, meaning physical, psychological, mental or even consumption habits, according to Koc (2006). The ethics of care, engrained in the Portuguese cultural tradition, conforms to the definition of this factor: [women] “provide for the needs of others first (e.g., children, elderly, domestic partner) and neglect their own leisure needs” (Henderson and Allen, 1991: 11).

The structural level reveals that these women are very aware of difficulties related to golf institutions/course conduciveness. Effectively, some of the participants belong to the national team and criticize the FPG (Portuguese Golf Federation); cultural/social attitudes can take on many faces, sometimes more subtlety, sometimes openly. For some of our interviewees, lack of time is a real constraint, whilst others state it is “an excuse, you just have to make your options” (Lou). However, positive course conduciveness is quoted as the more evident facilitator by many women, indicating that a number of the interviewees recognize that golf policies are changing to make courses

more women-friendly. Geographic location interferes with female participation in golf, not only for women with children, which is expectable, but also acts as an enabler, showing both sides of the coin. Conversely, champion/ professional golfers and women with lower handicap do not find it relevant since they travel around to play.

Comparing Professional and Amateur Golfers

Amateurs' results confirm the verbalization of more facilitators than constraints on both intra- and interpersonal levels. On the structural dimension, the discrepancy is not as accentuated as for the professionals.

Table 5.2 - Comparing Professional and Amateur Golfers

Dimensions		Factors	Professionals %	Amateurs %
Intrapersonal	Facilitators	Self-esteem/Competitiveness	29.73	18.37
		Personality	29.73	31.29
		Motivation	22.97	34.01
	Constraints	Lack of motivation	--	44.19
Interpersonal	Facilitators	Group of friends /Social golf	32.65	60.81
		Family incentive	32.65	22.97
		Ethics of care	19.64	28.57
	Constraints	Family obligations	3.57	11.69
		Spousal interaction	17.86	5.84
		Gender differences	21.43	38.31
		Professional context/ University Studies	21.43	2.6
		Missing social life	12.5	8.10
Structural	Facilitators	Good course conduciveness	--	61.63
		Geo location (near)	--	22.09
	Constraints	Golf institutions and Course policy/ Conduciveness	44.71	43.20
		Cultural/Social attitudes	28.24	20.71
		Lack of money	11.76	10.06
		Geo location (far)	5.88	5.62
		Lack of time	2.35	15.09

For the amateur players, motivation has more weight than self-esteem/competitiveness, which is the main drive for the champions/professionals. Yet, lack of motivation is also highly referenced by amateurs and ignored by professionals. The major interpersonal enabler for the amateurs is clearly group of friends in comparison to family incentive whilst the champions/professionals value both equally. Amateurs verbalize more family obligations: *“household responsibilities are still seen as a woman’s “job” and it is all very time consuming. We never have much free time, with all those family obligations”*

(Candice, 36, married, one child), whereas champions/professionals find spousal interaction more interfering: “*When I coach couples, many husbands tend to “teach” their wives but they are also just learning... wives tend to stagnate their evolution and lose interest*” (Claire, 38, one daughter). University studies and missing social life are inhibitors visibly less pertinent to amateurs than to champions/professionals. Judith faces a dilemma – studying or playing? She guesses boys would not hesitate:

“Boys will easily suspend their studies for a couple of years to play golf, while girls won’t”, whereas Angela (19, single) faces a choice: “I miss the parties and going out at night with my friends, but I chose to play, so...”

On the structural dimension, amateurs find good course conduciveness and geographic location worth highlighting, whilst champions/professionals are more critical about the first whilst the second does not hamper their practice, as they constantly travel. The last main dissimilarity between these two groups is the verbalization of lack of time. Professionals were very incisive declaring that it is a question of organization and priorities, but married amateurs, with children, perceive lack of time as a major limitation.

Conclusions, Limitations and Further Research

Our analysis highlighted discrepancies between the two groups (champions/professionals and amateurs): on the intrapersonal level, champions/professionals reveal self-esteem and personality as the main drivers whilst amateurs indicate motivation, which is expectable since champions/professionals are characterised by a strong will and determination to win since motivation may come from external influence (health, open air activity or being with friends). The interpersonal level shows that incentive comes from family for both groups or from group of friends for the amateurs, this being a sign that without the approval of their peer groups some women will quit playing. Women seem to be more dependent on social emulation than any other members of Portuguese society. Surprisingly, even the professionals play mostly because their families/friends approve of their choice for golf, but some respondents admit that they would interrupt practice to please others (husband/boyfriend, best friends). This indicates women’s social dependence, proving that the sense of belonging/conformity,

determines behaviours, which is according to MacCannel (1976), who posits that conformity refers to the behaviours or attitudes that conform to social norms in strict accordance with peer group-membership. The constraints also vary: professionals verbalise more spousal interaction, whilst amateurs mention family obligations. Once again, the need for social emulation is present, i.e., their families' recognition, making these women postpone leisure pleasures for the sake of others. Professionals face constraints that are stronger for them: balancing golf with university studies and missing socialising with friends. Geographical location (distance home/course) and lack of time are important for amateur married women, especially with children, factors that professionals devalue since they frequently travel to play in different courses/countries, and consider lack of time a "false constraint" feeling it is more a question of choosing your priorities. When comparing profiles within the amateur group, friends are a great motivator for single women in comparison to married women with children, who do not have much time to socialise. Family obligations are more verbalised by women over 40, maybe due to the burdens imposed on women with families. Many of these women, mainly the single and younger, were incentivised to play by their fathers/family.

The contribution of this study relates to the heterogeneity that is manifest in this cultural background. Overall, social values prevail even when women are encouraged to take part in leisure activities such as golf. Seeing how this heterogeneity plays itself out in different groups, other sports and leisure activities remains a question for future research. Further contributions are expounded on a theoretical level. Expanding the facilitators/constraints perception unveils the factors that influence women to choose a masculine sport. Understanding their behaviour provides better awareness of the gender bias that still exists in golf. By studying strategies top Portuguese female golfers use, we open paths for ways to make golf more appealing to women and for other women to understand how to negotiate their participation irrespective of their desired participation levels and golf experience. Factors of participation found in Portugal conform to the ones advanced by previous research and apply to diverse levels of golf experience (professional, amateur, and social golfers), indicating that these factors are transversal to various nationalities and degrees of involvement. Additional studies are necessary to consider the pertinence of these factors amongst other sports, nationalities and levels of

experience a, in a more diversified group of players and within different cultural contexts and sporting activities.

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CHAPTER 6

GENDER IN GOLF: HETEROGENEITY IN WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

(PAPER 5)

GENDER IN GOLF: HETEROGENEITY IN WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

HELENA REIS & ANTÓNIA CORREIA⁵

Abstract

The low participation of women in golf derives from the game's male-dominated tradition. Embedded in the intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural paradigm, this study aims to ascertain which factors facilitate/inhibit women's participation. A qualitative method analysis was used with a sample of 39 Portuguese female golfers, accommodating the main features of individual profiles: age group; marital status; with/without children. Findings reveal that differences mirror the way women perceive golf: "healthy physical activity" or "competitive sport". Acceptance of cultural gender norms is embedded in society; compliance is intricate in women's speeches and attitudes. Results evidence homogeneity indicating that women tend to accept golf as a men's sport, where they are only tolerated: the masculine tradition of the game is perpetuated also by women.

Keywords: Gender, Golf, Women, Behaviour.

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Introduction

Golf is a male-dominated leisure activity, interdicted to women since its beginning in the 18th century, when the rules of golf were written in Scotland. Although the exclusion of women was not specified in the rules, they were not allowed in the majority of clubhouses. Even today, female participation in the game is low and derives mainly from the male-dominated focus of the game. This reality has persisted to date and seems difficult to overcome, since nearly 80% of golf players are men (European Golf Association, 2011). When compared to other sports, golf offers the possibility of mixed gender participation, since it provides an opportunity for the family to share recreation together. Moreover, since golf courses are found in many tourist destinations, this may influence the family's holiday choices.

Gender is a social and cultural construct that prejudices against women in many sectors, including leisure involvement. McGinnis *et al.* (2005) conceptualize gender as a:

“social structure that organizes society into different and unequal categories based on sex and as an ideology that promotes inequities between the socially constructed categories of men and women” (McGinnis *et al.*, 2005: 317).

Research on women in male-dominated occupations, statistical discrimination, and feminist research in sports (McGinnis *et al.*, 2005; George *et al.*, 2007) is a field that deserves further investigation. Hence, this Paper focuses on the barriers created by gendered expectations and hegemonic masculinity that frame golf as a masculine sport, and aims to disclose women's decision to participate in a “men's game”.

Our research addresses two questions: to identify the most important factors that induce or constrain women's recreational play in golf, and to understand how and to what extent Portuguese women perceive these factors as facilitators or inhibitors. It aims to evaluate the influence of these factors on golf participation by means of an interpretative analysis of 39 in-depth-interviews with women golfers carried out in Portugal.

Theoretically, the intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural (henceforth 3D) paradigm (Crawford and Godbey, 1987) provides the best contextual background to support the analysis. The literature defines constraints (Jackson, 1997), and facilitators (Raymore, 2002), as factors or conditions that are assumed by researchers and perceived or experienced by individuals to enable or inhibit leisure preferences and which enhance or prohibit participation. A number of factors emerged from these interviews as the most relevant and were incorporated in a questionnaire with a scale of concordance. At a later stage, this questionnaire was applied to the same 39 respondents with the intention of confirming the interpretation of the interviews. The sample was stratified to accommodate the profiles: age group; marital status; with/without children, which are the variables that mostly distinguish women in golf (McGinnis *et al.*, 2005). Descriptive and non-parametric tests were used to assess differences within these profiles.

This Paper contributes to leisure and sports literature in three ways. Firstly, from a conceptual perspective, by exploring the way women deal with gender inequities in their decision to participate, the study enhances the 3D factors paradigm, helping to understand which factors mostly influence the option to participate or not in an area dominated by men, an issue that has been recognized as being of major importance (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009; Vamplew, 2010). Secondly, interpretative analysis anchored on a well-established theoretical background (Constraints/ Facilitators theory) was methodologically applied. This research advances an innovative model, suggesting a qualitative method approach, which could be applied to different studies and raise awareness. To the authors' best knowledge, this is the first attempt of this kind on this subject in Portugal. Thirdly, on an empirical level, the conclusions of this Paper are of paramount importance for female golf practitioners, who may better understand the gender bias of the game, and find ways to deal with them, opening paths for future research. By making the structures and dynamics that favour men in golf visible and highlighting the women's perceptions of these inequities, we contribute to research in gender and sports.

Following this introduction, section two presents the literature review on leisure and sports under a gendered perspective. Section three advances the theories that structure this research while the fourth section explains the methodology applied, followed by a

discussion of the results in section five. The final section includes the conclusions, limitations, and perspectives for further research.

Literature Review

Research on leisure participation is vast and the study of women's leisure is intrinsically related to gender roles in society and constraints women face deriving from gender inequalities in most domains (Crawford and Godbey, 1987; Henderson, 1990; Henderson and Hickerson, 2007). Borsay (2006: 75) reflects upon a British structured society in which "inequality based upon differential possessions of wealth, status, and power" enhanced class fragmentation in the social order. This stratification influenced the leisure activities chosen by different classes, leading to segmentation and exclusion. Despite this, "women tended towards feminine-appropriate sports such as tennis and golf which offered opportunities for social contact and moderate exercise" (George, 2009: 335). This *status quo* has prevailed to date and Borsay (2006: 121) advances that sport is biologically male-orientated, emphasising "strength, competition, and combat".

Interest in physical activity and sports has increased in the last decades (Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007; Miller and Brown, 2005). Authors like Arthur *et al.* (2009), McGinnis and Gentry (2006) or Vamplew (2010) explore the social context of women in golf.

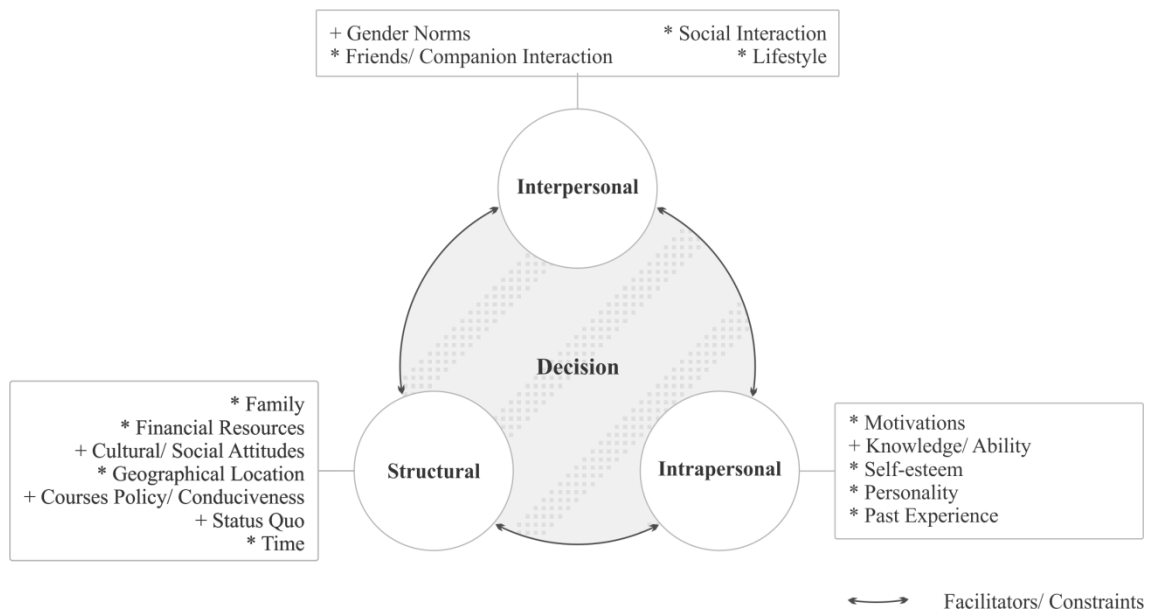
A wide body of research on tourism and leisure has used the Constraints-Facilitators theory (Jackson, 1997; Raymore, 2002) in order to understand how the decision to participate or not occurs, providing useful insights into general patterns of participation. Many authors applied the constraints-facilitators proposal to leisure, sports and golf studies under a gendered perspective, deepening knowledge on women's choices (Callan and Thomas, 2006; Carroll and Alexandris, 1997; Haig-Muir, 2000; Miller and Brown, 2005). These scholars find that the 3D factors - intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural (Crawford and Godbey, 1987), acting as constraints and/or facilitators, are grounds to explain the decision to participate in leisure and sports. Research on the 3D factors concludes that these dimensions belong to the individuals' living environment, having a strong effect on the decision to participate on different levels.

The intrapersonal factors refer to the inner self of the individuals and comprise their characteristics, fears and beliefs. Some of the intrapersonal factors identified in the literature are: *motivation, past experiences* and *personal performance (knowledge and ability), self-esteem* and *personality*. The literature states that these factors clearly facilitate involvement in leisure and sports, such as golf. On an interpersonal level, concerning the interactions among individuals, the *family's incentive, lifestyle* or *companion/friends' interaction* are crucial facilitators, whereas “the ethics of care” - the traditional role of women taking care of others before attending to their own needs (Gilligan, 1982) - and *gender norms* function as strong constraints while *social interactions* may have both effects. The structural factors relate to external factors that inhibit participation, like *institutions, infra-structures, socio-economic status, social background, financial resources (money), gender and race* (Raymore, 2002). Further research has introduced additional factors under this dimension: *family obligations, time, cultural/social attitude and status quo, geographic location and course policy/conduciveness* (Callan and Thomas, 2006; Haig-Muir, 2000; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; McGinnis *et al.*, 2009).

Conceptual Framework

These factors are assumed to be the main drivers of leisure and sports participation. Based on the aforementioned literature, the present study tests the most relevant factors in each dimension found in the literature. Hence, this Paper explores antecedent facts relating to the individuals, in order to understand how different lifestyles, living conditions and previous sport experiences influence gender bias perception and verbalisation, and consequently, how these affect participation in golf. Figure 6.1 shows the conceptual framework on which the research relies.

Figure 6.1 – Decision to Participate in Golf Model Based in 3D Factors



Several studies on women’s leisure identify constraints such as “guilt associated with leaving children with others to take time out for themselves” (Miller and Brown, 2005: 410), “the sense of guilt for having fun when others need care” (McGinnis and Gentry, 2006: 231), but the most persistent is “the ethics of care” (i.e., women provide for the others’ needs before their own) (Day, 2000; Gilligan, 1982; Henderson and Allen, 1991; Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007; Lloyd and Little, 2010; Miller and Brown, 2005; Roster, 2007; Thomsson, 1999). This concept reflects the gendered expectation that women should devote all of their time to family care, a consequence of moral values that are innate in women. In their research on female golfers, McGinnis *et al.* (2005) prove that having children is the strongest constraint for women to persist in the game, since it is not easy to find time between work, family life, and household responsibilities: “gendered disparities in leisure time were particularly felt by the women in our sample who had children (McGinnis *et al.*, 2005: 329). The authors advance: “some women wait until their children are old enough to require less care to make time for golf” (McGinnis *et al.*, 2005: 330).

On the basis of the literature review and the conceptual model in Figure 6.1, the present study is framed by the following research presuppositions:

P₁: Different age groups justify different golf participation perceptions and verbalisations of the 3D factors;

P₂: Different marital status (married/divorced/single) justifies different golf participation perceptions and verbalizations of the 3D factors;

P₃: Having children or not justifies different golf participation perceptions and verbalizations of the 3D factors.

Building on the above assumptions, the research strives to illustrate different options using selected examples and also analyses diverse life contexts, perceptions of gender bias participation, and the resultant closing stages chosen by the individuals.

Methodology

To evaluate the research proposals of this study, the authors selected both qualitative and quantitative methodologies as the most appropriate approach to obtain a holistic interpretation of undisclosed facts. The present study is based on 39 semi-structured in-depth interviews and uses a theoretical sampling approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; McCracken, 1988; Ragin, 1994; Woodside *et al.*, 2005). The sampling strategy used is not intended to offer representativeness, but to focus on exploring and describing facilitators and constraints relating to a specific group of Portuguese female golfers. The theoretical sampling considers combinations of case profiles across 4-7 attributes (Woodside *et al.*, 2005) and recommends 5-8 interviews per cell (McCracken, 1988; Woodside *et al.*, 2005). Table 6.1 displays the stratification of the interviewees, illustrating the number of profiles created based on social status, in accordance with McGinnis *et al.* (2003), who argue that most of the constraints women experience in sport participation are mainly due to their social condition. Some profiles are unfeasible to reach, namely single women with children, thus this profile is not considered.

Table 6.1 - Sample Stratification

Age Group	Marital status	With/without child	Number
Under 40 years	Single/Divorced	Without children	13
	Married	Without children	5
		With children	6
Over 40 years	Single/Divorced	Without children	5
	Married	Without children	4
		With children	6

The study also uses a snowball sampling, the most appropriate to reach participants through “formal and informal networks connections” (Jennings, 2010: 140). The researchers first meet interviewees at the clubhouse or a place of their choice; other members are identified by these members and then by the next participants until the sample is complete (Jennings, 2010). The interviews were conducted face-to-face, lasting between 90 minutes to 300 minutes and were divided into three main parts: the first part provides a matrix detailing all previous sport experiences and the second comprises 80 open-ended questions, covering three sections about the person’s life background and socio-demographics, daily life activities and routines concerning professional and extra-professional activities; the final section focuses on sport experiences, behaviours and factors the interviewees face when choosing a male-dominated sport. All interviews were recorded and the *verbatim* transcripts became the object of interpretative and comparative analyses, in order to determine analytic categories, following McCracken’s (1988) recommendations.

Nevertheless, the interviews present disadvantages associated with the fact that this is a subjective epistemological approach and its critics raise the question of the “reliability and validity” of the material (Jennings, 2010: 175). To validate the interpretation of the interviews, and to test if the interpretations of the authors are exactly what the women state in the interviews, a questionnaire with the most recurrent factors derived from the transcript statements was applied to the same women. This questionnaire includes two sections, one with a concordance scale of five points with 50 factors that may act as facilitators or constraints. The second part comprises a set of questions to characterise the women in socio-demographic terms. As a result, a theoretical sampling and data triangulation support this research.

Semi-structured interviews are one of the most appropriate techniques to obtain a holistic interpretation of the interviewees, their past and present contexts, and the sport participation decision. This is not only because people need time to think over their experiences (Oppermann, 1995) but also because the semi-structured interview method involves a person-to-person interaction and an immersion of the researcher in the research setting, which results in a better understanding and significance of the social phenomena under study (Ragin, 1994). The questionnaire was codified and treated with SPSS software. To test the interpretation of the interviews and observe whether these women's discourses reflect exactly what they really think, non-parametric tests were performed using the Kruskal-Wallis test, since it provides a one-way analysis of variance and detects differences in distribution location. The Kruskal-Wallis test assumes that there is no previous ordering of the populations, from which the samples are drawn, thus making this the most appropriate test for categorical variables as is the case. Furthermore, when reduced to two groups this test performs as Man-Whitney Tests.

Results

A set of 50 factors arose from the interviews. The majority of these factors present a level of concordance higher than 50%, and are listed on Table 6.2, as being the most relevant ones. Nevertheless, as this research is exploratory on its nature, the other factors were analysed as well, to highlight the less, but obvious differences among women's perceptions. All the factors were incorporated into a questionnaire which was applied to the same 39 women with the double objective of checking if the authors' interpretations are what these women really mean, and also to test if the women's perceptions vary according to their social condition, such as having children or not, their marital status and age. Table 6.2 shows the factors with high levels of concordance.

Table 6.2 - Intrapersonal, Interpersonal and Structural Factors

Dimensions	Factors	Median	Totally agree or partially agree	
			Nr	%
Intrapersonal Factors	I like to challenge my capacities and test my limits	5.0	34	87%
	I like to play because I'm very competitive	4.0	22	56%
	Once in a while, I like to play at a different place	4.0	23	59%
	I play to avoid daily routine	4.0	21	54%
	Playing makes me recover strength and energy	4.0	24	62%
	The perfect game is when I relax and rest	4.0	20	51%
	I feel free when I play	4.0	31	79%
	I would feel very bad to leave my sick children at home and go to play	5.0	33	85%
	I look for pleasure and entertainment in the game	5.0	36	92%
	I like to play with different people	4.0	30	77%
Interpersonal Factors	I like to play with good friends	5.0	36	92%
	Men are more experienced on the courses than women	4.0	28	72%
	It is very difficult to find female partners to play with	4.0	27	69%
	Family comes first, always before leisure	4.0	24	62%
	When the family needs attention, I immediately give up my pleasures	5.0	32	82%
	Men use golf to do business with each other	4.0	33	85%
	Men do not give up their leisure programmes because of the family	4.0	22	56%
	Women postpone their leisure programmes for the sake of their families	4.0	33	85%
	Playing golf facilitates social interaction	4.0	28	72%
	Women do not have much time to play	4.0	26	67%
Structural Factors	A game of golf is so time consuming that I don't have time for that	4.0	21	54%

Overall the factors show high scores of agreement which means that the interpretations of the authors are in accordance with the statements transcribed from the interviews. From the 50 factors considered, 22 present levels of agreement over 50%.

On an intrapersonal level, from the 10 factors considered, 8 score over 50% of agreement, with a median over 4. The factors that rank higher in this dimension are “I look for pleasure and entertainment in the game” (92%), “I like to challenge my capacities and test my limits” (87%) and “I feel free when I play” (79%). This is in accordance with research that indicates that women see golf under two perspectives: an opportunity to combine an open air activity with social interaction and the more serious golfers who want to compete (George, 2010; Vamplew, 2010).

From the 26 interpersonal factors considered, 11 present levels of agreement over 50%, with a median over 4. The 26 factors were gathered addressing three subthemes: gender

norms, social and “the ethics of care”. The factors that rank higher in this dimension are “I like to play with good friends” (92%) within the social; “men use golf to do business with each other” (85%), gender; “I would feel very bad to leave my sick children at home and go to play” (85%) and “women postpone their leisure programmes for the sake of their families” (85%), confirming the “ethic of care” perception that leisure and sports/golf researchers have highlighted (Henderson and Allen, 1991; Miller and Brown, 2005). Finally, on a structural level, out of the 14 factors, only 2 score over 50%, indicating that the majority of respondents accommodate the gender nature of the game. The factors that rank higher in this dimension are related to golf institutions/course conduciveness, cultural/social attitudes but above all, to *lack of time*: “women do not have much time to play” (67%) and “a game of golf is so time consuming that I don't have time for that” (54%), which conforms to finding in leisure/sports literature (McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Miller and Brown, 2005). Having applied the questionnaire to the 39 Portuguese golfers previously interviewed, we concluded that our findings echo the respondents’ discourses, thus, quotations were introduced to support the results. Results of the present study are depicted below under each of the selected profiles.

Presupposition *P₁*: Different age groups justifying different golf participation perceptions and verbalisations of the 3D factors is confirmed as follows: concerning *age group* the main differences appear to be related to intrapersonal factors and the median score of factors with statistical differences may lead to tentative conclusions.

Table 6.3 - 3D Factors: Different Perceptions by Age Group

Factors	Median	Chi-Square	df	Asymp. Sig.	Under	Over
					40 years	40 years
Median						
Intrapersonal Factors						
Playing golf makes me recover strength and energy	4	5.892	1	.015	3.5	5.0
I look for pleasure and entertainment in the game	5	6.947	1	.008	4.0	5.0
Structural Factors						
The rules of golf do not facilitate women's participation	1	6.880	1	.009	1.0	3.0

These women’s discourses illustrate the statistical differences highlighted on Table 6.3: on the intrapersonal level, *regaining strength and energies* is more important for women over 40 (80%), whereas only 50% of women under 40 mentioned it, a conclusion that is related to their physical condition more than anything else. The percentages increase concerning the perception of the game for *pleasure and entertainment*: 88% for women under 40s and 100% for over 40s. It was a general opinion that: “*it is very good when you have a group and we play together; we can have a good time and still motivate each other to play a good game*”. On the structural level, only a low number (8% of the under 40s and 20% of the over 40s) consider the rules of game a significant inhibitor: “The rules may favour men but with the staggered tees for women, it can be balanced...” McGinnis *et al.* (2009: 19) concluded that women find different strategies to cope with inequities, some of them through what the authors called “accommodating strategy (i.e., acknowledging masculine rituals and working around them)” (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009: 19), and this attitude emerges from our respondents’ discourses.

Presupposition **P₂**: Different marital status (married/ divorced/single) justifying different golf participation perceptions and verbalizations of the 3D factors is also confirmed:

Table 6.4 - 3D Factors: Different Perceptions by Marital Status

Factors	Median	Chi-Square	df	Asymp. Sig.	Single/ Divorced	Married
					Median	
Interpersonal Factors						
I like to play a game that not everybody plays	3	6.024	1	.014	4	3
Structural Factors						
A game of golf is so time-consuming that I don't have time for it	4	9.445	1	.002	2	4

Statistical differences in marital status, illustrated in Table 6.4, show that on an interpersonal level, single/divorced women (61%) perceive the practice of golf as essentially based on social interaction. They enjoy the “social golf”, i.e., getting together to socialise and make friends: *“I don’t play very well but I don’t miss a game because we have a good time together”* whereas only 29% of married women find socializing relevant. This conclusion is linked to the *lack of time* (structural), the strongest inhibitor to married women’s participation: 76% affirm that as a normal game of golf may take 4.30 to 5 hours; it is very time-consuming clearly constraining their participation. Only 28% of the single/divorced women mention *lack of time*. According to some of the more competitive interviewees the *lack of time* perception derives more from the fact that Portuguese women lack interest in sports as part of their cultural tradition. One woman advanced: *“I think that sometimes it’s more an excuse because women in Portugal are not used to doing sports so it is not really their priority. It is a cultural thing”*.

Presupposition P_3 : Having children or not justifying different golf participation perceptions and verbalizations of the 3D factors is confirmed in the following analysis:

Table 6.5 - 3D Factors: Different Perceptions in Women With or Without Children

Factors	Median	Chi-Square	df	Asym p. Sig.	Without children	With children
					Median	
Intrapersonal Factors						
The perfect game is when I relax and rest	4	4.169	1	0.041	3	5
I would feel very bad to leave my sick children at home and go to play	5	6.27	1	0.012	5	5
Interpersonal Factors						
I like to play a game that not everybody plays	3	4.126	1	0.042	3	1
Playing golf is a way to avoid loneliness	3	4.011	1	0.045	3	4
Family comes first. always before leisure	4	5.988	1	0.014	3	5
Women postpone their leisure programmes for the sake of their families	4	6.306	1	0.012	4	5

Both on intrapersonal and interpersonal levels, women with children clearly want to relax: 71% against 40% of women without children. When asked if they would feel bad to leave their sick children at home and go play, the percentages were: 100% of the women with children and 76% of the women without children. On an interpersonal level, the responses reveal that 86% of women with children affirm that the family comes first and 100% would postpone their leisure programmes for the sake of the family.

This group does not have time to socialise, so they do not find it relevant (29%). Women without children (72%) acknowledge the restrictions imposed on women with children. However, being single, this group does not perceive interpersonal factors as constraining:

“Many women say they don’t have time to play golf. I think it is more a question of organisation but, above all, Portuguese women are not very keen on sports. Yet, when you have children and a family to look after, it is not easy at all” (Alda).

Their verbalisations show they are engrained with the cultural and social gender norms, yet they do not want to accommodate those norms:

“women deserve to do things for themselves and should not give up everything when they have a family, but the influence of the traditional role

required from women is still very present in our society. Men wouldn't skip their game of golf for the family, but women do" (Fiona).

In fact, it is more a cultural inhibitor than an effective restriction as in Table 6.5.

Conclusions, Implications, Limitations and Further Research

The present research deepened the understanding of how gender inequities in golf affect female participation decision formations. From the analysis of 39 semi-structured interviews and a survey of Portuguese women golfers, the three presuppositions that anchored the research were confirmed. Results from this study propose that women with distinct backgrounds and life contexts evidence different degrees of perceptions, leading to diverse decisions. The results and quotations extracted from the 39 interviews by means of content analysis effectively confirm our initial presuppositions that were also confirmed by quantitative analysis, through the set of non-parametric tests performed. Overall, the most important facilitator and constraint factors of women's participation in golf and sports were outlined in this Paper.

The present research concludes that the three dimensions of factors (intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural) influence women's golf practice, albeit at different levels. The main differences mirror the way women perceive golf: some consider it "a healthy physical activity" whereas others enjoy golf as "a competitive sport"; some women play to feel relaxed and regain strength while others concentrate on testing their limits. All women agree that they would feel bad to leave their children at home while playing, even the ones without children, which reflects their acceptance and accommodation of cultural gender norms. Furthermore, all women agree that "family comes first" whilst the more committed golfers say that they need time for themselves. All the respondents find golf important as a means of socialising. On a structural level, results show homogeneity indicating that women tend to tacitly accept golf as a men's sport where they are only tolerated. These results indicate that the male-dominated tradition of the game is also perpetuated by women.

The intrapersonal factor that clearly enhances female involvement is motivation under two different aspects: the best players enjoy the competition, another group enjoys relaxing and regaining strength, while a third group mentioned pleasure and

entertainment as a way to balance the daily routine. On an interpersonal level, the most significant factors relate to the possibility golf presents to socialise, to meet people and to be with friends. The interpersonal constraint that all women mentioned is the “ethics of care”: family comes first and most women postpone their leisure programmes to accommodate their family’s needs. This result indicates that gender norms and the caring role ascribed to women in traditional societies are engrained in women. On a structural level, findings evidence homogeneity indicating that women tend to tacitly accept golf as a men’s sport, where they are only tolerated. These results show that the male-dominated tradition of the game is also perpetuated by women.

The conclusions of this Paper are of paramount importance for marketers and female golf practitioners, opening paths for future research. By identifying the dynamics that privilege men in golf and the perceptions women have of these biased inequities and constraints, we enhance the ongoing research in gender and sports sociology.

In spite of the limitations of the study, mainly deriving from the geographical and sampling scopes limited to Portuguese women, it brings up some interesting ideas which, if applied to a more extensive sample, may contribute to gender and golf research.

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CHAPTER 7

WOMEN'S STRATEGIES IN GOLF: PORTUGUESE GOLF PROFESSIONALS

(PAPER 6)

WOMEN'S STRATEGIES IN GOLF: PORTUGUESE GOLF PROFESSIONALS

(Working Paper)

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Abstract

Women's participation in golf becomes a topic of interest since they can contribute to the economic development of this sport by getting involved on a larger scale. Not many studies address the strategies women employ to handle golf bias (McGinnis, Gentry and McQuillan, 2009), which is the ground motivation for our research. To that end, we interviewed women who can cope in golf, as all interviewees were female professionals in Portugal, a highly gendered culture. Departing from the constraints women face when choosing a sport where masculine rituals prevail, the authors advanced that to deal with discrimination, women "negotiated masculine rituals in golf" in three ways: (a) "accommodating," meaning that some women recognize masculine rituals and work around them; (b) "unapologetic," referring to the ones that challenge male rituals attempting to create female inclusive alternatives; (c) "remaining unaware," those who focus on golf as a sport and ignore/refuse its masculine hegemony (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009: 19).

The aim of the present study is to understand whether and to what extent life contexts and backgrounds of Portuguese women golfers influenced their choice for golf and to determine whether these women's behaviours conform to the three types of strategies. Above all, we want to comprehend how negotiation strategies interact with leisure constraints, making this a unique contribution to the body of knowledge on this scant if not inexistent field.

Keywords: Golf, Portugal, Causal Historical Wave, Facilitators/ Constraints, Strategies.

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Introduction

Research on leisure and sports acknowledges golf as a male-dominated activity reflecting a strong masculine prevalent culture (Apostolis and Giles, 2011; Arthur, Van Buren III and Del Campo, 2009; Haig-Muir, 2000; McGinnis, Gentry and McQuillan, 2009; Vamplew, 2010). Gender inequities in leisure and the masculine hegemony of several sports have been the subject of a large body of research on sports participation and physical education (Koivula, 1995; Lensky, 1991; Matteo, 1986), basketball (Banet-Weiser, 1999), football (Kim and Chalip, 2004), motorcycling (Roster, 2007), skydiving and snowboarding (Laurendeau and Sharara, 2008), tennis (Thomsson, 1999), and golf (Callan and Thomas, 2006; Haig-Muir, 2000; Hudson, Jr. 2008; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; McGinnis *et al.*, 2009; Pyles, 2007).

Due to its specific characteristics, golf could be seen differently because it provides balanced procedures such as a handicap system and differentiated teeing grounds, offering equal opportunities to both genders irrespective of physical strengths. Nevertheless, and although the Rules of Golf written in 1744 by the Gentlemen Golfers of Leith (*for instance see*: <http://golf.about.com>) do not instruct the exclusion of women from the clubhouses and the game, discrimination has been an enduring practice since the 18th century to date (Chambers, 1995; Crosset, 1995). This sport has been understudied, especially in countries where the game was introduced by the British and with it, the cultural tradition of the “for-gentlemen-only” clubs. In fact, the low participation of female golfers is recurrent in the USA (Licata and Tiger, 2010; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006), U.K. (George, 2010), Australia (Haig-Muir, 2000) and even Portugal (Reis and Correia, 2013a; European Golf Association, hereafter EGA, 2012).

Yet, many women choose this activity and excel in the game. Studying these women’s behaviour may bring insights into why they participate in a masculine sport, despite the gender inequities they have to face. The attraction of women to the golf courses can be a way to revert the slow participation growth among males in the industry. In fact, the annual average growth rate in rounds has decreased 1.8% from 2005 to 2012, which means that there are fewer male players in 2012 (10, 702) than there were in 2005 (12,359) (EGA, 2012). This revealed stagnation could be reversed by adopting policies

able to increase women's involvement. This same opinion was expressed by several golf club managers from Algarve (the south of Portugal), among them the regional director of the Portuguese Golf Federation (hereafter FPG) and the president of the female department of FPG. The importance of the golf to the national tourism economy has been well established (Correia and Pintassilgo, 2006; Mendes, Valle and Guerreiro, 2011). In fact, Turismo de Portugal (2013) has placed golf among the 10 strategic products for the development of tourism in Portugal and the IAGTO (International Association of Golf Tour Operators, 2013) elected Portugal as "Europe's Leading Golf Destination 2012". However, to the authors' best knowledge, this is the first study about gender in golf in this country.

Researchers McGinnis *et al.* (2009) addressed the strategies women employ to handle golf bias, which is the ground motivation for the present study. The more information we collect and retrieve about the way women feel when choosing an activity where masculine rituals prevail, the more insight we can bring to the subject and advance some suggestions for improvements/strategies that will make golf environments more women-friendly. We also want to unravel some of the theoretical underpinnings facing women in leisure as a whole in order to balance leisure participation in all leisure activities.

Departing from the constraints women golfers face, McGinnis *et al.* (2009) advanced the theory that in order to deal with discrimination, women "negotiated masculine rituals in golf" in three ways: (a) "accommodating," meaning that some women recognize masculine rituals and work around them; (b) "unapologetic," referring to the ones that challenge male rituals attempting to create female inclusive alternatives and (c) "remaining unaware," those who focus on golf as a sport and ignore or refuse its masculine hegemony (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009: 19).

The aim of the present study is to understand whether and to what extent life contexts and backgrounds of Portuguese women influenced their choice for golf as well as whether these women's behaviours conform to the three types of strategies. Above all, we want to comprehend how negotiation strategies interact with leisure constraints, making this a unique contribution to this burgeoning area of study. The merger of the two different frameworks is needed since, in order to truly grow the game and make it

more enjoyable for women, it is necessary for female golfers to come in on their terms, defining their own rituals, and allowing for maximum transcendence.

Women in Portugal are very submissive, strictly behaving in accordance with Portuguese traditional values. In light of Hofstede (2013) research, Portugal is a country where the key word is consensus, exhibit[ing] great respect for traditions and hierarchies. Under this cultural framework there are reasons to believe that negotiation strategies should not be generalized to the ones found in previous research (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009; Silva, Reis and Correia, 2010). Even though our aim is not to understand negotiation strategies under the umbrella of country-based cultures, perceptions and participation decision will always be influenced by cultural values.

This research is embedded on the Causal Historical Wave (hereafter CHW) theory by Woodside, Krauss, Caldwell and Chebat, (2007), the three dimensions of factors (hereafter 3D) by Crawford and Godbey (1987) and the Constraints (Jackson, 1997) and Facilitators (Raymore, 2002) paradigm. Consequently, we interviewed six Portuguese female golf professionals and champions. Even though the sample is very limited, it comprises the whole universe: four professionals (out of 110 only four are women) and the national Pro and Amateur champions. Yet, as we only have six cases (that account for the total population), we couch this study under “the extended case study” method (hereafter ECM) (Burawoy, 1991, 2009a, 2009b). Gounded in Burawoy’s (1991, 2009a, 2009b) ECM and by means of content analysis applied to these women’s interviews, we intend to confirm if the strategies chosen by each woman arose from the set of factors found in the facilitators and constraints framework. Overall, our aim is to understand:

A) What are the strategies women who excel in golf use in order to participate? Are these strategies moderated by their life contexts?

B) Do the perceived facilitators and constraints moderate the adopted strategy?

To the authors’ best knowledge, these negotiation strategies are still under-researched. The present study will test the trade-off of these three strategies and attempt to contribute to the literature in several ways: to further develop gender theory in leisure

and to conceptualize possible changes in golf that can induce women's participation. First, and from a theoretical perspective, the application of the facilitators/constraints paradigm by comparing and illustrating the factors that influence women's choice to participate in a male-dominated sport contributes by consolidating theoretical frameworks to study gender issues. The authors consider this the most powerful contribution. Secondly, understanding how women experience the game becomes increasingly essential to suggest changes marketers can introduce and for other women to find ways to facilitate their participation. Finally, by articulating the interaction between the 3D factors and the ritual based negotiation styles, we offer new avenues on a research that relies on listing constraints and facilitators or ritual based negotiation styles. To investigate the cross-section of these paradigms will deepen our understanding of how and why women adopt a specific strategy. This is not only critical on a theoretical level but it is also fundamental in understanding why gender differences persist over the centuries, but, above all, to identify solutions women golfers use to persist in the practice. In fact, their contribution to the golfing activity and to make golf environments more women-friendly may imply that women participate on their own conditions, introducing necessary changes.

Theoretical Background

Golf has been known as one of the last men's bastions due to its male hegemony persisting over the centuries. This secondary position of women in the clubhouses finds echo along the years: "Susan Pappas (Pappas MacDonnell, Connecticut) became a "full" member of Brooklawn Country Club in 1990:

"We are having lunch", she said, "and the owner comes up to us and said - Are you a new member?" I said, - Yes, I am, and he said - 'That's great. You girls are real nice. If any of you want a job, I'm looking for waitresses'"
(Chambers, 1995: 48-49).

When looking at narratives and life stories of Anglo-American women who excelled in golf in the 19th and 20th centuries (Crane, 1991; Hudson Jr., 2008; Mair, 1992; Tinkler, 2004), examples of exclusion from clubhouses or limitation practices are difficult to accept from a contemporary perspective, which values even more the effort and

persistence these women showed when facing prejudice. In a modern context, for Bourdieu (1997):

“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” (in Vamplew, 2010: 360).

Other authors 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). Scholars as McGinnis *et al.* (2009) or Haig-Muir (2000) have successively exposed practices that do not motivate women to participate in golf.

Statistics released by the European Golf Association (EGA) in 38 European countries between 1985 and 2010 confirm that women golfers make up less than 30% of golf participants and this *status quo* persisted over those 25 years (EGA, 2012). Portugal follows this same general pattern, with a low percentage of female golfers (20.03%). This position has been decreasing at an annual average growth rate of 3.6% from 2005-2012, which doubles the decreasing rate of the male market (EGA, 2012). The number of federate female players has decreased from 3,594 in 2005 to 2,681 in 2012, the latter number being lowest in the seven years.

The historical, political and trade alliances between the U.K. and Portugal go back to the Treaty of Windsor between England and Portugal in 1386. This alliance was reinforced in the second half of the 17th century, among other businesses, with the Port wine commercialization (<http://www.taylor.pt/en/what-is-port-wine/history-of-port>), first in Oporto, Portugal, and centuries later, in Lisbon, where the British developed telecommunications and railways (FPG, 2011).

With the establishment of British communities in these towns, their values and cultural traditions had a strong influence on the Portuguese society. It also led to the implementation of golf courses, reproducing the British golf policies of exclusion/limitation to female access to the clubhouses: the Oporto Niblicks Club (Espinho-Oporto) in 1890 and in 1922, the Lisbon Sports Club (FPG, 2011). Initially,

some Portuguese citizens who shared business interests with the club members were allowed to play at the Niblicks Club, yet the first Portuguese male member was accepted only in 1921. It was 11 years later, in 1932, that women who were close relatives to a member of the club (“*still alive or deceased*”) could eventually become members (FPG, 2011).

Social and cultural traditions at different levels (family, working environments, religion, education) are very strong in Portugal (Hofstede’s cultural dimensions) and it has not been easy for women to stand out in many areas (INE, 2012). Yet, the younger generations are slowly changing this mentality, investing more in their university studies, delaying marriage and children if necessary. This is more than evident when we compare demographic statistics of 60s with the contemporary ones. In 60s women married at an average age of 18; now the average marriage age is 30 years old. Furthermore, women’s schooling average in the 60s was at the first grade level (the first 4 years of studies, when you learn to read and write) while more recently it is college (INE, 1960, 2011).

This evidence underpins the strategies women used to cope with discrimination in golf courses through the paradigm of Causal Historical Wave.

Causal Historical Wave (CHW)

According to Woodside *et al.* (2007: 16), behaviours associated with travel decisions are not isolated rational processes but instead result from a causal historical wave that hits the individuals in the moment of making a decision:

“an individual perceives him/herself experiencing wave-of-events which come together, interact, and cause the individual to participate in certain behaviors and not participate in alternative behaviors that may come to his/her mind consciously.”

This historical wave relates to an individual’s life backgrounds and contexts as well as lived experiences that emphasize her past experiences. Moreover, this “causal history could be one’s childhood, personality traits, or particular life experiences which shaped one’s wants and desires” (Woodside *et al.*, 2007: 19). This perspective is of assistance

to the present study since the interviewees' causal historical waves show to be highly relevant to their sports behaviour.

Furthermore, the authors agree that “an athlete’s performance is the result of the athlete’s feel for the game that comprises both bodily and cognitive states in relation to context and environment, rather than the mind giving the body commands” (Woodside *et al.*, 2007: 17). Several studies about sport participation attempt to explain that gender differences rely on physical abilities (Mair, 1992; Moy and Liaw, 1998; Roster, 2007), but McGinnis *et al.* (2005: 314) claim that:

“institutional barriers such as an unequal distribution of work and leisure time for women and men and institutionalized sexism inhibit women’s participation in golf much the same way discrimination inhibited women’s entrance into male-dominated occupations.”

This suggests that gender differences have to be looked upon by a wider environmental perspective.

Facilitators/ Constraints to Participation in Leisure

For several years, a stream of studies have considered the three dimensions (3D) of factors (Crawford, Jackson and Godbey, 1991; Godbey, Crawford and Shen, 2010) – intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural – functioning as constraints (Jackson, 1997) and/or facilitators (Raymore, 2002), which is the most adequate framework to understand leisure participation (Alexandris *et al.*, 2011; Drakou *et al.*, 2010; Grouios and Alexandris, 2002; Hudson *et al.*, 2010; Lamont *et al.*, 2011; Kim and Chalip, 2004; McGinnis *et al.*, 2005; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Palen *et al.*, 2010). Woodside *et al.*, (2005) posit that the facilitators-constraints interaction is that “specific combinations of facilitators and constraining factors create paths leading to ... certain outcomes” (Woodside *et al.*, 2005: 2). This conforms with our suggestion that such combinations will lead to different strategic behaviours selected by the different women golfers.

Intrapersonal factors refer to the inner self, such as psychological states, beliefs, personality traits, past experiences, ability, knowledge and motivation or self-esteem. The interpersonal occurs with interactions and relationships individuals establish with

others, including family, spousal interaction, group of friends, professional context, social life, or the “ethics of care” - (Gilligan, 1982; Miller and Brown, 2005). Finally, structural factors relate to a wider context, to physical and social institutions, organizations and belief systems related to the individuals’ societal environment, such as traditional society, prestige, cultural and social attitudes, exclusion from courses or limitations on times/days to play, dress codes, course policy/conduciveness, golf institutions.

A combination of the 3D factors act as enablers or inhibitors of the decision to participate at different levels and stages, depending upon the life contexts of each participant. Analyzing and describing these behavioural outcomes will allow for identifying the type of strategies female golfers choose to negotiate their participation in the game. According to McGinnis *et al.* (2009), the negotiation strategy may vary depending on how intense the perception of these factors is. It is also assumed that these factors moderate the strategy adopted by each woman.

Three Types of “Negotiation Strategies”

Not many studies address the strategies individuals undergo when they face a “travel, as well as non-travel” decision-making process (Silva *et al.*, 2010; Woodside *et al.*, 2005); this scarcity is also evident on strategies undertaken by women to handle golf bias (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009). The authors listed the following strategies:

(1) ***Accommodating*** (i.e. acknowledging masculine rituals and working around them); these participants do not confront the male hegemony of the game, prefer to participate in separate groups from men and help to perpetuate this *status quo*. This group also tends to defer to their male partners’ wishes (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009: 26).

(2) ***Unapologetic*** (i.e. challenging masculine rituals that threaten entitlement to golf and attempting to create women inclusive alternatives); they find women are as entitled as men to play golf and want to change the male-dominating culture of the game and make golf rituals and golf play more inclusive of women (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009: 26).

(3) Remaining *Unaware* (i.e. focusing on golf as a sport and ignoring or denying masculine dimensions of golf rituals). Effectively, “they enjoyed golf intrinsically and did not experience or even think about gendered structures in the same way the women in the two previous categories did” (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009: 29).

Our objective is to understand how the perception of enabling/constraining factors may determine the choice for one type of strategy to stay and play golf. Thus, we suggest an interaction of the two frameworks may be taking place.

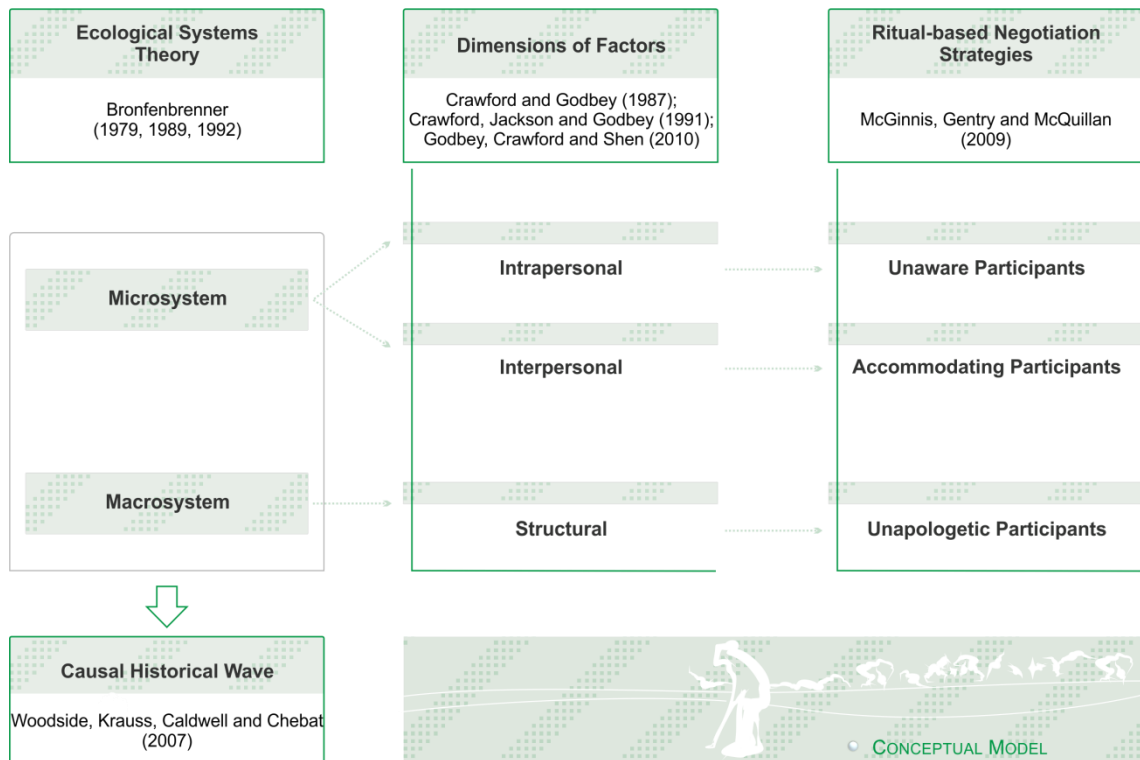
Conceptual Framework

Again, our aim is to understand if top Portuguese female golfers perceive facilitator/constraint factors and to determine if these factors moderate their strategies to play golf. Figure 7.1 shows the conceptual framework on which our research relies. Based on the literature and proposed framework, the present Paper examines the following research presuppositions:

P₁: Golf participation choice is moderated by intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors; being that cultural and social contextual factors relate with these women’s contextual life settings, it is expected that these factors play the biggest role in their choice;

P₂: Strategies adopted manage to overcome constraints and avail enablers so, even if in an indirect way, it could be expected that contextual life settings (even when not perceived), as well as cultural and social contexts, moderate these women’s strategies.

Figure 7.1 – From Causal Historical Wave to Strategies – A Conceptual Framework



Building from the above assumptions, the research seeks to illustrate how and in what contexts different strategies emerged.

Methodology

Sample

Choosing the sample relied on the existing top women players and teaching professionals in Portugal: there are two champions (amateur and professional) and four golf professionals working in golf clubs (out of 110, only four are women). Table 7.1 characterizes the interviewees:

Table 7.1 – Profiling the Women Sample

Pseudonyms	Age	Occupation	Marital status
Caroline	28	Golf Professional	Married
Paula	49	Golf Professional	Married
Claire	38	Golf Professional	Married
Maria	34	Pro champion + Golf Professional	Single
Judith	21	Amateur Champion	Single
Angela	19	National Team HC 2	Single

A brief description of social contexts of each woman is presented below:

Caroline started playing golf at 12 at a golf clinic that offered free classes for youngsters who could not afford the fees. It was a mixed group, and some of these girls and boys became champions or top competition athletes, having played together for several years. Caroline abandoned top competition but in order to stay connected to golf, she became a professional coach.

Paula was born in Angola, Africa. She became a swimming champion. When she was around 14, she started playing golf and became national champion at 30. Paula met her husband in a golf tournament. After marrying, she moved to Oporto, Portugal where her husband lived.

Claire - golf has been a tradition in her family for four generations: from her grandfather to her 17-year-old daughter. Claire works at her father's golf academy; she accepts masculine cultural orientations, which are not exclusive to golf. Claire believes that "*family obligations and children come first*" and recalls interrupting golf for six years after her daughter was born.

Maria's father took her to golf courses when she was 12, and at 16 she won her first national tournament. She is the national professional champion. Apart from her job, she spends many hours practicing alone. She has masculine specificities (i.e., male traditions and bias) of golf engrained in her mentality and does not try to change them.

Judith started playing with her father. She is young and lively, misses going out at night and partying with friends. Judith is aware of the gendered focus of the game: *“Although men are superior, I play better than the average [man], because I’m very tall and I hit the ball very far. My swing is very powerful. They hate to lose against me!”*

Angela attended a golf demonstration at the age of 6, and her parents registered her in a golf clinic. Later in life, she received unexpected support: *“I played with borrowed clubs, as I could not afford them. When I went to play in the USA, there was an immigrant from Azores who offered me a better set of clubs. Otherwise, I could never afford them.”*

Methods

The extended case method was considered the most appropriate for our research, since it “applies reflexive science to ethnography in order to extract the general from the unique, to move from the “micro” to the “macro” (Burawoy, 1991, 2009a, 2009b). The extended case method “constructs *genetic* explanations, that is, explanations of particular outcomes (...) in the genetic mode the significance of a case relates to what it tells us about the world in which it is embedded” (Burawoy, 1991: 280-281). Considering that our population constitutes a “unique social situation” the ECM “pays attention to its complexity, its depth, its thickness” (Burawoy, 1991: 281). Holt (2002: 73) explains why he has used this approach: “The ECM is aligned with the sociological variant of cumulative theory building in that it seeks to build contextualized theoretical explanations of social phenomena.” To achieve a holistic interpretation of the participants, their past and present contexts and to understand their participation decision, the in-depth interview (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Jennings, 2010; Ragin, 1994; Woodside *et al.*, 2005) was used. A qualitative method of empirical material interpretation, the content analysis (Jennings, 2010) was applied to the comparative study of these interviews.

The interviews took place at a location of the interviewees’ choice; they were all conducted face-to-face, in Portuguese, and their duration ranged from 90 minutes to 180 minutes. This method involves person-to-person interaction and an immersion of the

researcher in the research setting, which results in a better understanding and significance of the social phenomena under study (Ragin, 1994). All interviews were recorded and transcribed *verbatim*. The interviewees' verbalizations were interpreted through content analysis (Jennings, 2010), and by using purpose software tools (La Pelle, 2004), a theme codebook was created including the 3 dimensions and a set of factors that had emerged from the literature as the most important ones.

Content analyses of the speeches provide detailed information that allows interpretation on various levels, according to different contexts. The factors that were more intensely perceived by each woman were more frequently verbalized, getting a higher number of instances. Consequently, the factors with lower number of instances indicated that even when they were aware of their relevance, women did not verbalize them so spontaneously. In order to answer our second presupposition, we also applied content analysis by building a theme codebook contemplating the definitions of McGinnis *et al.* (2009) strategies.

Discussion

The interpretation of these women's discourses leads to a characterization of each life story. Content analysis of the data highlights which factors are more important and reveals the type of strategy used by each woman to succeed. Comparing their backgrounds, past experiences, interaction with family and friends, their perception of the gender prejudice that derives from social and cultural traditions (i.e., the gendered male-dominated focus of the game), we will add insight into how we comprehend gender in golf participation.

In order to assess our first presupposition (P_1 : Golf participation choice is moderated by intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors; being these factors related with these women's contextual life settings, it is expected that cultural and social contexts play the biggest role in their choice), we used a theme codebook that informs the number of times each factor was mentioned (instances) and the number of women who mentioned it (informants). Table 7.2 shows the three dimensions and the most cited factors within each one.

Table 7.2 – 3D Factors by Number of Instances and Informants

Dimensions		Factors	Nr of instances (281)	Nr of informants (6)
Intrapersonal 84 instances	Facilitators 74	Personality	22	ALL
		Self-esteem/competitive	22	04
		Motivation	17	05
	Constraints 10	Lack of motivation	05	03
Interpersonal 105 instances	Facilitators 49	Family incentive	16	ALL
		Group of friends	16	05
	Constraints 56	Ethics of care	11	05
		Spousal interaction	10	03
		Professional context/University Studies	12	03
Structural 93 instances	Facilitators 08	Prestige + Good facilities	04	03
		Golf institutions / Course policies	38	ALL
	Constraints 85	Cultural/Social attitudes	21	05
		Lack of money	10	05

The analysis showed that within the intrapersonal dimension (84) only a low number of factors are perceived as constraints (10) while facilitators present 74 instances. This may derive from the fact that this is a specific group, with special characteristics (all champions): because they have achieved a high level of success, they more likely view constraints as less imposing than the average female golfer might. Or, though perhaps tautological, they achieved success because interpersonal constraints were not an issue. In any event, although they have to deal with or negotiate gender bias, these women's motivation and determination to succeed seem to make them undervalue the constraints. On the contrary, facilitators are numerous. Considering these findings could only be realized post hoc, we suggest that the intrapersonal factors are experience dependent, meaning that the more advanced golfer has moved beyond personal inhibition that other less experienced golfers face. On this level it seems that the majority of factors facilitated participation:

Personality:

“I like to be involved 100% ... I hate to lose.” (Caroline)

“I was there to compete and win!” (Paula)

Motivation:

“I was born to win! I never give up! I love what I do.” (Maria)

“My dream is to become a golf professional.” (Angela)

Ability/knowledge facilitates their engagement:

“I was a swimming champion and then played tennis. Golf is far more challenging so soon I was winning again and Discipline is crucial for athletes. Golf took me further.” (Paula)

“You have to believe in your skills and ability.” (Caroline)

On the interpersonal level (105), instances are more balanced, 49 facilitators and 56 constraints:

Family incentive is clearly an enabler mentioned by all women:

“We are all connected to golf in my family... I guess that’s the best environment a woman can get, isn’t it?” (Claire)

“I learned with my father. He was the golf course manager and had taken me along to the course since I was 12. I used to carry his trolley.” (Maria)

“I played with my mother and sister and a group of friends every week.”
(Paula)

Some families were not connected to golf, or even played other sports yet they motivated their daughters to join the game: *“No one in my family plays golf, but my mother used to play volleyball, my father played football, like my brother who also plays basketball, so they all agreed with my golf”* (Angela); *“My father always wanted me and my sister to do sports, so he was quite happy when I started playing golf.”* (Caroline)

Yet, **family** may also be perceived as a strong constraint. For example, Maria is delaying marriage and admits that having children is not an option:

“Finding a man who accepts all my travelling, irregular schedules, my commitment and obligations is not easy... obviously, I don’t intend to have children.”

Spousal interaction is mentioned by the married women and Caroline describes her weekends:

“I work such long hours during the week, that on weekends, apart from the domestic tasks, I try to spend as much time as I can with my husband... he likes to play tennis, so I go with him.”

For Angela and Caroline, the crucial facilitator was **group of friends**; other participants **miss social life** (going out with friends, vacations, late hours):

“It is very complicated when all my friends go to parties and go out at night and I cannot go because I have to play golf.” (Judith)

However, the strongest constraint is the **ethics of care** – since all the participants are professional golfers, they are aware of this problem that penalizes mostly women, but only Claire and Caroline admit to feeling it in their daily lives:

“Yes, I know it is complicated, but we have to conciliate things and be highly organized, if we want to build our own careers.”

Above all, they perceive it as a cultural issue of Portuguese society. Caroline advances:

“I coach some gentlemen who are executives so they come during the week in working hours. I don’t think women (I mean mothers/wives who run the family) can do that. Women have so many roles that it is difficult for them to take golf classes regularly, as they hardly have time for themselves.”

When asked if “family comes first,” the only mother (Claire) immediately said, “Yes,” and recalls interrupting golf for six years after her daughter was born; yet the three single women answered “Not necessarily,” which reflects a more general change in Portuguese society: younger women tend to delay marriage/having children and invest more in their own fields of interest:

“I intend to get married, of course, but maybe later: it is not easy to find a husband who understands my constant travelling and who accepts to be apart for long periods, when I play the tournaments.” (Maria)

This factor is related to **family obligations**, which penalizes the married women more than the single ones:

I live away from where I work so during the week I only do the supermarket shopping. I normally get up very early to prepare dinner, as I arrive home very late. Then, my Saturdays and Sundays include cleaning, washing, cooking, ironing, all that women are supposed to ensure. (Caroline)

The “double day” (Firestone and Shelton, 1994; Luxton, 1980, *in* Arai, 2000) or “double shift” (Hochschild, 1989, *in* Arai, 2000) referring to the responsibilities women still have in their households even when working outside home, is not unknown to the Portuguese society.

Finally, on the structural dimension (93), dissimilarities are visible but, contrary to the intrapersonal, the inhibitors (85) undoubtedly outnumber the facilitators (8). As most relevant, *golf institutions/course policies/conduciveness* (38) act as constraints, followed by *cultural/social attitudes* (21) and *lack of money* (10).

Golf institutions - Angela highlights the injustice imposed on the ladies’ national team when they participated in the 2008 World tournament in Australia:

“The men’s team was booked in at a 5-star hotel along with some accompanying guests who did not even play golf, while the national female team stayed at a 3.5 star hotel. When we questioned them, they answered that the Federation could not afford to put us all in the 5-star! Judith says jokingly: - Every year they call me to ask for my shoe size and promise they’ll send me a pair of shoes but, so far, I have never got them... the male team gets all the bags and caps, so we kind of steal from them because we never get anything!”

Course policies/conduciveness - this factor presents different perceptions from the interviewees: Maria has the masculine specificities of golf impressed in her mentality and does not try to change them. She is very competitive, loves to bet, and takes advantage of all the rules that favour women:

“When we play for money, I definitely want to use the front tees, but they [men] don’t want me to, they complain and in the end I say – take it or leave it, but I’ll use the yellow tees, not the whites, that’s it! Angela shows a different attitude: - At my level, it is not fair that we start at the front. I

win against an average man, so I normally don't take advantage of those rules. When in competitions, I go by the book, of course!"

Caroline's opinion is that courses should adapt and change to make things easier for women, but she constantly gets the same reply:

"They always say that it's not worth allocating extra facilities for women, because there are only a few of us, but if things don't change, how can we attract more women to the game!?"

This conforms to what McGinnis *et al.* (2009) found in their research and it functions as a double-edged sword.

Cultural/social attitudes - although aware that cultural/social attitudes can hamper female participation, four interviewees find it possible to overcome this constraint. These women were educated in Portugal according to social values that respect traditions and hierarchies that they accept almost completely within a consensual way that marks the Portuguese culture. They all learned to play golf with male members of their families (father, grandfather, husband) or in school groups with a male coach. Paula recalls:

"When I became a professional I was not very welcome: a woman? A woman professional?!... at first men didn't feel very comfortable... but then, they knew I had been the national champion for some years, so it ended up being easier than I expected."

Lack of money obtained the most divergent answers: the two participants who learned at golf clinics, whose parents could not afford golfing expenses, mentioned it as a constraint that was overcome by different means:

"I was lucky to play for that club, because I could not afford hotels and trips to go to the competitions and the club paid for everything. (Caroline)

The other participants compared golf expenses to the costs of "going to a gym monthly, horse riding, hunting, or doing some nautical sports."

In conclusion, by means of content analysis and a theme codebook applied to the six in-depth interviews of the Portuguese golf professionals/champions, the present study confirms that these women acknowledge and perceive the intra, inter and structural facilitators and constraints previously proposed by the literature. Considering that most

of them have different trade-offs in between the above-mentioned factors that characterize their social life contexts, a second proposition was introduced in our research:

P₂: Strategies adopted manage to overcome constraints and avail enablers so, even if in an indirect way, it could be expected that contextual life settings (even when not perceived), as well as cultural and social contexts, moderate these women's strategies.

Next we present the interaction between the perception of the 3D factors and the three ritual negotiation styles advanced by McGinnis *et al.* (2009), being this articulation one of the contributions of our study, since this was not covered by previous research.

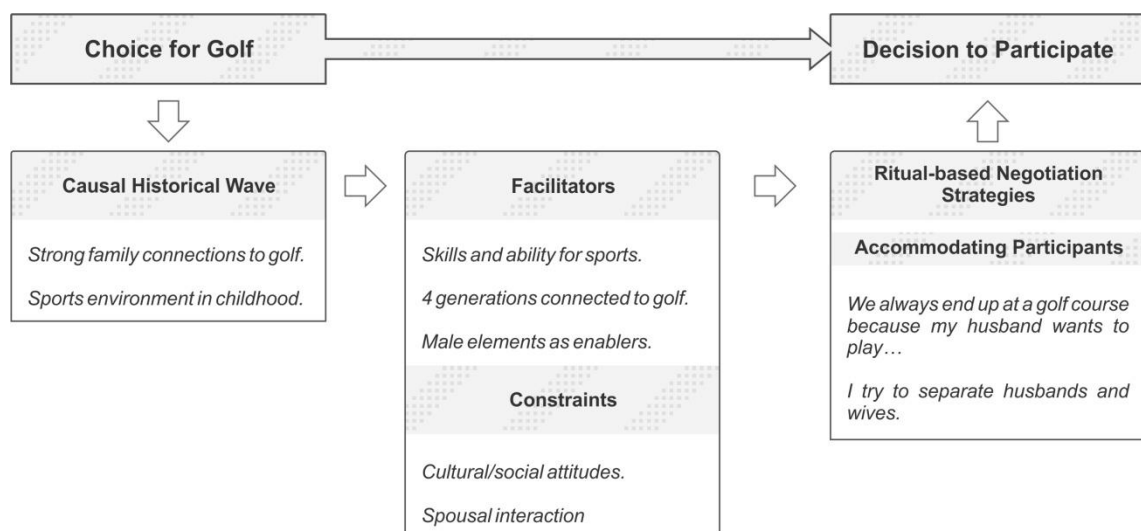
Case 1 – Accommodating strategy – One might presume that the accommodating strategy would not be present among the top-level players but our study concludes differently as in Figure 7.2. Two of our interviewees (Claire and Caroline), prove to be aware of **cultural/social attitudes** that affect female participation. Yet, on the other hand, they accommodate this *status quo* rather than confront it; they adapt themselves to the male-dominated culture of the game, adhering to tradition: Claire grew up in a family of golfers and works at her father's golf academy so she absorbed the norms and perpetuates them without question. Caroline has always played with a group of friends, male and female, and she finds that women can adapt to the game, as different tees and other rules favouring women balance any physical inequities. Another behaviour they show in common is that they coach men and women separately: *“I try to separate husbands and wives because men can be very aggressive with their wives on the golf course (Claire). Caroline admits: “I like to coach ladies separately, so we are all more “at ease” than when men are present.”*

These participants do not like to confront the rules or cannot introduce changes so they end up accommodating and perpetuating golf bias. When talking about their lives, both women perceive the interpersonal dimension to be the most constraining; they are both married and Claire has one daughter. As facilitators, they highlight **self-esteem** (intra) and **family incentive** (inter) as the main drivers to their participation. As constraints on the interpersonal level, they perceive **spousal interaction** and the **ethics of care**, related

to the “double day” imposed on women, especially when married and with children. They often accommodate others’ wishes before their own (i.e., holidaying at golf destinations instead of relaxing from golf as they would prefer):

“My husband is an engineer presently working in Madeira [Island]. I go there as much as I can but I don’t even take the clubs with me. Yet he really wants to play, so we have to reach some sort of understanding and most times I go along to keep him company.” (Claire)

Figure 7.2 – Accommodating Strategy



Case 2 – Unapologetic strategy – Paula and Angela appear to be unthreatened by tradition and are confident interpersonally; the structural constraints are openly verbalized, as in Figure 7.2. These two interviewees are highly critical of the **golf institutions/course policies** and **cultural/social attitudes**, reflecting the unapologetic behaviour. Out of 45 instances, 23 refer to the golf institutions/course conduciveness and 10 to cultural attitudes. In fact, Paula was coaching the national female team working for the FPG but resigned when she failed to introduce changes that would favour women. Among others, Paula suggested more support to the academies or clinics that work with young participants, since it is important to start at an early age; more appealing tournaments, with better prizes; extra coaching at lower prices; special prices for women playing during the week (for the retired women); clubhouses could introduce some sort of structures to help grandparents looking after children while their mothers play. After resigning, Paula decided to coach a group of young women separately and prepare them properly. This group includes some of the best players in the country.

Much younger than Paula, Angela complains:

“At present, we [the female national team] don’t even have a coach; the male team coach doesn’t have time for us. They [FGP] say they’ll get us a coach if and when we get good results, but some of us do and they still do nothing about it.”

Of course, receiving a coach only after the team earns “good results” represents a catch-22, a paradoxical situation that precludes escape or advancement. This attitude also “creates conflict with the establishment” (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009: 26). These women illustrate their discontent very clearly through several references to the official attitude towards the female team. Angela stands up when she recalls humorously: *“I’m not a big person and as the Federation doesn’t always provide women sizes, I have to wear a men’s polo... even the small size is too big for me!”*

Unlike the accommodating style, Paula finds that the:

“Things are much easier now-a-days and many women use the household burden as an excuse for not doing sports, or playing golf, because we don’t have a sports tradition in our country.”

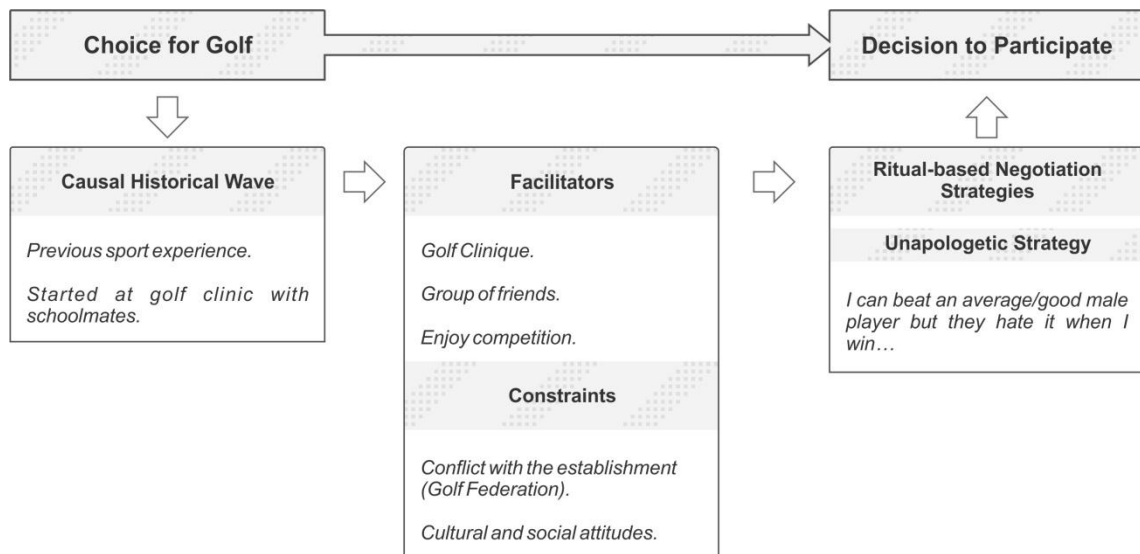
Nonetheless, both women enjoy playing so much that they play often and with whomever they can. They are aware that “men do not accept being beaten by women”: *“I can beat an average/good male player but they hate it when I win.”* (Angela)

This remark may translate a cultural attitude engrained in the Portuguese society that golf is still a man’s sport; but conversely, we find it is more the view from a woman’s standpoint since many men may not really care if a woman is better than them:

“I play regularly with a group of friends and some of my male friends know that I’ll beat them, being a former national champion and all that, but they do not care, they just enjoy the game.” (Paula)

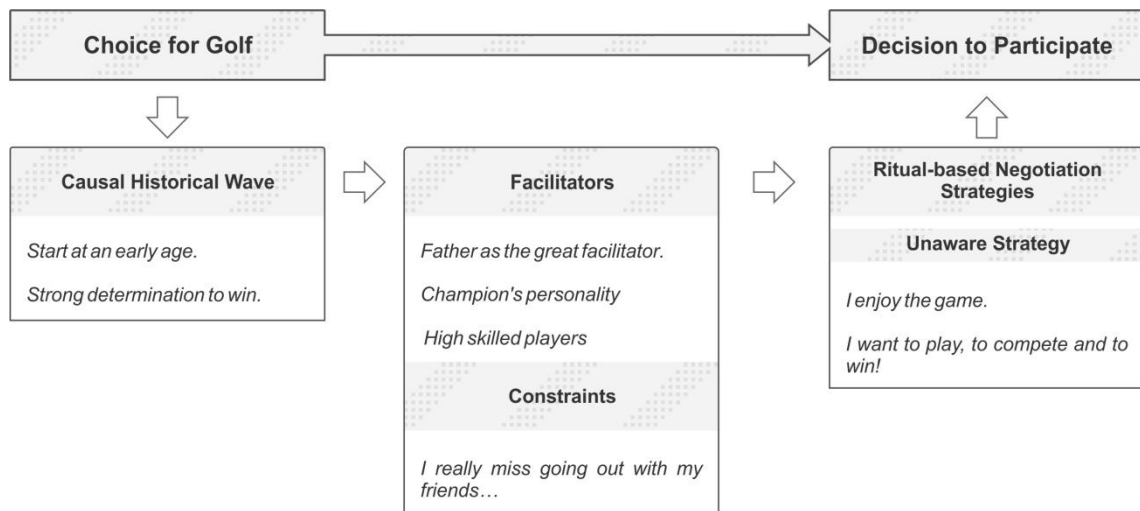
Thus, further studies are needed to evaluate this topic. Figure 7.3 presents the articulation between 3D factors and the unapologetic strategy.

Figure 7.3 - Unapologetic Strategy



Case 3 - Remaining unaware is the third strategy and relates to the two Portuguese champions: the intrapersonal factors outnumber the other dimensions, since these two participants manifest strong **personalities** and high **self-esteem**: “*I’m the best! I always win!*” On the interpersonal level, Maria and Judith highlight **family incentive** and **group of friends** as the main drivers for their participation. These two golfers were taken to the course by their fathers in their early years. Their models are male and were trained by a male coach. The inhibitor **missing social life** is highly valued by both women, but they clearly choose to play and be successful: they consider that the main focus of the game is *to play*; they concentrate on the enjoyment that playing with the best of your ability and skills provides. On the structural level, Judith complains about the FPG, as well as about **cultural/social attitudes**, but none of them inhibits her participation. Neither Judith nor Maria are interested in changing the game. On the contrary, Maria accepts the rules and “*plays by the book.*” She is highly competitive, likes to bet, and accuses other women of being too accommodating to comfortable positions and victimization, instead of joining the competition more often. She affirms: “*I agree with the handicapping system, staggered tees and all that. I take advantage of all the rules that favour women*”. Maria thinks that “*women are perfectly capable of adapting themselves to the sport*”. Judith admits she does not mind which tees she starts from because “*above all, I enjoy the game. I want to play, to compete and to win!*” Figure 7.4 displays the interaction of the facilitators and constraints with the unaware strategy.

Figure 7.4 – Unaware Strategy



Although we have grouped these participants according to the more prominent characteristics, because this is not a static process, all women show characteristics from the other strategies. As an example, we quote the latter group (unaware): Maria likes to bet, a challenging attitude of the “*unapologetic participants*” conforming to McGinnis *et al.* (2009) and Judith admits: “*Sometimes I let them win, so they keep on playing with me*” which reflects the “accommodating” strategy.

In conclusion, when applying McGinnis *et al.* (2009) research to a much more restricted and clustered sample, we found that most of the characteristics of the three categories are relevant and present. Portuguese golf professionals/champions negotiate their participation in golf by means of the participation styles upheld by these authors, being the strategies adopted related to these women’s life contexts.

Conclusions, Limitations and Further Research

By examining the lives of the six top female golfers in Portugal, we have drawn some conclusions: these women were educated in Portugal, in a society that values traditions, hierarchies and consensus (Hofstede's cultural dimensions)(2013), which they accept almost unconditionally. They all learned how to play (and continue to play) golf with male members of their families (father, grandfather and husband) or in school groups with a male coach. These women have strong determination to win and the inherent desire for competitiveness engrained in their attitudes. The interviewees accept unconditionally women's lower status in the society, physically and socially, stating that women have to work harder to get similar recognition for their achievements. The participants perceive and admit the "double task" (ensuring their households' wellbeing) but the single and younger women indicate that "family doesn't always come first" which reflects a larger societal level change in Portugal, since presently, young women delay marriage and invest in their careers or interests more than the previous generations:

"I intend to get married but I am not going to interrupt my career in golf and I don't think it is easy to find a husband who accepts my position. I don't plan to have children that would be too complicated!" (Maria)

On the intrapersonal level, the enabling factors (personality, motivation, self-esteem) clearly outnumber the inhibitors (lack of motivation or preference for another sport), which derives from the fact that these women are top competition players. In sum, they probably would not have achieved the success they have if the intrapersonal constraints were stronger. In many ways, they follow male role models who inspired them so they understand competition in a masculine way. Given the nature of the population this may be considered a limitation of the present study, thus further research on this topic is needed.

On the interpersonal level, the participants elect the group of friends or the family incentive and coaches as the drivers for their participation in a male-dominated leisure activity. Friends are most likely selected who support their lifestyles, making this factor less present. Yet, almost on the same scale, they highlight the inhibitors that women in general have to face: the "ethics of care", spousal interaction and missing social life are

considered “the price you pay.” Again, younger and single women acknowledge the weight of these constraints but react against them, while the other interviewees reveal acceptance behaviours. All participants acknowledge gender differences at physical, mental and psychological levels. These factors may also be experienced by male golfers; therefore, further research should compare strategies women and men adopt to participate in golf.

Contrary to the intrapersonal dimension, the structural makes a residual mention of facilitators and a much higher number of restrainers to female involvement in golf: golf institutions, golf course policies and conduciveness, followed by cultural and social attitudes. Aware of the low number of women golfers, they assume that changes are needed in order to modify this situation. However, golf stakeholders oppose alterations on the grounds that those are not justifiable, since the female market is very limited (20%) and it is not likely to grow, due to the decreasing accumulated rate of about 25%, within 2005 and 2012 (EGA, 2012).

Embedded on Burawoy’s (1991, 2009a, 2009b) extended case method and by means of in-depth interviews, it was possible to confirm that all women clearly recognize most of these factors, even if at different levels of perception. As a consequence, they develop ways of dealing with the constraints. In order to play and stay in golf, the interviewees “negotiate” their participation in different ways:

(a) Two of the married players “accommodate” the current male hegemony, often deferring to their husbands’ wishes and playing by men’s rules, helping to perpetuate this *status quo*. Their main approach is to accept to be separated from men, coach separate teams and compete separately;

(b) The second group (unapologetic) is more defiant, denouncing cultural and social attitudes, speaking out openly against gender-biased policies and conduciveness, but still adapt to the game, since golf is their passion;

(c) The more competitive women (unaware) prefer not to question golf policies, even if they perceive gender inequities, rather than not being

accepted in the game. They love competing and do so on men's grounds.

Their main concern is "to stay in the game, no matter what".

In fact, findings imply that even among the most experienced and accomplished players, the three negotiation strategies are used. One might assume that the accommodating strategy would be least used among experienced golfers, but our data suggests otherwise: either by deferring to their husband's wishes or trying to compensate him for the long hours and weekends spent at golf, these golf professionals accommodate male's supremacy as a cultural value that they tacitly accept. Moreover, they coach separate groups of men and women, helping to perpetuate the *status quo*. This result indicates that cultural traditions still influences experienced golfers' behaviours. Further, and as mentioned before, in order to truly grow the game and make it more enjoyable for women it is necessary for women to come in on their terms, defining their own rituals, and allowing for maximum transcendence. Clearly, the unaware strategy is the most effective toward this end, and understanding the constraints that still exist in this experience mode sheds light on how practitioners can approach growth initiatives.

The contribution of this study compared to previous studies refers to the heterogeneity that is evident in this particular cultural background. In general, social values prevail even when women are encouraged to take part in leisure activities such as golf. Seeing how this heterogeneity plays itself out in other sports and leisure activities in Portugal remains a question for further inquiry.

Even though the three negotiation strategies are put into play, it is also evident that the way these strategies are adopted varies according to the cultural and contextual backgrounds of women's lifestyles. These results open paths for other research as well; multi-cultural contexts comparisons should be analyzed to enact a more generalizable and universal understanding of women behaviours. Furthermore, other groups of women players should be analyzed by comparison with this one.

Contributions are also present at a theoretical level. Expanding the facilitators/constraints perception discloses the factors that influence women to choose male-dominated sports. Analyzing their behaviour leads to a better knowledge of the exposed and/or "hidden" discriminatory practices that still persist in golf. Furthermore,

by studying strategies used by top Portuguese female golfers, we open paths for ways to make golf more appealing to women and for other women to understand how to negotiate their participation irrespective of their desired participation levels and golf experience.

Factors of participation found in Portugal match the ones mentioned in research from other countries (Callan and Thomas, 2006; Haig-Muir, 2000; Hudson, 2008; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; McGinnis *et al.*, 2009; Pyles, 2007) and related to various levels of golf experience (professional, amateur, and social golfers), indicating that these factors are transversal to various nationalities. Previous research shows that the accommodating strategy is mostly experienced by amateur golfers. Nevertheless, due to the cultural framework of Portugal, the accommodating strategy is experienced even among golf professionals. This is a surprising result indicating that when cultural values demand respect for traditions and hierarchies, Portuguese golf professionals are able to excel through a consensual position, which is also a characteristic of this culture: women learning and copying from men. One might consider that in order to excel at golf as a female in Portugal, it is necessary to focus on the game. Trying to make societal and cultural level changes in a society still beholden to traditional values would require too much effort and time, leaving less time to develop high level golf skills.

Yet, the present research focuses only on Portuguese champions, which is limited and not generalizable. Perhaps by using this sample the inhibitors should be outweighed as these women are capable of standing out even in an adverse context. The need for additional studies is evident to assess the relevance of these factors and adopted strategies among other nationalities and levels of golf experience and practice, in a broader and more diversified group of female players and within different cultural contexts and sporting activities.

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CHAPTER 8

**HOW DO PORTUGUESE WOMEN GOLFERS COPE WITH GENDER
INEQUITIES?**

(PAPER 7)

HOW DO PORTUGUESE WOMEN GOLFERS COPE WITH GENDER INEQUITIES?

HELENA REIS, ANTÓNIA CORREIA & LEE PHILLIP MCGINNIS⁷

Abstract

This study addresses the strategies Portuguese female amateur golfers adopt to cope with the gender inequities in participatory golf. Drawing from the interpersonal, intrapersonal and structural factors that facilitate or constrain leisure and sports participation, the research advances a model of interaction between the three dimensions of factors and McGinnis et al.'s (2009) negotiation strategies. That is, the higher perception of interpersonal factors relates to the *accommodating* strategy; the higher perception of intrapersonal factors relates to the *unaware* strategy, and the structural factors to the *unapologetic*. The main findings result from an interpretative and comparative analysis of 33 in-depth interviews. Results show that the most perceived factors are the interpersonal, inducing the accommodating strategy as the most frequently adopted by Portuguese female amateur golfers indicating that the historical wave is still prevalent. Contributions to golf stakeholders and course managers can be found in the guidelines for introducing changes to attract more women to the game. More studies are necessary to test the feasibility of the model, as well as research in other sports and other participants (men) or across nationalities.

Keywords: Amateur Female Golfers, Gender, Portugal, Negotiation Strategies.

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Introduction

The study of women's leisure is not a recent issue if we consider that in 1987 Rosemary Deem pointed out reasons why this topic has been so neglected: "It is much less visible than most male leisure, because so much of it takes place in and around the home rather than in the outside world" (Deem, 1987:424). Almost three decades later, we allowed the comparison to media sports coverage of male and female sports such as football, tennis, swimming and golf. Deem (1987:424) further outlines constraints that structure women's leisure experiences as "the right to leisure," which women rarely perceive. The women's "sense of entitlement" to leisure has been vastly studied (Bialeschki and Henderson, 1986; Henderson and Bialeschki, 2005; Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007; McGinnis *et al.*, 2003; Wearing and Wearing, 1988) but there is still need for further research examining constraints women face, as evidence suggest that a gender gap in participation still exists. Apart from lack of time, a consequence of the "women's dual roles," meaning the households burdens that still penalize women today, has persisted over the years and under several designations, such as "double day" (Firestone and Shelton, 1994; Luxton, 1980, *in* Arai, 2000) and "double shift" (Hakim, 2010; Hochschild, 1989, *in* Arai, 2000). Other factors such as the "child care" or "the ethics of care" (Gilligan, 1982; Miller and Brown, 2005) have played a part as inhibitors of women's participation as well.

In the last few decades, scholars have examined gender divisions that structure women's sports experiences, by researching the participation of women in male-dominated activities, covering a variety of sports involving different levels of risk and degrees of difficulty that depend on strength, such as snowboarding (Anderson, 1999; Heino, 2000; Thorpe, 2005), skydiving (Laurendeau and Sharara, 2008), Harley Riders (Roster, 2007), softer types of open air activities in parks and recreation (Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007), and physical recreation (Woodward *et al.*, 1989:121). According to these authors, leisure:

"affords people the chance to recover from the stress and fatigue of their daily exertions; it offers them opportunities, through their selection of leisure activities, to express their individuality or to affirm their sense of belonging to a peer group; and leisure provides a major forum for social contacts to be established and maintained."

Because golf is open to players of all ages, is played in the open air, and has opportunities for exercise and socialization, the practice of golf could be considered ideal for both genders. As Wood and Danylchuk (2011: 379) explain:

“Golf is typically not a team game, it is feasible for a group to enjoy playing together in the presence of varying levels of skill and to continue to play together even when some of the group members cannot attend”.

Evidence, however, suggests otherwise. Golf has been a male-dominated activity mainly due to the influence of the British tradition of the “for-gentlemen-only-clubs” and has raised interest for sport tourism researchers (Gibson and Pennington-Gray, 2005; Hudson and Hudson, 2010; Humphreys, 2010) golf historians (George, 2010; George, Kay and Vamplew, 2007; Vamplew, 2010), and academics (McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Reis and Correia, 2013a)(*see: Paper 1*) due to the counterintuitive existence of gender inequality and the practical importance of growing the industry, especially in Portugal.

We position the present study in Portugal where golf was introduced by the British in 1890, reproducing their cultural and social traditions related to the game. To establish the importance of golf in Portugal, two facts are presented: golf was considered among the “10 strategic products for the development of tourism in Portugal” (Turismo de Portugal, 2013) and Portugal was awarded “Europe’s Leading Golf Destination in 2012” by IAGTO (International Association of Golf Tour Operators). The attraction of more women participants may contribute to help the economic growth of this activity. Considering that, in spite of all the constraints that inhibit female participation, women have found ways to cope with male-hegemony and develop strategies to overcome the prejudice. We examine how and to what extent women engage in such activities.

Not many studies address the strategies topic either in leisure (Silva, Reis and Correia, 2010) or in sports (Laurendeau and Sharara, 2008; McGinnis, Gentry and McQuillan, 2009) and, departing from this later work, we intend to explore the strategies that Portuguese female amateur golfers use to stay in the game. To address these issues, we made 33 in-depth interviews in Portugal, and applied Ecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1989, 1992), and the three dimension of factors paradigm (Crawford and Godbey, 1987; Crawford, Jackson, and Godbey, 1991; Godbey,

Crawford, and Shen, 2010) in order to establish the extent to which participants perceive intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors to be constraints that influence their participation in a male-dominated sport. Having done that, we propose the interaction of the three dimensions of factors – intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural - with the three types of negotiation strategies depicted by McGinnis *et al.*, (2009): accommodating, unaware and unapologetic participants. We consider the merger of these two frameworks to be the most important contribution of this study because it will help advance theory by systematically analyzing the extent to which the different constraints (and enablers) underlie negotiation strategies. It will also help tourism managers, especially in places such as Portugal, create more effective and enlightened strategies. We then outline our research methods before presenting the discussion of the findings and strategies in which women engage as they negotiate their presence in golf. Finally, we consider the contributions and limitations of the study, and reflect on how our findings add to the research of women's strategies to succeed.

Theoretical Framework

The present research draws on the Ecological System Theory (EST) (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1989, 1992), the Causal Historical Wave theory (CHW) (Woodside *et al.*, 2007), and the three dimensions (3D) paradigm - intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors (Crawford and Godbey, 1987; Crawford *et al.*, 1991; Godbey *et al.*, 2010). The influence of these theories on the behavior of women golfers in Portugal determines the type of negotiation strategies these women adopt in order to continue to participate in a male-dominated sport. To frame the type of strategies, we use McGinnis *et al.*, (2009) research that grouped women amateur golfers under three ritual negotiation styles: accommodating, unapologetic and unaware participants. Through the interaction of these frameworks, we intend to examine if Portuguese amateur women golfers perceive and verbalize the 3D factors and if the prevalence of one dimension induces the adoption of a certain strategy. These strategies framed on CHW give rise to the in-depth motives that drove the women behaviours in golf in particular and in their daily lives in general. This is even more important in Portugal where cultural traditions are more than engrained (*see: Paper 6*).

The Ecological System Theory

The EST (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1989, 1992) advances that individuals' behaviour is determined by the various settings in which they interact. The theoretical assumption is based on the concept of antecedent facts (i.e., personal history, personal situational context). An ecological perspective is concerned with understanding the contexts within which individuals exist, including interactions between individuals, other individuals, and social structures, to explain human development. Bronfenbrenner posited that the *microsystem* and the *macrosystem* are the two key contexts that encompass the individuals' situational environments. The microsystem relates to past and present roles, individuals, and activities a person has experienced in his/her interactions; the macrosystem represents a larger setting in which "the individual functions and includes belief systems such as societal conceptions of ethnicity, socioeconomic status and gender, as well as, various structures of society and its institutions" (Woodside *et al.*, 2007:20). Moreover:

"activities that an individual has participated in before are part of an individual's microsystem because maintaining participation in this activity is relatively easy. For example, a person who goes to the gym everyday is likely to continue this behavior because the activity is part of his daily routine. Friends and family who encourage an individual's participation in an activity are also part of an individual's microsystem" (Woodside *et al.*, 2007:20).

The macrosystem includes the societal structures frequented by the individuals such as institutions, associations, sports structures, which can include golf courses.

Causal Historical Wave and the 3D Factors

Supported by the EST and based on the causal history proposal, Woodside *et al.* (2007) suggest that gender differences can be explained in the micro and macro systems of the individuals, which are built by structural, interpersonal and intrapersonal factors. According to Woodside *et al.* (2007) travel-related behavior is the result of a

"causal historical own (i.e., informant) interpretation in which an individual perceives her/himself experiencing a wave-of-events which come together, interact, and cause the individual to participate in certain behaviors and not

participate in alternative behaviors that may come to her/his mind consciously” (Woodside *et al.*, 2007:16).

The personal history relies on the individual’s life background (Malle, 1999) and lived experiences which stresses his/her past experiences: “causal history could be one’s childhood, personality traits, or particular life experiences which shaped one’s wants and desires” (Woodside *et al.*, 2007:19). As stated by the authors, when a decision to participate is required, a CHW influenced by both systems and the person’s history affects the individual. Further, according to Raymore (2002), an ecological perspective that explains human development concentrates in understanding the contexts in which an individual exists (intrapersonal factors), and integrates the interactions among individuals (interpersonal factors), and other individuals and the social structures (structural factors). Since our suggestion is to understand how Portuguese female amateur golfers perceive the 3D factors and what strategies they engage in to cope with the gender bias in the game, we find the EST and the CHW paradigms both suitable and relevant to analyse a population where cultural values are very present.

Negotiating Strategies in Leisure

Only a few studies address the coping strategies topic (Laurendeau and Sharara, 2008; McGinnis *et al.*, 2009; Reis *et al.*, 2013; Silva *et al.*, 2010). In their research about risk perception in travel decision making, Silva *et al.* (2010) concluded that individuals express different behaviours when they perceive and verbalize risks related to tourism and the decision to travel, which include *delaying*, *postponing* and *avoidance* behaviour strategies. These explain the processes by which the participants expressed their hesitation or their decision to choose one destination over another. Reis *et al.* (2013) have applied McGinnis *et al.* (2009) proposal to Portuguese women golfers but limited their study to top competitors and suggested further research concerning amateurs should be developed in order to understand the more general traveller and golfer population. Consequently, to support the present research we selected McGinnis *et al.*’s (2009) work on ritual-based behaviour of women amateur golfers in the U.S.A. and paralleled it to other sports analysed by Laurendeau and Sharara (2008), which include skydiving and snowboarding. These latter authors elaborate around “strategies women employ to carve out spaces for themselves in these sporting contexts” (Laurendeau and

Sharara, 2008:24) and posit the following three categories, which show very common axes.

(1) ***Downplaying Gender***, i.e., women “try to downplay gender altogether – to construct it as irrelevant” (Laurendeau and Sharara, 2008:35) which we connect to McGinnis *et al.* (2009) *unaware strategy* - “they [women respondents] enjoyed golf intrinsically and did not experience or even think about gendered structures” (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009:29);

(2) ***Underscoring Benefit***, i.e., women “recognize they are treated differently than men, but highlight the advantages of this treatment” (Laurendeau and Sharara, 2008: 37), that we broadly find equivalent to McGinnis *et al.* (2009) *accommodating strategy* – “acknowledging masculine rituals and working around them” (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009:19) since women showing this behavior take advantage of the golf rules that favor women (e.g. “Ladies tees”).

(3) ***Emphasizing Worthiness***, i.e., “engaging in practices aimed at challenging the stereotype that women boarders are less skilled than their male counterparts” (Laurendeau and Sharara, 2008: 38), corresponds with the *unapologetic strategy* – “challenging masculine rituals that threaten entitlement to golf and attempting to create women inclusive alternatives” (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009: 19) as participants in this group confront the gender inequities of the game.

As mentioned in points one to three Laurendeau and Sharara (2008) posit three categories that rely on the three strategies explicitly outlined by McGinnis *et al.* (2009), who interviewed female amateur golfers in the U.S.A., making this the most suitable grounds for the present study, considering that 33 Portuguese women amateur players were interviewed with the aim of discovering their modes for negotiating participation.

Articulation of the 3D factors with the Ritual-based negotiation strategies

Within the microsystem of the individuals we find the interpersonal and the intrapersonal dimensions of factors that influence the decision to participate, whereas the structural dimension belongs to the macrosystem, being those the dimensions to be outlined to understand the CHW that drove the women's behaviour.

(a) Intrapersonal Factors and the Unaware Negotiation Style

The intrapersonal factors:

“Concern the inner self of the individuals and consist of their characteristics, fears, and beliefs; they relate to the individuals' background, past experiences, and the varied settings in which the individuals interact, helping to determine their development and behavior” (Reis and Correia, 2013a: 78, *see: Paper 1*).

The most common factors identified by the literature are personality, motivations, and self-esteem (Raymore, 2002; Reis *et al.*, 2013; Silva *et al.*, 2010). Individuals who have a high perception of the factors that relate to their inner being, their own feelings towards leisure and/or sports, and the satisfaction they receive from these experiences, verbalize intrapersonal factors more frequently than the other dimensions. Our suggestion is that this dimension resides in the *unaware strategy mode* advanced by McGinnis *et al.*, (2009) because these participants conform with the definition provided by the authors: “remaining *Unaware* (i.e., focusing on golf as a sport and ignoring or denying masculine dimensions of golf rituals).

(b) Interpersonal Factors and the Accommodating Negotiation Style

The next stage, the interpersonal constraints, occurs as a result of the interaction or the relationship between individuals' characteristics and is comprised of family, friends, and reference groups, company to travel, strangers, and opinion leaderships/market mavens (Lloyd and Little, 2010; Roster, 2007; Sylvia-Bobiak and Caldwell, 2006; Reis and Correia, 2013; Thomsson, 1999; Woodside *et al.*, 2007). Among the interpersonal constraints women face, the “ethics of care” (Gilligan, 1982) seem to stand out: women “provide for the needs of others first (e.g., children, domestic partner) and neglect their

own leisure needs” (Henderson and Allen, 1991: 11) because they lack “a sense of entitlement to leisure” (Lloyd and Little, 2010: 372). Miller and Brown (2005) substantiated previous research, stating that women

“typically subordinate leisure participation in a hierarchy of demands that include family and work responsibilities, while men are more likely to give precedence to personal leisure over domestic responsibilities” (Miller and Brown, 2005:406).

All these constraints conform to previous research mentioned earlier (Deem, 1987; Gilligan, 1982; Firestone and Shelton, 1994) and seem to persist over time, even when considering women’s notable advances in many areas of society that were ascribed almost exclusively to men. We propose that this dimension relates to the **Accommodating** strategy, as those who accommodate are highly aware and sensitive to interpersonal relations:

“acknowledging masculine rituals and working around them..., since these participants do not confront the male hegemony of the game, prefer to participate in separate groups from men and help to perpetuate this *status quo*. This group also tends to defer to their “male partners’ wishes” (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009:19-25).

Finally, within the macrosystem, individuals negotiate structural factors, referring to external inhibitors to participation, such as institutions, infrastructures, lack of facilities, socioeconomic status, social background, money, gender, and race (Callan and Thomas, 2006; Haig-Muir, 2000; Kaczynski and Henderson, 2007; McGinnis and Gentry, 2006; Miller and Brown, 2005; Parry and Shinew, 2004; Reis and Correia, 2013; Roster, 2007; Sylvia-Bobiak and Caldwell, 2006). This type of factor also includes “availability of time, access, opportunity” (Gilbert and Hudson, 2000: 911). Silva and Correia, (2008) assert that the structural factors relate to a broader context, external to the person, and include physical and social institutions, organizations, and belief systems associated with the society to which the person belongs. The perception of a higher number of structural factors indicates non-conforming behavior, showing that participants are confident interpersonally, openly verbalize the structural constraints, are more aware of gender inequities in general as well as societal and cultural constraints to the participation, and find ways to deal with these limitations. This behavior leads to the **Unapologetic** negotiation style (i.e., challenging masculine rituals that threaten entitlement to golf and attempting to create women inclusive alternatives); they find

women are as entitled as men to play golf and want to change the male-dominating culture of the game and make golf rituals and golf play more inclusive of women” (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009). In essence, these women have surpassed the more proximal leisure constraints (i.e., intrapersonal and interpersonal) and are now only inhibited by more distal constraints, or those beyond their immediate control, see for instance: Crawford, Jackson and Godbey (1991); Jackson, Crawford and Godbey (1993); Jackson and Henderson (1995). Their strong personalities and interpersonal skills have helped them advance to points where only societal level constraints can hold them back.

It is our goal to understand whether Portuguese female amateur golfers negotiate their participation in golf under the three strategy types theorized by McGinnis *et al.*, 2009. By disclosing ways to cope with adverse factors and staying in the game, we may point out directions for other women to join this practice in a negotiation strategy that fits their personal needs and creates permanent change in golf participation.

Conceptual Framework

We suggest that there is the connection of the three dimensions with the three types of strategies women adopt to persist in the practice of golf. That is, the micro and macrosystems influence the intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural dimensions of factors that drive participation but in order to cope with the male dominated culture of the game, women perceive and verbalize various behaviours that lead to the adoption of a certain type of strategy. Our research presuppositions are as follows:

P₁: Each dimension of factors conforms to each type of negotiation strategy;

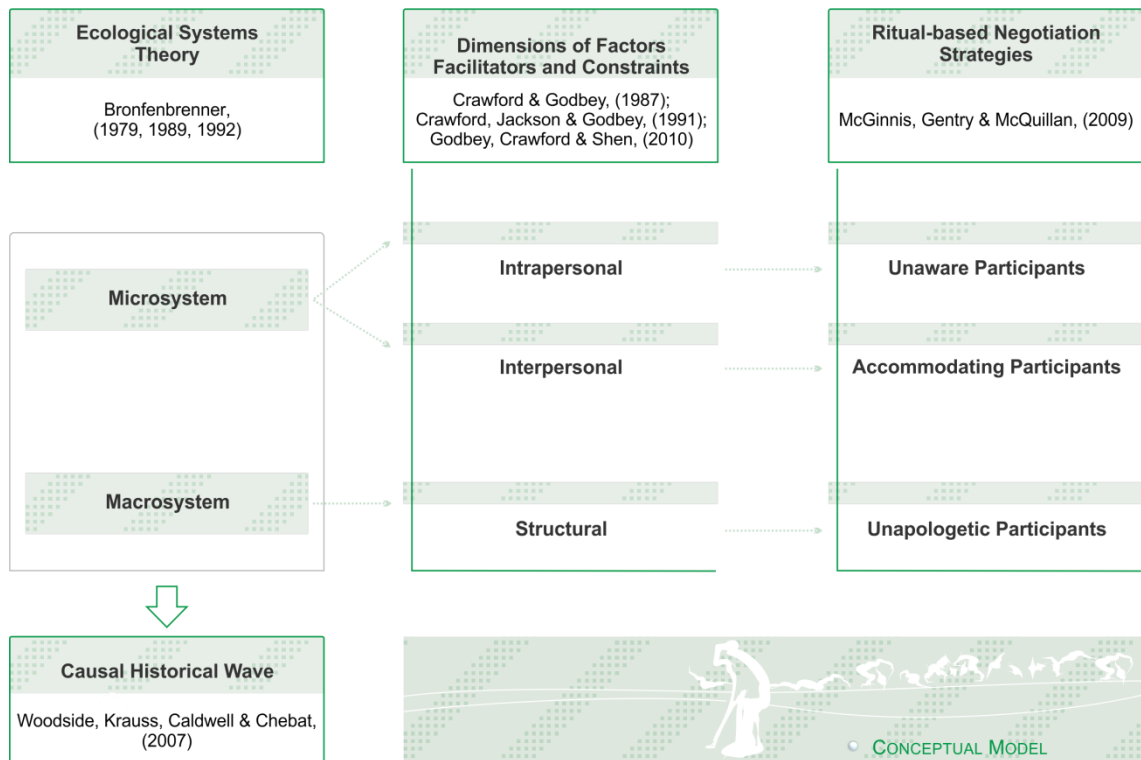
P₂: The higher perception of intrapersonal factors resides in the adoption of the unaware strategy;

P₃: The higher perception of interpersonal factors resides in the adoption of the accommodating strategy;

P₄: The higher perception of structural factors resides in the adoption of the unapologetic strategy.

Figure 8.1 displays the conceptual framework suggested for this study.

Figure 8.1 – Interaction of 3D Factors and Negotiation Strategies



Building from the above assumptions, through the analysis of diverse life environments, lifestyles, constraint perceptions and resulting closing stages chosen by the participants, this study seeks to reveal the various options women golfers engage in.

Methodology

When this research was delineated, the first author had the opportunity to join women golfers in three different periods throughout the year: the “Ladies’ Week” in Vilamoura, October 2010, where she had the first contact with a group of women. She went along with this group, was invited to meals and events, prize award ceremony, and other activities, which created opportunities for extended discussions and participant observations. The second moment arose in January 2011 when she was invited by the female Professional at Estela Golf Club to attend a “Ladies Weekend,” where she met some women from the first group and new golfers. The third contact happened a week later at a tournament held at the Aroeira Golf Club, where the club professional was a women. This conforms to the notion that the researcher needs to be with the individuals who are engaging in the behaviours under investigation (Sandstrom *et al.*, 2010, cited in Wood and Danylchuk, 2011). Continuous conversations with the interviewees not only produced new participants through the snowball sampling method, but also provided information, suggestions on study ideas. The participants asked for results, indicating their interest and support in the present study. These further contributions enriched and completed the data and built deeper trust between the researcher and the participants:

“when researchers are able to gather observational, participant-observation and interview data on a more or less simultaneous basis, this generally leads to a more complete understanding of the other” (Prus, 1996: 21, *in*: Wood and Danylchuk, 2011:370).

The remaining participants were from different areas of Portugal, including Madeira and Azores Islands. They were recruited by a snowball sampling, providing “formal and informal networks connections” (Jennings, 2010:140). In this process, members identify other members who then suggest new participants until the sampling is completed. Our group included 33 amateur golfers of various golf experience and playing levels; ages ranged from 14 to 67 (one woman did not answer), 13 were single, 18 married and two divorced; 22 without children and 11 with children. Five were students; the others have different occupations. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 300 minutes, at a place chosen by the participants, and were all conducted in Portuguese, even to the two foreign women who live in the country. The in-depth interview (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Jennings, 2010; Ragin, 1994; Woodside *et al.*, 2005) was applied in order to reach a holistic interpretation of the participants, their present and past environments

and to realize their participation decision. The in-depth interviews were semi-structured, but we also “allowed the respondents’ answers to guide the flow of the interview” (Laurendeau and Sharara, 2008:31).

The script was divided into three parts: the first presented a matrix covering earlier sport experiences and the second comprised 80 open-ended questions, detailing the person’s life background and socio-demographics, daily life routines regarding professional and extra-professional activities; the last part centred on sport experiences, behaviours and factors the female golfers face when choosing a male-dominated sport. Questions were inspired and borrowed from various studies (Alexandris *et al.*, 2011; Hennessey *et al.*, 2008; Ramkissoon and Nunkoo, 2012). All interviews were recorded and the *verbatim* transcripts were subject to interpretative and comparative analyses in order to determine analytic categories, following McCracken’s (1988) recommendations. Content analysis, a qualitative method of empirical material interpretation (Jennings, 2010), was used to provide a comparative study of these interviews.

Following La Pelle (2004) and MacQueen (1998) a “theme codebook” was used, which allows listing and coding the factors retrieved from the literature that were perceived by these women. Extracts of their verbalizations were included in the coding book to facilitate relation to the factors. These extracts were translated by the first author and verified and confirmed by the other authors. The coding was prepared, discussed and adjusted until a satisfaction level was reached. We used a qualitative software tool that counted how many women mentioned each factor and how many times it was mentioned, thus providing results for the number of instances for the intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural dimensions.

Starting from a matrix of 33 factors, the three dimensions were integrated with the categories of the negotiation strategies (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009) in order to understand whether they could be matched. By interviewing 33 Portuguese amateur female golfers, we put them under three groups, according to the dimension that was more frequently verbalized by each woman, and matched the dimension with the corresponding strategy. Table 8.1 provides detailed information of the participants.

Table 8.1 – Information About the Interviewees

Pseudonymous	Age	Marital	HC	Children	Occupation	Strategy
Daisy	17	single	12.7	none	Student	Accommodating
Natty	18	single	8.6	none	Student	Accommodating
Carol	25	single	2.3	none	University Student - Nutritionist	Accommodating
Sylvie	25	married	2.5	none	Nurse	Accommodating
Ivory	25	single	15.2	none	Student	Accommodating
Rose	25	single	15.3	none	Accountant Golf Club	Accommodating
Candice	36	married	N/HC	one	Commercial Director Golf Boutiques	Accommodating
Rita	36	married	N/HC	none	Designer	Accommodating
Helen	41	married	28	none	works in a Bank	Accommodating
Fiona	44	married	29.5	two	FPG	Accommodating
Annie	50	single	13	none	Merchandising Representative	Accommodating
Patty	55	married	16	none	xxx	Accommodating
Mary	55	single	N/HC	none	Teacher	Accommodating
Liz	56	married	N/HC	two	Lecturer Univ.	Accommodating
Pat	32	married	N/HC	one	Director Assistant FPG	Accommodating
Anita	34	married	N/HC	one	Secretary Regional FPG	Accommodating
Nelly	39	single	N/HC	none	Golf Receptionist	Accommodating
Brigitte	14	single	8	none	Student	Unaware
Joana	47	married	11.5	none	Golf Club Director	Unaware
Leila	61	married	31.8	two	Teacher	Unaware
Katie	24	single	3.4	none	Doctor	Unapologetic
Jasmin	25	married	28	none	Sales Person	Unapologetic
Lilly	28	single	6.4	none	Dentist Dr.	Unapologetic
Gala	30	married	N/HC	one	Golf Sales &Marketing Manager	Unapologetic
Sue	30	single	N/HC	none	Golf Receptionist	Unapologetic
Rachel	31	married	36	one	Mark Manager Golf Courses	Unapologetic
Amelie	38	married	N/HC	none	PR Algarve Tourism	Unapologetic
Maggie	46	divorced	30	none	Self-employed Accountant	Unapologetic
Alda	49	married	N/HC	one	Golf Receptionist	Unapologetic
Jo	53	married	36	two	Librarian Univ.	Unapologetic
Lou	56	divorced	N/HC	none	Travel Agency Reg Director	Unapologetic
Felicia	xx	married	31.5	three	Retired Teacher	Unapologetic
Berta	67	single	26/33	none	Ret. Air Traffic Controller	Unapologetic

Source: adp. McGinnis *et al.* (2009:23).

Although the sample is not meant to offer representativeness, it includes a variety of ages, marital status, golf experience levels and professions, some of them directly related to golf.

Discussion

Accommodating Participants

The interpersonal dimension represents the interactions of individuals, with inner circle being close family, the next layer being schoolmates and friends, and groups of friends who may act as references. We found that the women who verbalized a higher number of interpersonal factors tended to have a strong family support or enjoy socializing. They establish bonds with others and influence or are influenced by family and/or friends. Being sociable they do not enjoy confrontation and try to reach consensus in every situation:

“Many men asked me: don’t put me playing with women; they are too talkative and they delay the game... I always try to accommodate their requests.” (Ivory)

Even if they have to defer to the others’ wishes:

“I guess women are not so available for golf because the game is quite time consuming and households, children, responsibilities normally penalize women more than men. For many women family comes first of course.” (Fiona)

Regarding golf, these respondents play by the rules, accepting the gender markers as adequate: “male-only golf clubs, separate golf leagues for men and women, gender-specific golf equipment” (McGinnis *et al.* 2009:25). Therefore, we connected this group to the **Accommodating** strategy, meaning that they acknowledge

*“masculine rituals and work around them; these participants do not confront the male hegemony of the game, prefer to participate in separate groups from men and help to perpetuate this *status quo*. This group also tends to defer to their male partners’ wishes.” (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009)*

We identified 17 participants who verbalized a higher number of interpersonal factors, showing an accommodating behaviour. Yet, we realized differences based on age and marital status: six interviewees, from 17 to 25 years old, were all single except one who married recently. Their golf experience went from a 2.3 to a 15.3 handicap, so we expected them to match more to the unapologetic strategy, but surprisingly, this group

primarily valued the “group of friends.” In fact, they started playing together at an early age, in a golf clinique and have remained close friends playing regularly:

“We did everything together and we even had a “special group-suntan” because we spent most of our time on the course, not on the beach. So the sleeves, the shorts, the socks, but above all, the glove, just one hand... It was good; no one made fun of each other because we were all alike,”
(Rose)

They support each other, start from the “ladies” tees and stated that women are always inferior to men:

“Men have more experience in golf, men are stronger, their game is more beautiful to watch, because they can make effects with the ball, they play in a different way, more artistic than ours,” (Sylvie)

These women agree with the rules, did not find golf male-hegemonic because of all the advantages women have: *“it’s part of the rules, I agree with it all, it’s only fair because men are stronger and play better”* (Ivory). These women take golf quite seriously, though they opted for studying or having a steady job instead of a career in golf. Their behaviours differed from the rest of the group, who are not interested in becoming more specialized, as shown next. There are similarities with Scott and Godbey’s (1992, 1994) ethnographic research about bridge players, who advanced that some players look for an increase in specialization while others are interested in continuing as social golfers.

The remaining eleven participants (36 to 56 years old) included three single and eight married women. One of the single interviewees started playing golf just to please a boyfriend but now she an enthusiastic golfer, playing as much as she can, with men or women. She is quite competitive; yet, she declared that most of all she enjoys the weekend games followed by lunch with “the girls,” although she is forbidden to discuss her golf exploits with them:

“They forbid me to talk about golf at lunch, they say they have enough of golf-talk with their husbands... they tease me saying I can “change tables,” meaning their husbands are having lunch in the other room so I can join them instead. But I have a good time with the girls; we laugh a lot...” (Annie)

This quote indicates that Annie wants to engage in the post round golf talk at the 19th hole, but she is precluded from doing so, thus reinforcing golf as a masculine domain. But female golfers rather than the male golfers reinforce the power structure here.

The other two singles do not have much golf experience, playing mostly to be with their friends, to be “*in the group*,” to “*go along with the others*,” to be accepted: “*it is good to belong to such a group; we have a lovely time together*” (Mary). They enjoy socializing, and many golf clubs provide the right environment: “golf courses are commonly designed in such a manner that facilitates the development of ritualized practices such as dinner following the round” (Wood and Danylchuk, 2011:379). Women in this group do not confront or even question the male-hegemony of the game and often prefer to play with other women. They always use the “ladies tees” and agree that men are entitled to “rule” the game, accepting women have a “secondary role” in golf, which conforms with McGinnis *et al.* (2009: 25) findings:

“Accommodating participants often saw the times that males play together as sacred time and did not want to profane the experience by overstepping gendered boundaries. At the same time, by accommodating the masculinity-reinforcing rituals, women in this group found ways to enjoy golf in women-only groups or by playing with intimate male partners.”

The eight married women played mainly to accompany their husbands or companions: they “were content to fit their golf playing time in and around men as the central “true” golfers” (McGinnis, et al., 2009: 25). Rita said:

“I just go along to spend time with him [her husband]. He loves golf and I realized a game takes many hours; I decided to learn golf so I don’t stay all those hours by myself...”

Anita’s and Pat’s husbands are keen golfers, so they both started playing. But when they had a first child, their practice became more occasional. Another woman, Liz, goes along because her husband who is German and does not integrate easily with the Portuguese, but her wish is that “*he finds a regular group to play with so I can abandon golf and do something else with my girlfriends, some of them from school times, before I went to Germany and got married.*” Evidence reveals that these women are happy with this relaxing social golf option; they find it quite comfortable and are not interested in the stress of competition. Similar findings were noted by Heuser (2005) in regard to

female lawn bowlers, who wanted to spend meaningful time together in a relaxed environment.

Unaware Participants

The intrapersonal dimension may be the most difficult to define since it relates to the inner self of the individuals and is based on verbalizations of factors such as: personality: “*I am very strict and disciplined... this really matters in golf*” (Joana), motivation: “*I like to wake up early, feel the pleasure of the game, go to the tee and know that a round is starting, the anticipation of how is it going to be today!*” (Annie), self-esteem: “*I like to compete, to measure my capacities in comparison to others and know that I am good*” (Brigitte). When facing a long interview about gender in golf, a subject that clearly interested all participants, we found that they tend to concentrate more on the interpersonal and structural facets of the golf activity. Nevertheless, three women in our sample verbalized more intrapersonal factors than the other dimensions, showing that they were not aware or disregarded the gender bias of the game. Brigitte is very young, 14; her father is British and both parents play golf. She is not familiar with the glass ceiling concepts, considers golf a natural game for men or women, as long as they enjoy the game. Brigitte conformed to the McGinnis *et al.* (2009) reflection about the unaware participants:

“They enjoyed golf intrinsically and did not experience or even think about gendered structures (...). They seemed oblivious to gendered ritualistic markers and activities such as differentiated teeing areas, separate leagues, and gender-specific equipment that could perpetuate sexism in golf (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009: 29).

She feels comfortable playing with men and agrees with them to a certain extent: “I play frequently with men because there are not many women on my level to play with (Hc 8)” and “Men complain about women, but they are right because women talk a lot, they come to socialize and not really to play.”

Joana (47 years old) is married to an Irish golfer, and she is one of the rare cases of female golf club directors in Portugal. She “views golf as an activity open equally to both men and women” (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009: 20). Joana acknowledged some societal gender constraints that are present in the Portuguese traditional culture, such as *lack of*

time or the *ethics of care* attitude, but emphasized that this is a question of priorities: “normally the games are on the weekends and I admit the influence of our Latin culture – it is unacceptable that the wife goes play golf and the husband has to stay home, looking after the children... but if you love golf, you have to find a way.”

Leila (61), our last unaware participant, started playing at a later stage in her life, just to please her husband and friends:

“My husband used to play tennis, but ... a friend booked him a golf lesson and he enjoyed it so much that he started playing. So I thought: 4, 5 hours?! No, I’m not going to sit at home and wait... that’s how I started ...”

She “uses her golf time to connect with friends and family” (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009: 30) and intends to keep it that way. She enjoys golf and foresees a lot more playing time in the future as she is retired now, but she is just looking for a good time in the open air. When asked about gender inequities, she was surprised:

“I don’t agree that golf courses are masculine environments. I feel quite comfortable, as I said, I even prefer to play with men. And with the handicap and the front tees, the game is very balanced... I prefer to play with men; they teach you when you make mistakes. They are less competitive towards women than the other women, so the atmosphere ends up being friendlier with men.”

The mention of a higher number of intrapersonal factors was registered in the speeches of these participants, inducing the unaware style. Two of the interviewees were strongly focused on the game, enjoy the different facets of golf and are very competitive. The third woman is an inexperienced golfer, playing with her husband, son and friends. None of these participants acknowledged gender in golf, devaluating or ignoring structural constraints.

Unapologetic Participants

This group showed a higher perception of structural constraints that interfere with their participation in golf. They were conscious of gender and strongly criticized gendered golf course policies or the lack of facilities for women golfers, golf institution conduciveness, cultural and social attitudes or even lack of time or money. Thus, we connect this dimension to the *Unapologetic style*: “The unapologetic group expressed bold disregard for the respect that they knew they were expected to show to the rigid history and ritualistic formality of golf” (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009: 28).

Among the 12 women on our sample, half were under 31 years old and clearly disapproved of many policies by golf institutions and courses. Lilly and Katie used to be part of the national female team, but Katie confronted them with several clear discriminatory practices and was forced to leave. She learned golf with her father, who is very encouraging and pays for many of her competitions, as she does not have the support from the National Golf Federation. She said sharply:

“They don’t even bother to have a coach for the female team. When Pat [the former female coach] resigned because they wouldn’t let her change things, they simple put the male coach in charge of us in his spare time...”

Some of these women play better than the average men and enjoy feeling superior; they play with whomever they can and most of the time play from the men’s tees, meeting McGinnis *et al.* (2009) findings: “The unapologetic golfers seemed to get more enjoyment from playing than socializing. They enjoyed betting, competition, being individualistic, and acting like one of the guys” (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009: 29). We found that women in this group were aware of gender inequity in general:

“My husband doesn’t help much with the baby, but like his friends, he always finds time to go to the gym, run, spend some time with the Play station, etc ... I teach my son how to make his bed, I’m educating him in a different way, I try to make him more conscious and attentive to these issues. It’s for his own good as well as for whoever is going to live with him in time.” (Gala)

Felicia stated: “I don’t think women should ignore their leisure time just for the sake of the family... we are entitled to our free time,” which conforms with Mona’s attitude: “You know, if the housework doesn’t get done, it just doesn’t get done.” Eschewing

gendered expectations that “good women” have clean houses, Mona, like many men prioritized golf instead (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009:28). These women see themselves as equal participants in golf and feel entitled to leisure overall in the same way that men do, thus ignoring historical wave moments other women golfers in the other groups seemed to experience.

An older group (38 to 67) referred the masculine culture that prevails in golf, either from the male golfers’ viewpoint: “*Many men don’t want to play along with women, no matter what their handicap is...*” (Rachel), or by criticizing the clubhouse environments:

“Even at the Pro-shop, they never bring anything for women, only men’s cloths and merchandizing for men. They did a fashion show, again, only men’s cloths. In the end, if we want things done, we have to do them ourselves...” (Berta)

The unapologetic negotiation strategy includes confronting the status quo and trying to introduce changes, confirming what McGinnis *et al.* (2009) attributed to these participants: “Overall, the unapologetic participants were aware of how gendered golf is and how sexist many of its rituals are. Women in this group negotiated male bias in golf by directly challenging it and trying to change it” (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009:29). Although fewer than the accommodating participants, these women are aware of gender prejudice and verbalized their criticism in different ways, highlighting several structural constraints and cultural traditions inherent to the Portuguese society.

Conclusions, Limitations and Further Research

According to Wood and Danylchuk, (2011: 379) “golf by nature can be a very social sport as it can involve walking or riding a cart together with others, facilitating the opportunity to socialize.” The purpose of the present research was to understand whether Portuguese women amateur golfers perceive the intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors that inhibit their participation in the sport but also to disclose what type of strategies these women engage in order to stay in the game. This study aimed to create an integration between the three dimensions of factors (Crawford and Godbey, 1987; Crawford *et al.*, 1991; Godbey *et al.*, 2010) and the three ritual negotiation strategies advanced by McGinnis *et al.* (2009): accommodating, unaware and unapologetic. The Ecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1989, 1992), and the Causal Historical Wave paradigm) (Woodside *et al.*, 2007) provided the theoretical framework that was applied to 33 in-depth interviews to Portuguese amateur women golfers. The sample comprised different age groups, marital status, with or without children and different levels of golf experience. At a later stage, a questionnaire was applied to these women in order to confirm the factors highlighted in the interviews.

Findings indicated that the perception of the 3D factors have a strong influence on the different levels of women’s participation in a masculine-influenced game. Using the definition and characteristics of the factor dimensions and the strategies women use to cope with gender prejudice, this study suggests that a higher perception of intrapersonal factors resonates with the unaware mode, whereas a higher perception of interpersonal factors relates to the accommodating mode and a higher perception structural to the unapologetic mode. Content analysis and a coding system were applied to the interview transcripts and results show that the most frequent negotiation strategy adopted by the respondents was the *accommodating* mode: they do not confront the rules, they enjoy playing with their husbands but also value the group of friends in such a way that they separate men and women to have more pleasure in the game. Within this group two behaviors were identified: competitive young golfers (17 to 25) who enjoy playing with each other and an older party (32 to 55) that clearly considers the pleasure of social golf with low competitive stress. The interpersonal interactions are very strong whether for women irrespective of experience, age and marital status. The women on the accommodating style value more the socialization with friends or family, even if it

incurs ignoring or accepting gendered practices or deferring to their male partners' wishes. This is consistent with McGinnis *et al.*, (2009), who found that women in this group "came to and stayed in golf through their connection to another golfer. All of the women in this study either found a way to be accepted or decided that acceptance by other golfers was not essential to their enjoyment of the game" (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009: 31).

The second group adopts the *unapologetic* behaviour, being conscious of gender bias, confronting the rules and trying to introduce changes to balance the game. They criticize institutions and golf structures and feel entitled to the game as much as men. They often start from the men's tees and like to play on men's terms:

"Their rebellious actions served to highlight and disrupt the notions of gender that are woven into golf rituals but are unnecessary for playing the game, which tend to limit women's enjoyment" (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009: 33).

We cannot say that we reached all McGinnis *et al.* (2009) conclusions, since this was a different study all together, but we subscribe most of their recommendations as they clearly can be applied to the Portuguese golf reality:

"Golf managers, pros, and staff the need to treat women golfers with the same respect and welcoming attitude that is given to men at the course. These strategies alone are unlikely to bring about lasting change without also focusing at least for the short-term on institutional level changes such as women-only times on the course, or more times when men and women can play together, childcare at the course, hiring more women pros and staff, and enforcing skill rather than gender-based teeing" (McGinnis *et al.*, 2009:33).

Finally, the *unaware* respondents were more difficult to identify, since the intrapersonal factors are more personal or because it implies unawareness of the other dimensions. This group showed almost opposite behaviours from the participants: either highly competitive or virtually inexperienced golfers. Yet the number of women in this category was too low to allow any definite conclusion, but still they conform to McGinnis *et al.* (2009: 31):

"The unaware group was committed to women golfers being treated based on their golf abilities, not their gender. Women in this group, however, did not directly challenge rituals that reinforced hegemonic masculinity.

Instead, they either determined the rituals were illogical or refused to see them and therefore, ignored them”.

Especially for the strategy, further studies centred on disclosing intrapersonal factors leading to unaware strategies to continue participation in golf will be needed.

This study analyzed the strategies Portuguese female amateur golfers adopted in order to cope with gender inequities in the practice of the game. Since the understanding of these options may lead to the introduction of changes in golf structures that will help to attract more female participants, there is need for further research to examine and evaluate a much larger number of participants and verify if the disparity in behaviour remains. In case it does, results can suggest guidelines to help golf courses and marketers to develop more friendly environments to welcome the accommodating participants and/or take re-adjusting measures to meet unapologetic participants' requests. Further, the geographic scope of the study was limited to Portugal, whereas other golf destinations deserve to be considered. Considering that strategies used by American female golfers are also verified among Portuguese amateurs it is worth researching other nationalities. Effectively, results confirm that Portuguese participants can experience leisure intrinsically, for its own sake. As a major point, findings indicate that for these women, competitive factors are reinforced more by other women than men.

Although further study is necessary to understand the inhibitors present in the different negotiation strategies, it is clear from our sample that the accommodating negotiation style is alive and vibrant in Portugal. To us, this indicates that the presence and acceptance of gendered norms that prohibit the full-scale inclusion of women in golf and society as a whole. The McGinnis et al. (2009) study was conducted in the USA., where gender equality in sports might be balanced due to structural influences such as Title IX. The historical wave noted in this study indicates that the gendered structures influence women, thus perhaps constraining their full involvement, feelings of leisure entitlement, and overall enjoyment of the game. The limited number of unapologetic respondents in this study may indicate the same notion, as few women perhaps felt the need or perhaps strength to fly in the face of golf's established gender norms in Portugal. Understanding the complexity of the different constraints as they relate to the negotiation styles is not only a way to shed light on why people ritually negotiate the

way the do, but necessary in order to impact changes but also allow women to fully embrace golf on equal terms as women. Doing so should not only encourage more tourism in places such as Portugal, but help women level the playing fields in other domains as well.

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CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Major Findings

The main objectives of the thesis addressed gender asymmetries in golf participation, aiming to understand whether and to what extent Portuguese female golfers perceive these inequities. To achieve this objective, these women's life contexts and backgrounds, past experiences, motivations and constraints had to be studied. The framework in which the thesis is embedded arises from the micro and macrosystem of the individuals supported by the causal historical wave that hits the individual when a decision is required, providing information about the persons' social, cultural, economic and lifestyle environments. The interaction of these theories with the intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural factors that facilitate or inhibit participation, intends to fulfil a second objective: to identify and depict which factors act as facilitators or constraints to participation. As the main results were individually detailed in each Paper, here only the overall conclusions are depicted.

By means of historical ethnography, the author established a timeline from the very early times of golf to trace discriminatory practices inherent to the game. Despite being a difficult process, mainly due to the use of secondary sources instead of primary ones, it was very enriching and challenging, since new factors arose that were not so visible in literature review of present day consumer behaviour in leisure and sports/golf participation. In fact, this method allowed the conclusion that many factors persist over the centuries and across nationalities, since the analysis focused on life stories of Anglo-American female golfers from the 19th and 20th centuries. Further, other factors that played an important discriminatory role in that era have faded away whereas the comparison to today's Portuguese female players also highlighted new factors that were not relevant in those narratives. These factors and the ones depicted from the literature allowed the construction of a codebook from which a matrix of 33 factors was established. Some of those factors were evident in the early centuries, such as: "traditional society", "dress code" (the first woman who dared to wear trousers in a competition in 1933, was strongly criticized above all by other women – *see Paper 2*) or "exclusion from clubhouses" (today, restrictions still occur at one or two referential clubs, such as The Royal & Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews, in Scotland, or Augusta National Club in USA) which strongly moderated women's participation, are non-relevant nowadays. These narratives highlighted strong race discrimination against

Afro-American or Mexican women, despite their top performance, being this a consequence of the social order prevailing in the USA in those years. On the other hand, present involvement in golf raises new issues: young committed players face a dilemma - to study in order to build a career or dare to choose professional golf as many young men do. Portuguese universities are not yet prepared to accommodate top competition athletes, offering them a consensual balance of sport and studies. A consequence of being a young champion or committed golfer addresses “missing social life”, whilst the life stories under study show that because of its elitist origins, golf was a perfect way to combine competition and socialisation. “Lack of time or money” are far better perceived nowadays deriving from the social and economic life contexts that are visibly more demanding today (*see Papers 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5*).

The factors that persisted across the centuries relate to “motivation”, “competitiveness”, “family or friends’ incentive”, and “spousal interactions”, which induce participation if the husband or boyfriend also plays or will contribute to women abandoning the game. Among others, “family obligations” or the “ethics of care” penalize women much more than men. But above all, the influence of cultural and social attitudes is manifest in these women’s behaviours, conforming to Hofstede’s cultural dimensions, which posits that Portuguese society values traditions, hierarchies and consensus, and these women were educated in accordance with these values.

The third objective focused on the heterogeneity of the two major groups under study. The aim was to account for different perceptions across champions/professional and amateur women players. Perceptions and verbalizations show that factors that affect amateur golfers such as *lack of time* or *geographic location* (course near or far from home) are irrelevant for champions/professionals who travel all the time to take part in tournaments, and find “lack of time” is a “false constraint” being more a question of establishing priorities. Within the intrapersonal dimension, “lack of motivation” is not even an issue for champions/professionals whereas some amateurs admit that they only play to please someone else, mostly their peers.

Despite all the constraints, many women stay in the game, so the fourth and last objective of the thesis intended to identify and analyse which strategies Portuguese women engage in to stay and play golf, despite its adverse environment. For that the

research advances an innovative approach: the interaction between the dimensions of facilitators and constraints and the types of strategies. McGinnis *et al.* (2009) proposal about the ritual-based strategies was the core foundation for this later stage of the thesis. The main conclusions met the above mentioned results: Portuguese female golfers acknowledge social and cultural values and behave accordingly. The most frequent strategy was the accommodating strategy meaning that women do not confront the gendered prejudice of the game and prefer to find a consensual basis for their participation, such as playing in separate groups from men. As McGinnis *et al.* (2009) state, this behaviour will help perpetuate this *status quo*, not leading an advance in a more female-inclusive environment (*see Papers 6 and 7*). An unexpected result was that even at the professional level, the accommodating strategy was identified. Considering that these participants are better informed of the policies that benefit men one might assume that an accommodating behaviour would not be present among these highly competitive and skilled women, as all the golf professionals are former (and present) champions.

Regarding *golf institutions' policies and course conduciveness*, there are signs that some things may be changing, mainly in the southern courses, but the golf environment is still very male-orientated: interviewees state that golf stakeholders should introduce changes in order to attract more women to this practice, helping to increase the number of female participants. Yet stakeholders answer negatively on the grounds that those alterations are not justifiable, since the female market is very limited (20%) and it is not likely to grow, due to the decreasing growth rate of about 25% between 2005 and 2012 (EGA, 2012).

Theoretical and Methodological Implications

This research, which is the first one of its kind in Portugal, comprises a number of contributions to the body of knowledge with clear implications for golf development. On the theoretical level, this research contributes to advancing the study on gender behaviour, as well as on sports and golf participation throughout a behavioural approach, instead of the feminist traditional perspective more frequently used. Furthermore, and despite the number of studies using the EST, the causal historical wave and the facilitators and constraints paradigm, this is the first study specifically on golf. Second, by combining women's backgrounds with the ritual-based negotiation strategies proposed by McGinnis *et al.* (2009) a deeper understanding of these strategies was possible, this being one of the most sound contributions of the thesis.

Generally speaking, on the theoretical level, the study enhances the 3D factors paradigm, contributing to consolidating theoretical frameworks to study gender issues. Furthermore, by articulating the interaction between the 3D factors and the ritual-based negotiation styles, this thesis offers new avenues on a research that persists in relying on listing constraints and facilitators or instead assessing ritual-based negotiation styles. Articulating both paradigms will help gain in-depth understanding on how and why women adopt a specific strategy, which is not only critical on a theoretical level, but also fundamental to understand why gender differences persist over the centuries, but, above all, to identify solutions women golfers found to persist in the practice. Merging the two frameworks emerges as an innovative contribution for there is need to create a more women-inclusive environment. The understanding of how women can contribute to the growth of this activity starts by understanding the different ways they engage in to negotiate their involvement: female golfers have to participate on their terms defining their own rituals, and allowing for maximum transcendence.

Methodologically speaking this research advances an innovative model, suggesting a qualitative method approach that raises awareness and could be applied to different studies. It is on this level that the contributions of the thesis are countless. The structured methodological routes that are proposed offer a deeper insight into this topic. Starting from the critical and synthetic overview of the plethora of studies throughout a multidisciplinary approach, the thesis accommodates the request of previous researchers

for a comprehensive literature review on sports and golf literature, in addition to enabling the creation of a theoretical framework that comprises the complexity of the subject to allow the development of a structured conceptual framework (*see*: Reis and Correia, 2013a) (*see*: *Paper 1*). This critical overview of the literature was complemented by means of a historical ethnography approach, which is also a scarcely used method on gender studies and even in leisure research.

By doing this, the author was able to “align data and dates documenting the female involvement that contributed to the history of golf.” (*see*: *Paper 2*). The option for this method stems from Woodside’s (2008: 97) arguments that “much information is stored, indexed, and retrieved in the form of stories”. In the same vein, Jennings (2010) posits that secondary data allow the researcher to timeframe the problem. Hence, the historical ethnographic approach permitted the author to “gain a holistic understanding of undisclosed facts” (*see*: *Paper 2*). Literature review and ethnography resulted in a matrix of factors that is the basis of the “theme codebook” from which the interviews were coded (Appendix 1). The option for the long interview derives from the fact that the use of “in-depth interviews is the most appropriate technique to get a holistic interpretation of the interviewees, their past and present contexts and their decision to participate (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Jennings, 2010; Ragin, 1994; Woodside *et al.*, 2005)” (*see*: *Paper 3*).

Another methodological contribution relies on the adopted sample and data collection procedures. The first author entered women golf events and accompanied the participants in their activities at different moments, as such “Ladies’ Week” in Vilamoura, October 2010, “Ladies’ Weekend” in the north, and a tournament held at the Aroeira Golf Club. The first author’s participation on their activities created opportunities for extended discussions and participant observations. In fact, continuous conversations with the interviewees not only produced new participants through the snowball sampling method, but also provided information, suggestions and study ideas, enriched the data collection and facilitated the interpretation of the results through these “women’s eyes”. These further contributions enriched and completed the data, and built deeper trust between the researcher and the participants:

“when researchers are able to gather observational, participant-observation and interview data on a more or less simultaneous basis, this generally leads to a more complete understanding of the other.” (Prus, 1996: 21, *in*: Wood and Danylchuk, 2011: 370) (*see: Paper 7*).

Despite the acknowledged advantages of these sample procedures, it is still limited in size and geographical scope. To overcome this limitation, the extended case method was used, this being another methodological contribution, since the ECM is argued to be suitable to couch small samples.

In spite of the number of methodological contributions, the qualitative research is still conditioned by the author’s interpretation, hence a cohort auditor was invited to validate the author’s interpretations; the expertise of this cohort auditor on the topic made it feasible to accept the conclusions of this research without prejudice, this being the last, but not the least, methodological contribution.

The sound contributions of this thesis are also critical to disclose how golf practitioners may potentiate a new market segment that is begging to play and is perhaps one of the easiest solutions to revert the stagnation that is shading the development of a sport in a country awarded “Europe’s Leading Golf Destination 2012” by the International Association of Golf Tour Operators (IAGTO, 2013).

Empirical and Managerial Implications

The main results and conclusions analysed with a basis on a market-led approach permit the identification of strategic guidelines for golf courses in Portugal to boost the female market, which deserves more attention from the golf marketers, since a multi-criteria segmentation should be adopted. The respondents were eager to participate in this study and advanced a set of suggestions and recommendations that deserved to be referred to.

Some emphasised that staff, pros and course managers should treat female golfers with the same respect and welcoming attitude that men receive; to focus on institutional level changes such as women-only times on the course, more balanced facilities in the club house and even toilet facilities on the ninth hole, for instance; childcare at the course or

supporting environments to help grandparents to look after the youngsters while parents play; when possible, an adjacent sports complex offering swimming or tennis alternatives; hiring more women pros and staff, and enforcing skill rather than gender-based teeing, more golf lessons with special prices for women (there are special prices for men, for groups or for families, but not for single retired women for example); merchandizing should also be more women-orientated, allowing consumption at the pro-shop to maximize the profitability of these shops (“men buy, women shop”, knowledge@Wharton-University Pennsylvania, 2010). As golf is very time consuming, shorter games of nine holes (dropping to half the playing time) was one of the most popular suggestions. Among other recommendations, all the interviews declared that incentives and changes to start playing at an early age would be a great step to improving participation.

Furthermore, despite the consensus that the female market is too small to leverage the adaptation of golf courses to its needs, some changes are suggested such as female toilets, different starting times, tournaments and more women-oriented events, among others. These suggestions should be considered, since what is small nowadays may be very big in the near future.

This market has great potential even considering the number of constraints women feel. To boost this market implies reverting the women’s passive attitudes, which are so engrained in cultural and social values, leading to a tacitly accepted male hegemony in sports in particular and in daily life in general. Hence, aside from the contributions to golf development, this thesis is a critical reflexion about women’s attitudes that are engrained in cultural values that should be reverted, since we are in the 21st century.

Limitations of the Research and Paths for Future Research

The limitations and paths for future research have been individually highlighted over the seven articles that compose the thesis, which offer paths for future studies on a more detailed level.

The historical approach was applied to a limited number of life stories of early famous women golfers; therefore examining a wider body of secondary sources is expected to deepen the knowledge about discriminatory practices that moderated women's participation in golf since its beginnings.

The female golf professionals in Portugal presented a very critical inside view of gender bias existing within the golf institutions, but the number of these professionals is so low that their perceptions cannot be generalized. A much larger sample is needed to assess the persistence of these criticisms in a broader number of golf professionals.

The negotiation strategy issue deserves much more attention since major implications for marketers and golf managers are of paramount importance for introducing changes in golf policies and conduciveness. The framework interaction of the factors and the strategies needs to be tested in a broader sample and across nationalities to understand if the same perceptions induce the same type of adopted strategy. Actually, new modes of strategies to cope with gender inequities are likely to arise in future studies.

But general limitations can be shown here, as an overall summary. One of these limitations is that it only unveils women's viewpoints whereas men's insights into these issues are also crucial to understand gender asymmetries in golf participation. At an early stage of this research, a number of men were interviewed but the amount of foreseen data showed itself to be profuse. The idea had to be abandoned for the time being, but to evaluate the male perspectives is fundamental to complement the present study.

The sample only included women who already play golf, thus analysing women who do not participate in golf may disclose a different type of constraints that female participants have already overcome.

The geographic scope of the participants was limited to women golfers in Portugal so other nationalities, especially ones where golf was not introduced by the British, may present new findings worthy of comparison with the present results. Clearly, the impact golf is having on the Asian market, for example, will require a new reflection of this global activity, including the evaluation of women participants as a potential growing market.

These limitations stress the need to develop further research on gendered issues that, from a humanistic perspective, may offer a deeper insight into this field.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 - Matrix coding of 3 dimensions and 33 factors

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Factors
100			INTRAPERSONAL
	110		Facilitators
		111	Past experiences
		112	Ability/knowledge
		113	Motivation
		114	Self-esteem / competitive
		115	Personality
	120		Constraints
		121	Preference for other sports
		122	Lack of Self-esteem
		123	Lack of Motivation
200			INTERPERSONAL
	210		Facilitators
		211	Family incentive
		212	Family imitation
		213	Role models
		214	Coaches
		215	Group of friends / Social golf
	220		Constraints
		221	Spousal interaction
		222	Family obligations
		223	Professional context/University Studies
		224	Coaches
		225	Missing social life
		226	“Ethics of care”
		227	Gender differences: physical, mental and psychological, consumption behaviour
300			STRUCTURAL
	310		Facilitators
		311	Traditional society
		312	Proximity (house to golf) geographical location
		313	Prestige
		314	Good course policy / facilities
	320		Constraints
		321	Exclusion from /Limitations of the club houses
		322	Geographic location -
		323	Golf institutions and Course policy/conduciveness / lack of facilities

324	Non acceptance of men to be beaten by women
325	Excessive drinking, cigar smoking, folded arms
326	Money (lack of...)
327	Time (lack of...)
328	Dress code
329	Cultural / Social attitudes

Source: Own Elaboration

Appendix 2 - Interview



● **Dados Pessoais_** _____

1. Nome_ _____ 2. Telf_ _____ 3. E-mail_ _____

4. Local de Residência_ _____ 5. Naturalidade_ _____ 6. Idade_

7. Habilitações Literárias_ _____ 8. Estado Civil_ _____ 9. Ag. Familiar_ _____

10. Situação Profissional_ _____ 9.1. Têm filhos?_ S N 9.2. Quantos são menores?_

10.1. Profissão_ _____ 9.3. Que Idades têm?_

11. Situação Profissional do Cônjuge_ _____

● **Biografias e Percursos_** _____

12. Fale-me do seu dia-a-dia: (A que horas começa a trabalhar? Quantas horas trabalha por dia? Quantas pessoas dependem de si e como?)_

13. Quando chega a casa que tarefas ainda tem que realizar?_ _____

13.1. Quanto tempo perde nessas tarefas?_ _____

14. Dispõe de tempo para si durante o dia?_ _____

14.1. E o que faz nesse tempo?_ _____

15. Descreva os seus fins-de-semana: (O que faz, qual o tempo de lazer de que dispõe, com quem o passa, o que gostaria de fazer e não faz?)

● **Biografias e Percursos**

16. O que costuma fazer nos seus tempos livres?_
- | | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Ler_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | Jogar golfe_ | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ouvir Musica_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | Passear_ | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ir a concertos, cinema_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | Conversar com amigos/as_ | <input type="checkbox"/> |

17. Durante os seus períodos de lazer, em algum momento joga golfe?_ _____
 Fale-me desses jogos (Com quem joga? Onde? Em que circunstâncias?)_ _____

18. **Se NÃO**, porque não o faz?_

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| Não tenho motivação_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | O meu marido/ companheiro também costuma ir jogar; | |
| Não tenho companhia_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | eu não posso fazer o mesmo_ | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| É muito caro_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | É muito longe_ | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Estou demasiado cansada_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | Não tenho tempo_ | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Os campos estão cheios_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | Não tenho energia_ | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Não quero deixar a família sozinha para ir jogar_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | Não tenho handicap para jogar_ | <input type="checkbox"/> |

19. Fale-me das suas férias_

- Quantos períodos de férias tem por ano?_ Nesses períodos quantas vezes sai para o estrangeiro_
 Para outros sítios de Portugal?_ Quais?_ _____
 Desde quando começou a viajar?_ _____
 Qual a sua motivação para viajar?_ _____

20. Nessas viagens, em algum momento jogou golfe?_ S N

- Se SIM:** (Com que frequência? Com quem joga? Onde? Em que circunstâncias?)_ _____

21. **Se NÃO**, porque não o fez?_

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| Não tenho motivação_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | O meu marido/ companheiro também costuma ir jogar; | |
| Não tenho companhia_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | eu não posso fazer o mesmo_ | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| É muito caro_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | É muito longe_ | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Estou demasiado cansada_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | Não tenho tempo_ | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Os campos estão cheios_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | Não tenho energia_ | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Não quero deixar a família sozinha para ir jogar_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | Não tenho handicap para jogar_ | <input type="checkbox"/> |

● **Determinantes da Participação**

22. Quando foi o seu primeiro contacto com o golfe?_ _____

23. Como soube da modalidade?_

- | | | | |
|-------------|--------------------------|---------|-------|
| Familiares_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | Quais?_ | _____ |
| Amigos_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| Outros_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

24. Quando começou a jogar?_

- | | | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|-------|--|
| Infância_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | Data_ | <input type="text" value="D / M / Y"/> |
| Adolescência_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | Data_ | <input type="text" value="D / M / Y"/> |
| Adulta_ | <input type="checkbox"/> | Data_ | <input type="text" value="D / M / Y"/> |

Determinantes da Participação

25. Com quem aprendeu a jogar?_

- Familiares_
 Amigos_
 Clínica de Golfe_
 Outros_

- Quais?_ _____
 Quais?_ _____
 Quais?_ _____

26. Aprendeu com pessoas de ambos os sexos?_ S N

Porquê?_ _____

27. Gosta de competir?_ S N

Porquê?_ _____

28. Que recordações tem dessa aprendizagem?

29. Qual é a sua melhor recordação dessa época?

30. Qual é a sua pior recordação dessa época?_

31. Há quanto tempo joga golfe?_

- 15 ou mais anos_ De 10 a 15 anos_
 15 ou mais anos_ De 10 a 15 anos_

Qual o seu handicap?_ _____

32. Alguma vez pensou desistir?_ S N

(Porquê? Por quanto tempo? Quando e porque retomou?)

33. Fale-me dos períodos em que teve que interromper a prática?_

34. Alguma vez pensou desistir?_ S N

34.1 Porque razão?_

35. É sócia de algum clube de golfe?_ S N Qual?_ _____

36. É jogadora federada?_ S N Qual?_ _____

37. Com que frequência joga?_

- Todas as semanas_ De 2 em 2 meses_
 Duas vezes por mês_ Outros_
 Todos os meses_ Quais?_ _____

38. Mais alguém da sua família joga?_ S N

38.1 Quem?_ _____

38.2 Desde quando?_ _____

Determinantes da Participação

39. Facilmente arranja tempo para jogar?_ S N

40. Porque motivo joga golfe?_

Por razões de saúde_ Para fazer desporto_ Outro?_
 Bem-estar_ Para pertencer a um grupo_ Qual?_ _____
 Para socializar e conhecer pessoas_ Porque o seu marido/ pai/ irmão/ amigos jogam?_ _____

41. Jogar golfe fá-la sentir-se?_ ; ;

42. Quais as suas maiores motivações para jogar golfe?_

43. Quais os maiores impedimentos que teve de enfrentar para poder jogar?

Responsabilidades familiares_ Falta de companhia para jogar_ Justifique?_ _____
 Consome muito tempo_ Outros_ _____
 É muito caro_ _____

44. Costuma jogar com homens e mulheres ou só com mulheres?_ _____
 Porquê?_ _____

45. Quais os maiores benefícios que encontra na prática do golfe?_

46. Quais os maiores sacrifícios que faz para praticar golfe? (Tempo; Dinheiro; Família; Outras actividades que lhe dão igual prazer; Quais?)_

Limitações à Participação

47. Acha que há diferenças em jogar só com homens ou só com mulheres?_ S N

(Se SIM, porquê?)

48. O homem e a mulher têm diferentes constituições físicas.

Considera que essas diferenças podem limitar a participação das mulheres?_

Limitações à Participação

49. Sente-se constrangida por jogar num campo onde predominam homens?_

50. Como se sente quando faz asneira, quando não joga bem?_

51. Pensa que é mais fácil para os homens encontrar parceiros para jogar?_

52. Os homens queixam-se do modo como as mulheres jogam? (Jogam mais devagar atrasando o jogo?)_

53. Em sua opinião as mulheres têm a mesma disponibilidade do que os homens para jogar?
Porquê? (Tempo; Obrigações familiares...)_

54. Em sua opinião, os campos de golfe oferecem as mesmas condições a mulheres e homens?
(Balneários, distribuição de merchandizing na loja; quantidade de produtos disponíveis, etc...?) Porquê ou porque não?

55. Em sua opinião, as mulheres são tratadas como "jogadoras sérias"?
Diz-se que usam o golfe como uma actividade social, para fazer amizades ou mero passatempo?

56. Costuma sair nos tees atribuídos às mulheres?

57. Concorda com esta discrepância ou acha que a saída deve ser de acordo com o nível de jogo de cada jogador, independentemente do sexo a que pertence?_

Limitações à Participação

58. O golfe surgiu como um desporto marcadamente masculino, sendo que ainda hoje tudo parece mais direccionado para o mercado masculino do que para as mulheres. Concorda?_

S N As coisas mudaram muito e já não é assim

59. Ao optar por este desporto sente que, de alguma maneira, está inserida num ambiente masculinizado (Club house, loja, pessoal de campo, merchandizing, balneários)?_

S N O ambiente é igual para ambos os sexos

60. Muitas mulheres revelam um "sentimento de culpa", por tirarem tempo para si, deixando os filhos/ família entregues aos cuidados de outrem. Na sua opinião, as mulheres:_

Devem pôr a família à frente de tudo_ Terão que repartir com os maridos_

Têm direito a tirar tempo para si_ Outros_

61. Os encargos familiares recaem normalmente sobre as mulheres (a chamada "the ethics of care"), impedindo-as mais frequentemente de gozar de períodos de lazer do que os homens. Concorda?_

61.1 Como organiza as tarefas domésticas?_

Experiência e percursos golfistas

62. Qual foi a melhor coisa que lhe aconteceu num campo de golfe?_

63. Qual foi a pior coisa que lhe aconteceu num campo de golfe?_

64. Se pudesse voltar atrás no tempo, o que mudaria na sua participação no golfe?_

65. Pode descrever-nos o jogo que mais a marcou?_

a) No seu local de residência? (Onde? Com quem? Em que altura do ano?)_

b) Fora do seu local de residência? (Onde? Com quem? Em que altura do ano?)_

66. O que se passou? (Quem ganhou? Onde foi? Em que lugar ficou? Quando foi? Com quem estava a jogar?)_

● **Experiência e percursos golfistas_**

67. Quantas vezes já participou em torneios de golfe?_ Mistos? Só femininos?

68. Qual o torneio que mais a marcou? (Quem ganhou? Onde foi? Em que lugar ficou? Quando foi? Com quem esteve a jogar?)_

69. Em relação a esses episódios, discutiu-os com alguém?_ S N

69.1. Com quem?_

69.2. O que disse?_

70. Onde procura normalmente informação sobre os campos de golfe?_

Familiares e amigos_	<input type="checkbox"/>	Sites na internet_	<input type="checkbox"/>
Federação Portuguesa de Golfe_	<input type="checkbox"/>	Media (TV; Jornais)_	<input type="checkbox"/>
Revistas da especialidade_	<input type="checkbox"/>	Outros_	<input type="checkbox"/>

71. Até que ponto essa informação é útil?_ Nada útil Pouco útil Útil Muito útil Extremamente útil

72. Quanto lhe pode custar um jogo de golfe incluindo:_

Green Free_	<input type="text"/>	€	Shopping_	<input type="text"/>	€
Trolley / Buggy_	<input type="text"/>	€	O que compra?_	<input type="text"/>	
Bebida no Club House_	<input type="text"/>	€	Outros_	<input type="text"/>	€

73. Em sua opinião, há diferenças entre os gastos das mulheres e dos homens? Quais?_

74. Conhece os campos de golfe do Algarve?_ S N

74.1. Quais?_

74.2. Jogo lá regularmente_ Jogo lá algumas vezes_ Só lá jogo em torneios / competições_

75. O que mais a atrai nos campos de golfe algarvios?_

76. O que menos gosta nos campos de golfe algarvios?_

77. Que opinião tem sobre esses campos?_ Muito mau Mau Regular Bom Excelente

● Experiência e percursos golfistas_ _____

78. Acha que a paisagem influencia o jogo? Como?_

79. Quais os seus planos relativamente ao golfe para os próximos anos?_

80. Gostaria de acrescentar algum comentário?_



Appendix 3 - Questionnaire



Dados Pessoais

1. Nome_ _____ 2. Telf_ _____ 3. E-mail_ _____

4. Local de Residência_ _____ 5. Naturalidade_ _____ 6. Idade_

7. Habilitações Literárias_ _____ 8. Estado Civil_ _____ 9. Ag. Familiar_ _____

10. Situação Profissional_ _____ 9.1. Têm filhos?_ S N 9.2. Quantos são menores?_

10.1. Profissão_ _____ 9.3. Que idades têm?_

11. Situação Profissional do Cônjuge_ _____

Preferências

12. Por favor indique o grau de concordância com cada uma das seguintes afirmações, que descrevem preferências associadas ao golfe. Utilize a seguinte escala de resposta:
 1_ Discordo totalmente; 2_ Discordo em parte; 3_ Não concordo nem discordo; 4_ Concordo em parte; 5_ Concordo totalmente.

	1	2	3	4	5
a. Gosto de jogar um desporto que poucos jogam_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Gosto de desafiar as minhas capacidades, de testar os meus limites_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Gosto de jogar porque sou muito competitiva_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. De vez em quando preciso de sair do local onde jogo e jogar noutra lado_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Jogo golfe para fugir à rotina diária_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Jogo golfe para me libertar da pressão do trabalho_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Para mim, jogar significa recuperar forças e energia_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. Relaxar e descansar são sinónimos de jogo perfeito_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. No jogo, procuro diversão e entretenimento_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j. Gosto de jogar com pessoas diferentes_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k. Gosto de jogar com bons amigos_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l. Jogar é uma forma de evitar a solidão_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m. Quando jogo é para fazer novos amigos_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n. Para mim é importante jogar em campos que são valorizados pelos meus amigos_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
o. Gosto de jogar nos campos que estão "na moda"_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
p. Gosto de impressionar os outros com as histórias das minhas jogadas_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
q. Jogo em campos onde os meus amigos nunca jogaram_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
r. Enquanto jogo sou uma pessoa completamente diferente_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
s. Quando jogo, sinto-me livre_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
t. Jogo para estar ocupada_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

As mulheres no golfe

13. A escala seguinte refere situações vividas por outras mulheres no golfe. Refira o seu grau de concordância e sempre que possível descreva as situações similares vividas por si; Utilize a seguinte escala de resposta:
 1_ Discordo totalmente; 2_ Discordo em parte; 3_ Não concordo nem discordo; 4_ Concordo em parte; 5_ Concordo totalmente.

	1	2	3	4	5
a. As mulheres usam o golfe como forma de serem promovidas _	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Os homens têm mais experiência nos campos de golfe do que as mulheres _	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. As mulheres têm muita dificuldade em jogar _	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. As mulheres têm muito receio de falhar _	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. As mulheres desistem facilmente _	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. O golfe é um desporto de homens _	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. As mulheres têm menos capacidades físicas do que os homens para o jogo _	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. As mulheres têm pouco tempo disponível para jogar _	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

As mulheres no golfe

A escala seguinte refere situações vividas por outras mulheres no golfe. Refira o seu grau de concordância e sempre que possível descreva as situações similares vividas por si; Utilize a seguinte escala de resposta:

1_ Discordo totalmente; 2_ Discordo em parte; 3_ Não concordo nem discordo; 4_ Concordo em parte; 5_ Concordo totalmente.

	1	2	3	4	5
i. É muito difícil encontrar parceiras para jogar_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j. Antes do lazer vem a família_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k. Quando a família precisa de atenção, prescindo imediatamente dos meus prazeres pessoais_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l. Se eu deixasse os meus filhos doentes em casa para ir jogar, sentir-me-ia muito mal_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m. Se eu deixasse os meus filhos doentes em casa para ir jogar, o que é que os outros pensariam de mim?_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n. Jogar golfe é bom, mas terá que ficar para uma outra altura da minha vida, agora não é possível_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
o. Jogar golfe é bom, mas é um encargo financeiro que não posso suportar_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
p. No campo profissional, sinto que ganho menos do que os meus colegas homens, só por ser mulher_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
q. Não me sinto confortável nos campos de golfe, o ambiente é demasiado masculino_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
r. Jogo/jogaria golfe porque/se vivo/vivesse muito perto de um campo de golfe_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
s. Os campos de golfe não são muito propensos à presença de mulheres_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
t. As regras dos campos de golfe dificultam a participação feminina_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
u. Os homens não prescindem dos seus compromissos de lazer por causa da família_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
v. As mulheres facilmente relegam os seus compromissos de lazer para segundo plano, por causa da família_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
w. Um jogo de golfe é muito demorado e eu não tenho tempo disponível para tal_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
x. O golfe é coisa de ricos_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
y. Só jogo golfe porque todos os meus amigos jogam_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
z. Só jogo golfe porque nenhum dos meus amigos se pode dar a esse luxo_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ab. Gosto de jogar nos campos onde jogam figuras públicas_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ac. Jogar golfe facilita a interacção social_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ad. Só jogo golfe porque familiares e amigos também jogam_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ae. Os homens usam o jogo de golfe para fazer negócios entre si_	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



MUITO OBRIGADA

Appendix 4 - Authors Retained Copyrights Editors Statements

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Data: Fri, 12 Jul 2013 09:52:14 +0000 [12-07-2013 11:52:14 CEST]

De: Mary Miskin <MMiskin@emeraldinsight.com> 

Para: "hreis@ualg.pt" <hreis@ualg.pt>

Assunto: RE: Permission to use publication for PhD purposes

Dear Helena

Provided the acknowledgement is given in your thesis there is no problem!

Best wishes

Mary Miskin

Editorial Manager | Emerald Group Publishing Limited

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-----Original Message-----

From: hreis@ualg.pt [mailto:hreis@ualg.pt]

Sent: 11 July 2013 12:53

To: Mary Miskin

Subject: Permission to use publication for PhD purposes

Dear Professor Mary Miskin

Professor Andreas Zins sent me your contact so I could forward this request to Emerald, as it should be. Hoping that you can help me, I look forward to your reply.

Since the article "Gender Inequalities in Golf: A Consented Exclusion?" referenced above is part of my PhD research, I come to ask you permission to use it for the purpose of structuring my doctoral thesis and integrate it in the body of the thesis. The article will be fully referenced as published in your journal. The thesis will only be available at the University of the Algarve repository - Sapientia.

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Best regards,

Helena Reis

School of Management, Hospitality and Tourism, University of Algarve

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Mon, Jul 8, 2013 at 6:17 AM

Dear Helena,

It should be fine as long as you do not publish it somewhere else.

Best,
Dogan

=====

Dogan Gursoy, Ph.D.

Taco Bell Distinguished Professor

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Editor-in-Chief, Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management

<http://www.informaworld.com/1936-8631>

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Conference June 25 - 30, 2013 – Taipei, Taiwan

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Hotel Business Management Training Simulation

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From: helena reis [lenny.helena@gmail.com]

Sent: Thursday, July 04, 2013 8:10 AM

To: Gursoy, Dogan

Cc: Antónia Correia

Subject: Permission to use publication for PhD purposes

Reference: Reis, H., Correia, A. (2013), Gender Asymmetries in Golf Participation, Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management, 22:1, 67-91.

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