

ISSN 1476-1580



North West Geography

Volume 9, Number 1, 2009

Placing Golf

Chris Perkins

Geography, School of Environment and Development, The University of Manchester

email: c.perkins@manchester.ac.uk

Abstract

This article is a first attempt to explore the geographical variety in golf courses and clubs in the North West of England. It charts contextual influences on the game, exploring the changing golf business, and the emergence of stereotypes about golf courses and the game itself. A case study of golf in the North West of England reveals a very great diversity of places associated with the game and highlights the significance of local institutional and historical factors in the changing fortunes, landscapes and culture of golf in the region.

Introduction

Golf is a sport that is perhaps uniquely placed as a '*landscape game where golfers compete with terrain*' (Helpshand, 1995: 74). But despite a specialist profession concerned with the creation of golf courses, and a burgeoning literature relating to course design (e.g. Graves and Cornish, 1998; Richardson 2002) there has been remarkably little critical attention given to environmental, political, cultural and social variation in the places and practices associated with the game. The vast majority of academic work relating to the game is derived from the physical or natural sciences, concerned with analyzing performance, improving equipment or growing the game. This article is a preliminary attempt to link the places associated with the game to social practice; it seeks to explore how '*the swing is not the only thing*' (Stoddart, 1994: 611) by considering the places of golf in the North West of England. The main aim is to explore general stereotypical notions of golf and golf courses, and to juxtapose these to golf on the ground.

Golfing Contexts

From a Scottish base golf expanded to be played across the globe. By 2003 there were 30,730 courses and 57 million golfers participating at all levels of the sport (Golf Research Group, 2003). Growth has continued in the five years since this report, at a rate of nearly 500 new courses a year, and especially in the Far and Middle East. Many more people watch professional golf tournaments – golf is a global spectator sport, professional tours migrate across the globe, and important tournaments reach a global television and web audience. There are golfing superstars.

The latest published surveys suggest golf is the fourth most popular sport in the UK, with around 4 million people playing at some time on an 18 hole golf course (Sports Marketing Surveys, 2008). However regular play is much

less frequent; in 2007 only 1.65 million people played at least 12 times a year in the UK and only 1.1 million were members of golf clubs. Barriers to increasing participation are seen as the time it takes to play a full 18 holes, the cost of golfing equipment and playing, and the difficulties of learning the sport (Mintel, 2007). Less golf is likely to be played in the recession.

Golfers play on courses that reflect diverse economic interests and it has been argued that the golf course in high modern culture is paradigmatically western and articulates narrowly defined, modernist class interests (Klein, 1999). He reads course landscapes as sites that reflect variations in the play of international power. But the topographies of power are varied. Golf courses may be classified according to ownership, length, site or vegetation, routing design or landform (Graves and Cornish, 1998). The institutional context of golf courses also has important impacts on the nature of the game; in the UK there are big differences between Championship courses, private members' clubs, municipal courses, hotel golf and proprietary pay and play operations (see Table 1).

Table 1: Institutional contexts for golf

Championship course:	A full-length course and club across which professional championships are held. Usually privately owned and run, and in the UK often very long established.
Private members' club:	A club and course owned and run by members, which usually also admits visiting golfers.
Municipal course:	A public course owned by a local authority, the running of which is increasingly outsourced.
Proprietary course:	A privately owned golf course, which may be played over by members, and/or on a pay-and-play basis.
Resort course:	A privately owned course with accommodation, with an emphasis on holiday golf and corporate events.
Executive course:	A shorter course, usually pay-and-play, designed for rapid golf, practice and teaching and often associated with a driving range.

The golf industry continues to supply facilities wherever there is a demand, but there is a short term over or under-provision, and an increasingly commodified golfing experience (Shackelford, 2003). Clubs, facilities and courses form the key spaces for golf, but are also supplemented by a multi-billion dollar industry in which other spaces play significant roles. For the holiday golf industry resort infrastructure may be critical. For the real estate developer the provision of a golf course designed by a big-name architect offers significant marketing advantages. For the retail trade selling spaces are increasingly divorced from the professional's shop and available as specialist and often out of town retail outlets. For the specialist media information spaces the web is increasingly supplanting more traditional media

Investment cycles can be charted across the globe as new markets are exploited. The industry re-equips and shifts to gain competitive advantage. Just as there is an uneven spatial pattern of provision so charting course openings reveals peaks and troughs that reflect varying economic fortunes and changing ideologies. Boosterist consultants and industry gurus may seek to "grow the game" (see Henley Centre, 1997) but its development reflects social change and demographic trends in different places and at different times that are well beyond the control of the golfing community. An initial boom reflects the growth of members' clubs in the UK, the next three reflect American expansion, whilst the current focus for expansion lies in continental Europe and China (KPMG, 2008). In many places the game faces severe challenges after dramatic expansion in the 1990s; in the USA and the UK player numbers have been flat for the last nine years (EGA, 2008; USGA, 2008), and the recession poses serious challenges for many clubs (Dixon, 2009).

The nature of the game and levels of participation strongly impact on the image of the sport. People who do not play the game often believe in the aphorism that golf spoils a good walk and there is widespread recognition that golf has an image problem. For environmentalists the game is seen as environmentally and socially damaging – "*a pox upon the planet*" (Monbiot, 1990). Golf courses are seen as almost alien landscapes imposed in sometimes inappropriate places, consuming vast quantities of water, pesticides and fertiliser, in order to maintain greens and fairways. They are clearly artificial landscapes with similar elements needed to play the game; usually 18 holes are routed around the course, with tees, fairways, various hazards such as rough, wooded areas, mounding, bunkers, ditches or water, and greens with pins; a carefully bounded course area for the players – with

penalties for shots out of bounds. There is also a car park, a club house and a professional's shop, and usually practice facilities such as a putting green, or driving range. There may also be an associated residential community, a hotel or leisure facilities. The basic principles of golf course design are well established (see Richardson, 2002; Graves and Cornish, 1998). Clearly whilst the elements may be similar no two courses are the same; design is placed, narrated, experienced and read in a cultural process.

The image of Augusta National in the deep south of the USA is often the stereotypical idea of a golfing landscape. The Masters represents American target golf in the tended garden, an artificially maintained green sward surrounded by flowering azaleas (Fream, 2002), where the 'green' comes to symbolize a particular set of southern establishment values. This landscape contrasts strongly, however, with the long-established classic links courses of Scotland, which represent a myth of golf evolving in a 'natural' primal landscape that embodies the essence of the game (Bamberger, 1992). But even here carefully planned maintenance is essential, grass must be cut to the right height in the right places and greens have been built up by topdressing.

Many of the best inland courses in the UK have been crafted from the grounds of former stately homes, but golf is not only played in parkland. Geomorphology controls the kind of golf that is possible (Price, 2002). Courses have been created on links, across hilly terrain, over heathlands, through woods, along cliff tops, poorly drained river valleys, and across hillslopes. Golf is played worldwide in almost every kind of environment. Courses cut through the rainforest in Malaysia are completely different in character from desert courses in the United Arab Emirates. An urban course in the suburbs, or surrounded by a golfing community, creates a different impression from a coastal golf resort. The diverse scenery in which golf is played forms a key perceptual backdrop to the round.

The social image of the game is also problematic for many people. Everyday perceptions of the game suggest it is an elite sport played in exclusive places, where nature is crafted into a spacious playground for the rich. In more extreme contexts the game comes to stand as a metaphor for multinational and exploitative power (Cole, 2002). Many people believe that traditional values are embodied in the game, and that change takes place only slowly. Behaviour on the course is seen as being carefully controlled, safe, and rather conservative. Rather arcane and complex rules make the game hard to understand for outsiders (Chapman, 1997). It is seen as an old white man's sport. Women have little

power in the sport; they are still sometimes excluded from clubs (see Nyland, 2003), or kept in their place on the Ladies' tee on Wednesday mornings. Clubs are still largely the preserve of white middle class men; even in 2009 minorities are still less likely to participate in the game and exclusive private clubs maintain and perpetuate class-based privilege and ethnic and religious segregation, heightening social inequality (Kendall, 2008). Golf is also seen as the ultimate business sport, with synergies between the game and corporate values, and deals and networking on the course and in the clubhouse (Ceron-Anaya, forthcoming). On the other hand the game is seen as encouraging restrained and civilized behaviour (Varner and Knottnerus, 2002), and as an important part of a healthy lifestyle (Neo and Savage, 2002). These stereotypes are supported by research carried out in widely variable contexts and employing diverse sources such as media imagery (Maas and Hasbrook, 2001), advertisements (Dechaine, 2001), cartoons (Senyard, 1998), questionnaire surveys and focus groups (Neo and Savage, 2002). During the presentation of an earlier version of this paper a group of geographers confirmed their overall perceptions of this stereotype. There were however significant differences between those who played golf and those who did not; golfers in the audience were less willing to accept the stereotypical view of the game, and more prepared to argue for an egalitarian, younger, less exclusive, more positive and much more diverse sport. Other studies also suggest big disparities between the general cultural image of the sport, and that held by golfers themselves (e.g. Neo and Savage, 2002). A consideration of the local context in which golf is played is needed to explore how these complex variations are played out in particular places.

Golf in Lancashire and Cheshire

In the UK golf clubs are almost all members of the English Golf Union (EGU), an umbrella body that regulates the day-to-day amateur practice of the game. It organizes clubs on a regional basis, reflecting long established county boundaries, instead of more recent administrative changes. The Lancashire and Cheshire Golf Unions encompass the contemporary counties of Lancashire, Cheshire, Merseyside and Greater Manchester. This area offers a large enough variety to explore geographies of golf, but comprises less than 10% of the total number of courses in Great Britain. There are 104 Cheshire clubs and 141 Lancashire clubs listed on the EGU web site. However there is not a one-to-one link between a club and a golf course; there are ten clubs in the list which play on courses operated or owned by others and some courses are not affiliated to the EGU.

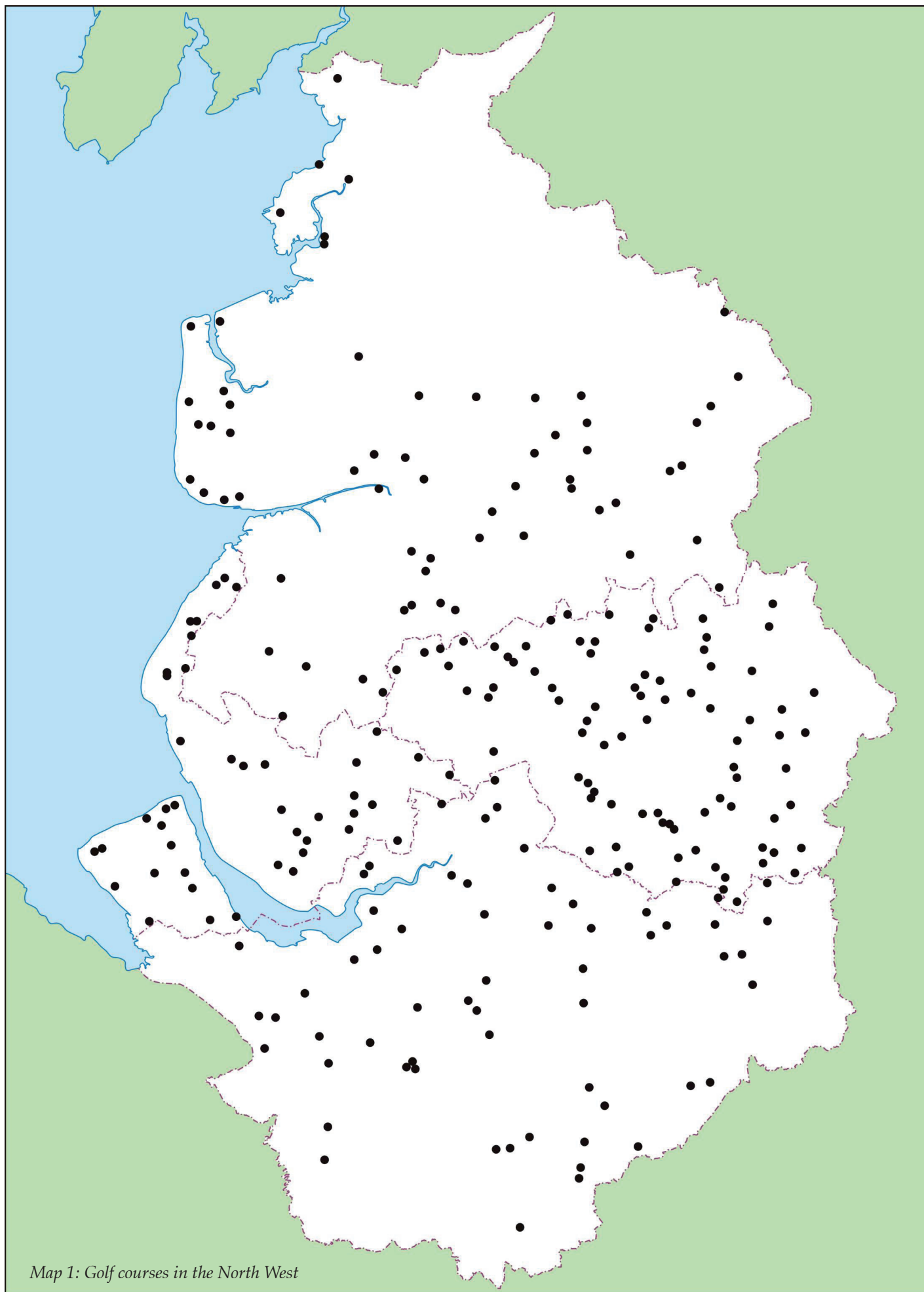
To derive a complete database of courses in the region the EGU web site was therefore complemented by searching other online directories (see Table 3). Almost all of the clubs in this region now maintain a web site; together with the directory sources, other published guides and articles (such as Rowlinson, 1995; Foster, 1996; and Mersey Partnership, 2007); the following profile of golf in the region has been compiled. It reveals a very diverse social and landscape context for golf in the North West. The geography and history of these 249 courses is summarized in Map 1, Figure 1 and in Table 2. Most of these courses are 18 hole facilities; most are situated in parkland or meadowland terrain; and most are private members' clubs.

Table 2: Institutional contexts

Course Type	%	Total	9 hole	18 hole	27 hole	36 hole
Private members' club	69	171	27	144		
Municipal	12	30	7	23		
Proprietary pay-and-play	10	24	8	16		
Resort	5	14	0	12	1	1
Executive	4	10	9	1		
Total		249	51	196	1	1

69% of golf courses of the 249 courses in the North West are private members' clubs – established, owned and run by members' committees – a higher percentage than elsewhere in the UK. The majority of these clubs were set up in the late Victorian / Edwardian golf boom. Many have moved sites over the years and have progressively developed their facilities, expanding to 18 holes, building new clubhouses, perhaps adding practice facilities. Clubs that can trace their history back to the period before the First World War almost all strongly promote their heritage on their web sites. Many have published club histories and have recently celebrated centenaries. They typically employ green-keeping and catering staff, along with a professional who runs the club shop and charges for lessons, but power resides with the various committees which organize competitions, manage handicaps, and decide on how income should be spent. It is this kind of institutional context that strongly informs social stereotypes about the game. This similarity however hides significant variations.

Championship courses dating from this period cluster along the Merseyside and Lancashire coast, on well-drained sandy links land (Foster, 1996). These courses reflect an upper middle class desire to escape the earlier public links,



Map 1: Golf courses in the North West



Plate 1. Championship links landscape: the 1991 Open Championship at Royal Birkdale (photo Nick Scarle).

and to play in more exclusive and private terrain (Cousins, 1975). They are now stunning, exclusive, subtle courses that are fiendishly difficult to play. Open terrain on the links and the coastal location mean that wind is a hugely significant influence on the game; three of the top 75 courses in the world are found here.

Almost all the potential coastal links sites had been developed by the 1930s. No new true links courses have been developed since in this area, and the long established members' clubs here trade on the unique golf that can be played on this kind of course and on the heritage of past tournaments. These clubs are hard to join and seriously expensive to play on a daily basis; at Royal Birkdale it costs £165 a round. Royal Liverpool at Hoylake, Royal Birkdale near Southport and Royal Lytham St Anne's are all on the rota for the Open Championship, and become major sports tourism venues when it is their turn to host the tournament. The area is branded as the 'golf coast', a significant tourist attraction for holiday golfers, with 'arguably the finest stretch of Championship golf in the world' (Mersey Partnership, 2007: 1). Their membership income is buoyant; Royal Liverpool has a waiting list of two years for those deemed suitable and will ride the recession very successfully (Dixon, 2009).

Private members' clubs were also developed on moorland sites, especially to the north of Manchester. The topography of these courses is also largely open – sites are often surprisingly flat, but with long-range views down over the mill towns; many of their web sites trade on the scenic quality of the golfing landscape.

Throughout the North West private members' courses were also developed on lower lying land on the urban fringes of Manchester, Liverpool, and other smaller industrial towns. Almost every town in Lancashire and



Plate 2. Moorland golf: Saddleworth Golf Club (http://www.saddleworthgolfclub.org.uk/view_12_hole.htm)

Cheshire had its course by the beginning of the 1930s. Courses cluster around the places where their members lived. Earlier sites were heathland, but increasingly courses were developed wherever land became available, and most courses are now best characterized as park or meadowland, supplemented by planting that has often matured into a quite wooded context. A string of courses follows the Mersey Valley, to the south of Manchester, and the boundaries of late Victorian and Edwardian urban development are often marked by golf.



Plate 3. Parkland golf on the urban fringe: Withington Golf Club in south Manchester (photo Nick Scarle).

There are significant social variations between these clubs; Whitefield in the north of Manchester, Lee Park in Liverpool and Dunham Forest to the south of Manchester were established as clubs by Jewish golfers who found it difficult to become members of gentile clubs and still have predominantly Jewish memberships (Schlesinger, 2003). Formby Ladies and Wirral Ladies were both developed as courses in the 1890s to give women access to the largely male preserve of the course. The majority of these private members' clubs charge typical weekday green fees of around

£30 – the more up-market clubs still demand a joining fee. However in a 2008 survey the EGU found that nearly half of private members' clubs had falling memberships and that nine out of ten have membership vacancies; data from the Lancashire and Cheshire Unions conform to this general pattern (EGU, 2008). In increasingly difficult economic times clubs continue to cater for a largely local membership but many have to rely on discounted visitor golf, and on diversified use of clubhouses for external functions to break even.

The first golf boom catered almost exclusively for the middle classes. Artisanal golf clubs were established to allow workers to play on some of the more elite courses – Wallasey Villagers Golf Club, for example, still plays on the Wallasey links, alongside the much more exclusive Wallasey members, and can trace its history back to 1905. But this more working class movement was never very well developed; golf for the wider population, did not really begin until local authorities began to lay out municipal courses (Lowerson, 1994). There are now 30 municipal courses in the North West. The first was established on sand dunes at the Warren on the Wirral in 1909, closely followed by the parkland course in Heaton Park to the north of Manchester. By the start of the Second World War urban authorities had laid out 15 public courses in the region – a second boom in municipal golf in the North West took place in the 1970s when another ten courses opened. The golfing challenges of these courses are rather more prosaic, and their facilities much more basic than those offered by private members' clubs. Resources for

course management are often limited – drainage in winter is poor, and irrigation minimal in summer droughts. Their sites may be less romantic than private clubs; St Michaels Jubilee in Widnes, for example, is bisected by a main road and sits astride a former chemical dump; Cairns (2005: 216) describes the clubhouse here as 'more like a police station on the Falls Road'. The views from the course include a scrap metal dealership, an ICI chemicals plant, industrial units and the huge cooling towers of Fiddlers Ferry power station. Many local authorities have outsourced the provision of their courses, either to trusts or to private golf chains (McArdle, 2000). Municipal courses all charge much less than private clubs; at the start of 2009 midweek green fees averaged £11 a round. Whilst membership facilities are offered at most of these clubs, relying on cheap daily green fee income leads to overcrowding, and frequent slow play as a consequence of the number of beginners on the course.

Only limited private investment in new golf courses in the North West took place in the post-war years, in part because of the carefully regulated planning system. Courses developed in late Victorian/Edwardian era had used land which was not suitable for urban expansion or agriculture (links, heathland, floodplains, and moorland) and so was of little commercial value. A major boom in development however took place in the late 1980s and 1990s, fuelled by relaxation in planning regulation and agricultural diversification, leading to development of courses on set-aside agricultural land (Lowe et al, 1993). New kinds of institutions were established, often in rather more rural contexts than earlier periods, and in places with a less obvious market. Farmers joined forces with developers to set up privately owned courses, like Hurlstone Hall near Ormskirk. The course and clubhouse in these kinds of operations are usually privately owned, and the facility is usually run as a mixture of a 'modern' members' club, and a play-and-pay operation. Many of these courses emulated the style of American Country Clubs, with courses featuring frequent artificial lakes (e.g. Mollington Grange near Chester) and modern clubhouses marketed as 'ideal venues for weddings and conferences' (Houghwood Golf near St Helens). The more upmarket developments incorporated additional leisure facilities appropriate for the new middle class lifestyle and sold their exclusivity - for example in the rebranding of the club at Mere. The golf boom of the 1980s/1990s also drove many established clubs, which had previously been run by stalwart members on a voluntary basis, to become more business oriented. The 'honorary secretary' and 'honorary treasurer' were steadily replaced by full-time, fully qualified (and salaried) managers and their

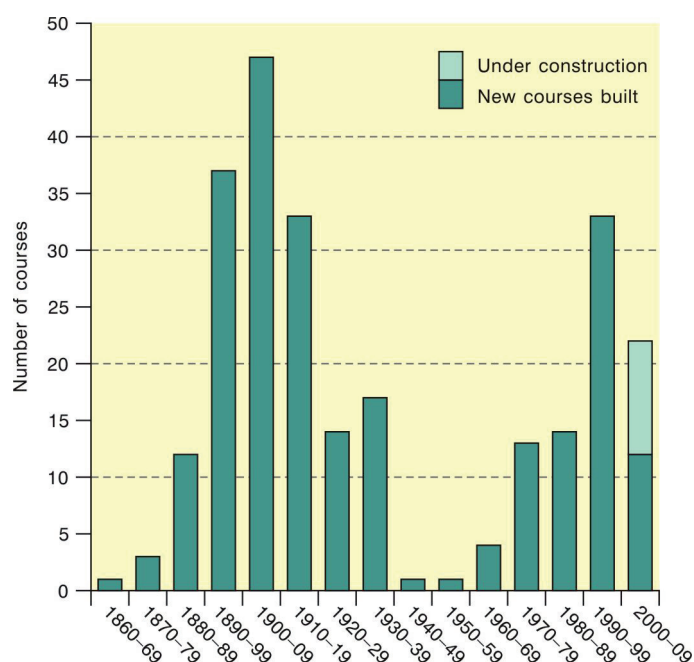


Figure 1: Frequency of golf club founding in North West England.

personal assistants. A new industry also grew alongside this change, with companies offering courses and qualifications specifically aimed at golf club management

Changing demands for golf in the 1980s also lead to an increasing number of golfing resort hotels being set up (Morse and Lanier, 1992). On the Cheshire Plain, for example prestigious courses including Niklaus signature holes were laid out in parkland at Carden Park. The DeVere hotel group now operates from four locations in the North West. In all there are 14 resort courses in the North West. Courses here are almost all branded as Championship; luxury facilities are offered on site, but anyone who can pay may play. Income here is strongly corporate; society days and visiting golfers support these operations rather than regular and local membership.

Landscape qualities on these more recently developed courses vary greatly. Courses like Eaton near Cheshire have gained national recognition for best sustainable development practice, and have implemented EGU advice on environmentally sensitive golf. Many, like Frodsham, now blend well into surrounding contexts. Unfortunately though not all set-aside courses benefit from the regular maintenance and planting that characterises richer courses. Critics have suggested that many of these courses are often insensitive, alien additions to local contexts, encouraging a placeless and characterless golf (Black, 2000).

Elsewhere in the UK commercial chains have made significant inroads into this sector; Crown Golf is the largest owned and operated golf group in Europe and includes Eccleston Park near in Prescot in its portfolio of thirty courses across the UK. The more exclusive Club Company run The Tytherington Club near Macclesfield as a health and golf operation. However the big chains have a less significant place in the world of golf in the North West than elsewhere in the country.

In the golf boom of the 1980s and 1990s a private competition for the municipals emerged, at the bottom end of the market, as proprietary pay-and-play operations, often as adjuncts to driving ranges (e.g. Moorend near Poynton). These courses often only have 9 holes and offer limited attractions for members, and poorer standards of course maintenance. Many rely completely on income from green fees. More successfully operated courses such as Boysnape Park in Eccles have extended to 18 holes, and added facilities. The pay-and-play sector runs with a very different ethos to that which dominates in private members' clubs; here the ethos is 'fast, friendly, family golf', and a much more accessible sport is marketed (Henley Centre, 1997). The North West has fewer courses like this than

elsewhere in the UK; only 10% of course in the region are proprietary. A shorter version of the pay-and-play style of golf can be seen in executive or academy courses located in golf centres, aimed at beginners or players with little time on their hands. There is often a much more relaxed attitude of golfing behaviour in these newer contexts. At Adlington the publicity material claims that 'There's no membership, no handicap certificate required, no strict dress code and no club tie or other stuffy rules – just the requirement to enjoy your game!'

Conclusions

The golfing landscapes of the North West are hugely variable. There are elements in the game here that certainly reflect stereotypical notions of golf in England as an elite and exclusive sport. However a more detailed comparison of golf in the region suggests that research needs to consider the local configuration of institutional context, golfing culture, landscape and course qualities, as well as the historical development of the game in the area. A narrowly political economic analysis is likely to underplay this variety and in so doing fail to appreciate the extent to which the game is changing, and also the critical importance of local everyday golfing practice. A more in-depth ethnography of the game is needed to flesh out the cultural politics of change.

Table 3: Online sources of information about golf in the UK.

English Golf Union	www.englishgolfunion.org/golfcentral/
English Golf Courses	www.englishgolf-courses.co.uk
UK Golf Guide	www.uk-golfguide.com
AA	http://www.theaa.com/travel/basicsearch/preparepoisearchstage1.do?statusstage1=new&page=golfcourse
Golf Today	www.golftoday.co.uk
Golf North West	www.golf-northwest.co.uk

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to Nick Scarle for compiling the illustrations accompanying this article and for offering a critical low handicappers' view of the state of the art of golf in the region.

References

- Bamberger M 1992. To the Linksland. Mainstream, Edinburgh.
- Black J 2000. Enhancing the experience of golf through landscape design and environmental psychology, from <http://www.golfclubatlas.com/opinionblack.html>
- Cairns C 2005. No tie required: how the rich stole golf. Headline, London.
- Ceron-Anaya H forthcoming. An approach to the history of golf; business practices, class, and symbolic capital. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*.
- Chapman K G 1997. The rules of the green; a history of the rules of golf. Virgin, London.
- Cole C L 2002. The place of golf in U.S.imperialism. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 26(4): 331-336.
- Cousins G 1975. Golf in Britain; a social history from the beginnings to the present day. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- DeChaine D R 2001. From discourse to golf course; the serious play of imagining community space. *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 25(2): 132-146.
- Dixon P 2009. End of golf boom could signal closures. *The Times*: January 26.
- EGU 2008a. Golf club membership questionnaire; results book 2008. EGU, Woodhill Spa.
- Foster H 1996. Links Along the Line; The Story of the Development of Golf Between Liverpool and Southport. Birkdale and Ainsdale Historical Research Society, Southport.
- Fream R W 2002. Immaculate perfection, in Daley, P. (ed.), *Golf architecture; a worldwide perspective* (Vol. 1). Full Swing Golf Publishing, Glen Waverley: pp. 84-86.
- Golf Research Group 2003. Global golf report. Golf Research Group, Weymouth.
- Graves R M and Cornish G S 1998. Golf course design. Wiley, New York.
- Helpshand K I 1995. Learning from Linksland. *Landscape Journal*, Spring 1995: 74-86.
- Henley Centre 1997. EMAP golf futures; future trends in the British golf market. EMAP Pursuit Publishing, Peterborough.
- Kendall D 2008. Members only; elite clubs and the process of exclusion. Rowman and Littlefield, New York.
- Klein B S 1999. Cultural links; an international political economy of golf course landscapes, in Martin, R. and Miller, T. (eds.), *Sportcult*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN.
- KPMG 2008. Golf benchmark survey 2007; regional report benchmark indicators and performance of golf courses in Great Britain and Ireland. KPMG Golf Advisory, Budapest.
- Lowe P J, Murdoch J, Marsden T, Munton R and Flynn A 1993. Regulating the new rural spaces; the uneven development of land. *Journal of Rural Studies* 9(3): 205-222.
- Lowerson J R 1994. Golf for all; the problems of municipal provision, in Cochran, A. J. and Farrally, M. R. (eds.), *Science and golf II; proceedings of the 1994 World Scientific Congress on Golf*. Spon, London pp. 602-610.
- Maas K W and Hasbrook C A 2001. Media promotion of the paradigm citizen/golfer; an analysis of golf magazines' representations of disability, gender and age. *Sociology of Sport Journal* 18: 21-36.
- McArdle A 2000. Privatisation of golf courses. School of Retail and Estate Management. Oxford Brooks University, Oxford.
- Mersey Partnership 2007. England's golf coast. Mersey Partnership, Liverpool.
- Mintel 2007. Golf. Mintel, London.
- Monbiot G 1990. A pox upon the planet. *The Guardian*, 1 January.
- Morse S and Lanier P 1992. Golf resorts; driving into the '90s. *Cornell HRA Quarterly*.
- Neo H and Savage V 2002. Shades of green, fields of gold; representations, discourse and the politics of golf in Singapore. *Landscape Research* 27(4): 397-412.
- Nyland D 2003. Taking a slice at sexism; the controversy over the exclusionary membership practices of the Augusta National Golf Club. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 27(2): 195-202.
- Price R J 2000. Scotland's golf courses. Mercat Press, Edinburgh.
- Richardson F L 2002. Routing the golf course; the art & science that forms the golf journey. Wiley, New York.
- Schlesinger E 2003. Creating community and accumulating social capital; Jews associating with other Jews in Manchester. Institute for Jewish Policy Research, London.
- Senyard J 1998. The imagined golf course; gender representations and Australian golf. *International Journal of the History of Sport* 15(2): 164-175.
- Shackelford G 2003. The future of golf In America; how golf lost its way in the 21st century and how to get it back. IUUniverse, Lincoln Na.
- Sports Marketing Surveys 2008. 2007 Golf Participation Report. Sports Marketing Surveys, Wisley.
- Stoddart B 1990. The social context of golf; a preliminary framework. *Science and golf; proceedings of the First World Scientific Congress of Golf*. A. J. Cochran. Spon, London pp.303-308.
- USGA 2008. Annual report. USGA, Far Hills NJ.
- Varner M K and Knottnerus J 2002. Civility rituals and exclusion; the emergence of American golf during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. *Sociological Inquiry* 72(3): 426-441.